

DE GRUYTER

Luigi Orlandi

**ANDRONIKOS KALLISTOS:
A BYZANTINE SCHOLAR
AND HIS MANUSCRIPTS
IN ITALIAN HUMANISM**

STUDIES IN
MANUSCRIPT CULTURES

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**Andronikos Kallistos: A Byzantine Scholar and His Manuscripts
in Italian Humanism**

Studies in Manuscript Cultures



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Volume 32

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The publication of this volume was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures' – project no. 390893796.

ISBN 978-3-11-120333-1

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-120344-7

ISSN 2365-9696

DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111203447>



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Library of Congress Control Number: 2023936604

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2023 with the author(s), published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston.
This book is published open access at www.degruyter.com.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

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Introduction

The interest in the activity of Andronikos Kallistos arose at the end of the nineteenth century within the frame of Émile Legrand's pioneering works on Byzantine scholars of the Renaissance.¹ Over decades, researchers have glimpsed the depth of Kallistos' erudite personality towards a comprehension of his role at the critical time of the *translatio studiorum*, i.e. the transfer of ancient Greece cultural heritage to Italy and hence all of Europe. However, it has only been possible to deepen the knowledge on this scholar after identifying a fair number of manuscripts as the work of his hands.²

Dieter Harlfinger's studies on Greek scribes of the Renaissance³ and Ernst Gamillscheg's investigations on the manuscripts preserved at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria of Modena⁴ first broadened the list of the books attributed to the work of Andronikos. The findings of Elpidio Mioni⁵ with regard to Besarion's collaborators validated these attributions by recognising in further samples Kallistos' hand, even though admitting to the coexistence of two writing-styles. In this respect, Ole Langwitz Smith⁶ had questioned many attribution proposals made by Gamillscheg, assuming that Kallistos was allegedly assisted by an anonymous collaborator (*Anonymus Mutinensis*) whose handwriting resembled that of Kallistos. Not long after Gamillscheg's reply,⁷ Kallistos' and *Anonymus*' identity was to be confirmed by Guido Avezzù:⁸ his intervention therefore put an end to the *querelle* about the existence or non-existence of this *Anonymus*.⁹

Still, the issue of the variability of Kallistos' hand has remained unsolved for the time being. In other words: should the hypothesis of a *synchronic* coexistence of two graphic styles be confirmed or should one instead look at this phenomenon as at a transformation of a handwriting through its various phases? In the

1 Legrand 1885 and Legrand 1892.

2 Diller 1967.

3 Harlfinger 1971, Harlfinger 1977, and Harlfinger 1974. The attribution to Andronikos of a single annotation at fol. 1r of the manuscript Laur. 71.3, proposed in *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 226, proved to be wrong.

4 Gamillscheg 1978. All of the identifications presented in the article by Gamillscheg turned out to be correct, with the exception of manuscripts Mutin. α U.9.1 and Mutin. α V.7.14, in which no trace of Andronikos' hand is found.

5 Mioni 1976.

6 Smith 1986.

7 Gamillscheg 1983.

8 Avezzù 1989–1990.

9 For a detailed account of this *querelle*, see Tessier 2015b, 186–188.

first chapter of his monograph about the scribal activity of Markos Musuros, David Speranzi framed the problems modern scholars are faced with when approaching the study of fifteenth-century handwritings.¹⁰ As Speranzi evokes — quoting some remarks by Giuseppe De Gregorio —, cases of synchronic and diachronic variability are particularly thorny, namely those of ‘parallel coexistence, in the writing of a single scribe, of very different models, calligraphic and cursive’.¹¹ The examples adduced by Speranzi are well known to scholars dealing with fifteenth-century copyists’ hands: 1. the calligraphic style of the prolific Cretan scribe Iohannes Rhosos in contraposition to a less accurate writing style, which a famous letter in his hand sent to his friend Iohannes Plusiadenos clearly displays; 2. the so-called *scholarly hand* of Theodoros Gazes, characterized by an extremely cursive (and quite ‘nervous’) *ductus*, which is at first glance incompatible with his usual minuscule as well as with the ‘pseudo-majuscule’ employed in the famous Homer Laur. 32.1;¹² 3. the different expressions of the writing of Konstantinos and Ianos Laskaris, both active over decades in Italy. As Speranzi claimed, the distance between graphic manifestations of a same hand has meant that several scribes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have seen some of their products assigned to their ‘palaeographic Doppelgänger’; such attributions have often been shown at a later time as devoid of historical consistency.¹³ This was the case with Markos Musuros, to whom the authorship of some manuscripts attributed to a mysterious Μάρκος Ἰωάννου has been denied for a long time.¹⁴ And this has been, for many years, the case of Andronikos Kallistos too, to whom Ole Langwitz Smith insisted on attributing solely the Vat. gr. 1314 (i.e. the only witness ‘subscribed’ by him, dating 12 March 1449). One of the purposes of this book is therefore to demonstrate the *diachronic* nature of the graphic variability of Andronikos’ hand, thus dispelling any doubt about the coexistence of two styles.

Dieter Harlfinger and Ernst Gamillscheg are credited with most of the attributions that ended up in the entry on Kallistos in the *Repertorium der griechischen*

¹⁰ Speranzi 2013, 11–25.

¹¹ See Speranzi 2013, 13. The quotation is from De Gregorio 1995, 428 (‘parallela coesistenza nella scrittura di un unico copista di modelli di apprendimento assai distanti, calligrafico-posati e corsivi’).

¹² See Speranzi 2012.

¹³ Speranzi 2013, 15: ‘E proprio la distanza tra le diverse attestazioni di una stessa mano [...] ha fatto sì che diversi scribi dei secoli XV e XVI abbiano visto alcuni dei propri prodotti assegnati a loro “doppi paleografici”, rivelatisi poi privi di consistenza storica’.

¹⁴ A decisive contribution towards the identification between the figures of Musuros and Μάρκος Ἰωάννου is Speranzi 2015b.

Kopisten (RGK).¹⁵ In more recent times, other scholars — such as Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, who is drawing up the inventory of the Greek copyists present in manuscripts now kept at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana¹⁶ — have consistently enriched and broadened the perspective by means of several identifications (see below Table 0.1).¹⁷

Table 0.1: Manuscripts copied, restored and/or annotated by Andronikos Kallistos: Current state of research.

	Manuscript / Document	Fols / Intervention	Attribution
1.	Athonita Ἰβήρων 161	restoration	Tselikas 1976 (reprinted in Tselikas 2004, 620)
2.	Berolinensis Hamilton 270	<i>marginalia</i>	Harlfinger (<i>infra</i> , § 3.5.3)
3.	Berolinensis lat. fol. 199	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 2.3.1)
4.	Berolinensis lat. fol. 850	<i>marginalia</i>	Rollo 2020a, 129
5.	Bononiensis 2638	initials and titles in red ink	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 2.1.1.2)
6.	Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Nn.III.18		Diller 1967, 408
7.	Cantabr. Emm. Coll. Libr. 30		Diller 1967, 408
8.	Comensis 1.3.19	151r–206r	Stefec 2010, 71
9.	Cremonensis 130	1r–9v, 56r–57v, 62r–64v	Harlfinger 2000, 764
10.	Erlangensis A 4	1r–70v, 72r–99v, 209r–264v	Harlfinger 1971, 413 / corrections in <i>Aristoteles Graecus</i> 1976 (Harlfinger)
11.	Scorialensis Σ.III.1	<i>marginalia</i>	Martínez Manzano 2018, 380

¹⁵ RGK I 18 = II 25 = III 31.

¹⁶ Martinelli Tempesta 2013.

¹⁷ See e.g. Rollo 2006a; Stefec 2014; Orlandi 2014a and 2014b; Martinelli Tempesta 2015a; Speranzi 2016b; Speranzi 2018; Rollo 2020a; Orlandi 2020c. In a recent article by David Speranzi, sections of the manuscripts Marc. gr. Z. 199 and Par. gr. 2086 which were previously attributed to Kallistos have appropriately been ascribed to Iohannes Sophianos; see Speranzi 2016a, 89–91.

	Manuscript / Document	Fols / Intervention	Attribution
12.	Ferrara, Arch. Bentivoglio, Patrim., busta 6, fasc. 35	signature	Gentile 1992, 299
13.	Laurentianus 32.46	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 5.3.1)
14.	Laurentianus 58.1	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 1.3.4)
15.	Laurentianus 60.16	92r–97v	Harlfinger 1971, 413
16.	Laurentianus 66.31	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi 2014a, 165
17.	Laurentianus 72.20	<i>marginalia</i>	<i>Aristoteles Graecus</i> 1976, 254 (Harlfinger)
18.	Laurentianus 74.12	35r–39r, 43r–44v	RGK I 18
19.	Laurentianus 85.21	restoration	Speranzi 2016b, 62
20.	Laurentianus Ashb. 1144		Todd 1994, 70
21.	Laurentianus Ashb. 1599	1r–150r	Todd 1990, IX / Todd 1994, 70
22.	Florent. Riccardianus 46	<i>marginalia</i>	Martinelli Tempesta 2016a, 224
23.	Florent. Magliab. B.2.35	<i>marginalia</i>	Speranzi 2018, 194
24.	Forlì, Bibl. Com., Raccolte Piancastelli, Sez. Autografi secc. XII–XVIII		Perosa 1953, 8; Orlandi 2014a, 167
25.	Hauniensis GkS 1570,4°	<i>marginalia</i>	Schartau 1994, 125
26.	Cracov. Berol. gr. qu. 73	1r–23r	Harlfinger (in Orlandi 2020c)
27.	Lipsiensis gr. 33	restoration	Stefec 2014, 176
28.	Lipsiensis gr. 34	restoration	Stefec 2014, 176
29.	Londinensis Burney 109	<i>marginalia</i>	RGK I 18 / corrections <i>infra</i> , § 5.3.1
30.	Ambrosianus A 185 sup.	228v–243r	Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 108

	Manuscript / Document	Fols / Intervention	Attribution
31.	Ambrosianus D 78 inf.	<i>marginalia</i>	Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 108 / Orlandi 2014b, 187
32.	Ambrosianus E 99 sup.	<i>marginalia</i>	Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 108
33.	Ambrosianus H 52 sup.	1r–133v	Harlfinger 1971, 413
34.	Ambrosianus I 56 sup.	1r–242v	Harlfinger 1971, 413 / Orlandi 2014b, 154
35.	Ambrosianus L 35 sup.	1r–8v	Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 108
36.	Ambrosianus P 84 sup.		Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 108
37.	Mutinensis α P.5.19	2r–43r	Gamillscheg 1978, 232
38.	Mutinensis α P.5.20	corrections	Harlfinger 1971, 413
39.	Mutinensis α P.6.13		Harlfinger 1974, 25
40.	Mutinensis α Q.5.20		Gamillscheg 1978, 232
41.	Mutinensis α Q.5.21		Harlfinger <i>apud</i> Gamillscheg 1978, 232
42.	Mutinensis α T.8.3	<i>marginalia</i>	Harlfinger 1971, 413
43.	Mutinensis α T.8.13		Harlfinger 1974, 25
44.	Mutinensis α T.8.20		Gamillscheg 1978, 232
45.	Mutinensis α T.9.1		Harlfinger 1971, 413
46.	Mutinensis α T.9.2	68r–98r, <i>marginalia</i>	Harlfinger 1974, 25
47.	Mutinensis α T.9.14		Harlfinger 1974, 25
48.	Mutinensis α U.5.1		Gamillscheg 1978, 232
49.	Mutinensis α U.9.3	119v and <i>marginalia</i>	Harlfinger 1971, 413
50.	Mutinensis α U.9.10	restoration	Harlfinger 1974, 25
51.	Mutinensis α U.9.18	initials and titles in red ink	Gamillscheg 1978, 232
52.	Mutinensis α U.9.22		Gamillscheg 1978, 232

	Manuscript / Document	Fols / Intervention	Attribution
53.	Mutinensis α V.7.1	1r–61r	Gamillscheg 1978, 232
54.	Mutinensis α V.7.17	52r–129v	Harlfinger 1974, 25
55.	Mutinensis α W.2.1	1v–2v	Harlfinger 1974, 25
56.	Mutinensis α W.5.5	<i>passim</i>	Gamillscheg 1978, 232; corrections <i>infra</i> , § 6.1
57.	Mosquensis Sinod. gr. 267		Fonkič 1981, 124
58.	Mosquensis Sinod. gr. 370	restoration	Fonkič 1981, 124
59.	Mosquensis RGADA Φ 1607, Matthaei 15	1r–39v lin. 10	Fonkič 1981, 124
60.	Monacensis gr. 332	<i>marginalia</i>	Harlfinger 1971, 413
61.	Neapolitanus II.D.9	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 2.3.1)
62.	Oxon. Barocci 63	<i>passim</i>	Diller 1967, 408; corrections <i>infra</i> , § 6.2
63.	Oxon. Barocci 76	initials and titles in red ink	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 2.1.1.2)
64.	Oxon. d'Orville 115		Diller 1967, 408
65.	Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71	restoration	Diller 1967, 408
66.	Parisinus gr. 1644	38r–59v	RGK II 25
67.	Parisinus gr. 1811	<i>marginalia</i>	Brockmann 1992, 27
68.	Parisinus gr. 1852	<i>marginalia</i>	Harlfinger 1971, 413
69.	Parisinus gr. 1878	25rv, 27r–162v	RGK II 25
70.	Parisinus gr. 1879		RGK II 25
71.	Parisinus gr. 1890	restoration	RGK II 25
72.	Parisinus gr. 1908	<i>marginalia</i>	Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 30 / corrections in Diller 1967, 408
73.	Parisinus gr. 2038		Diller 1967, 408
74.	Parisinus gr. 2046	97r–173r, <i>marginalia</i>	RGK II 25

	Manuscript / Document	Fols / Intervention	Attribution
75.	Parisinus gr. 2066		RGK II 25
76.	Parisinus gr. 2069		Harlfinger 1971, 413
77.	Parisinus gr. 2346	1r, 84r lin. 13–166v	RGK II 25
78.	Parisinus gr. 2715		RGK II 25
79.	Parisinus gr. 2772	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi 2020c, 480
80.	Parisinus gr. 2998	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi 2014b, 165
81.	Parisinus gr. 3011	<i>restoration</i>	RGK II 25
82.	Parisinus lat. 17542	<i>graeca</i>	Gentile <i>apud</i> Speranzi 2016a, 213
83.	Parisinus Suppl. gr. 66	75r–78v, 83r–90r	RGK II 25
84.	Parisinus Suppl. gr. 255	<i>marginalia</i>	Alberti 1967, 14
85.	Parisinus Suppl. gr. 541	11r–136r, 155r–201r, 202r–353r	Harlfinger 1971, 413; additions in RGK II 25
86.	Parisinus Mazarine 4453	<i>marginalia</i>	RGK II 25 / corrections <i>infra</i> , § 6.2
87.	Perusinus H 19	titles in red ink	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 5.2.3.3)
88.	Turinensis Accad. di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, NN.V.7	50rv	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 2.4.1)
89.	Salmanticensis 230	titles in red ink	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 5.3.1)
90.	Vaticanus Barb. gr. 161	<i>restoration</i>	Speranzi 2016b, 64
91.	Vaticanus Barb. gr. 163	<i>marginalia</i>	Speranzi (<i>infra</i> , § 2.2.2)
92.	Vaticanus Borg. gr. 12	<i>marginalia</i>	RGK III 31
93.	Vaticanus Chis. H.V.159	<i>graeca</i>	Rollo 2006a, 378
94.	Vaticanus Ott. gr. 52	<i>marginalia</i>	RGK III 31 / corrections in Rollo 2006a, 376 n. 1
95.	Vaticanus Ott. gr. 181	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 2.3.1)
96.	Vaticanus Ott. gr. 355	1r–12r	RGK III 31

	Manuscript / Document	Fols / Intervention	Attribution
97.	Vaticanus Pal. gr. 142	titles in red ink	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 2.2.1)
98.	Vaticanus Ross. 1025	Xv–18v, 21r–33v, 37r– 292v	Harlfinger 1971, 413
99.	Vaticanus Urb. gr. 151	<i>marginalia</i>	RGK III 31
100.	Vaticanus gr. 13	<i>marginalia</i>	RGK I 18
101.	Vaticanus gr. 249		Harlfinger 1971, 413
102.	Vaticanus gr. 257		Harlfinger 1971, 413
103.	Vaticanus gr. 593	<i>marginalia</i>	RGK III 31
104.	Vaticanus gr. 1314		Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 30
105.	Vaticanus gr. 1324	<i>restoration</i>	Stefec 2014, 176
106.	Vaticanus gr. 1950	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 5.3.2)
107.	Vaticanus gr. 2189	<i>marginalia</i>	RGK III 31
108.	Vaticanus gr. 2201	<i>marginalia</i>	Harlfinger 1971, 413
109.	Vaticanus gr. 2207	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi 2020c, 478
110.	Vaticanus lat. 1532	<i>graeca</i>	Rollo 2006a, 370
111.	Marcianus gr. Z. 10	382r–409r	Diller 1967, 408
112.	Marcianus gr. Z. 186	216r–274v	Diller 1967, 408
113.	Marcianus gr. Z. 190	1r–270v	Diller 1967, 408
114.	Marcianus gr. Z. 192	1r–44v	Diller 1967, 408
115.	Marcianus gr. Z. 198		Diller 1967, 408
116.	Marcianus gr. Z. 223	118r–123r, 171r–228v	Harlfinger <i>apud</i> Liakou-Kropp 2002, 267
117.	Marcianus gr. Z. 226	<i>marginalia</i>	Orlandi (<i>infra</i> , § 2.3.1)
118.	Marcianus gr. Z. 238	62r–124r	Mioni 1976, 298
119.	Marcianus gr. Z. 337	additions	Harlfinger <i>apud</i> Liakou-Kropp 2002, 282

	Manuscript / Document	Fols / Intervention	Attribution
120.	Marcianus gr. Z. 374	1–127v, 128v–166r, 167r–242r	Mioni 1976, 298 / corrections <i>infra</i> , § 2.1.1
121.	Marcianus gr. Z. 518	additions	Harlfinger <i>apud</i> Liakou-Kropp 2002, 311
122.	Marcianus gr. Z. 522	161r–176v, 181r–210v	Mioni 1976, 298
123.	Marcianus gr. Z. 527	1r–9v, 11r–14v, 16rv	Diller 1967, 408
124.	Marcianus gr. Z. 611	46r–243v	Mioni 1985a, 537
125.	Marcianus gr. VII 5	<i>marginalia</i>	Mioni 1985b, <i>addenda</i>
126.	Vind. Hist. gr. 78		Hunger 1961, 85
127.	Vind. Suppl. gr. 23	restoration	Hunger and Hannick 1994, 48
128.	Vind. Theol. gr. 163	<i>marginalia</i>	Hunger, Kresten and Hannick 1984, 253

The research on Andronikos' scholarly activity however remains fragmented into many isolated contributions,¹⁸ mainly concerning some specific chapters of the manuscript tradition of classical Greek and Byzantine authors. Fragmentation is indeed the hindrance to achieving a complete picture of his work as a teacher and philologist.

In this framework, by adopting a systematic and synergistic approach to historical, philological, codicological, and palaeographic data, I intend with this monograph study to accomplish the following:

1. outline an updated biography, which in essence reproduces Giuseppe Cammelli's account,¹⁹ the short contribution by Emilio Bigi notwithstanding²⁰ (Chapter 1);

¹⁸ See e.g. sections of the following works: Alberti 1967; Donadi 1976; Resta 1978; Fera 1997; Serra 1979–1980; Martinelli Tempesta 1995, Martinelli Tempesta 1997 and Martinelli Tempesta 2015a; Tessier 2003; Tessier 2015b; Tarán 2016; Golitsis 2022; Muratore 2022.

¹⁹ Cammelli 1942.

²⁰ Bigi 1961.

2. better define Andronikos' scribal activity by means of a thorough examination (by autopsy) of all surviving manuscript sources which have been transcribed, restored or simply annotated by him (Chapter 2);
3. attempt to reconstruct the development of Kallistos' book collection by tracing its growth and then following its fate after the sale (Chapters 2 and 3);
4. acknowledge Andronikos' scholarly activity both as a teacher for Greek language and literature and as a philologist (Chapters 4 and 5);
5. make an inventory (with codicological, palaeographic, historical, and bibliographical data) of all the manuscripts which bear traces of his writing (Chapter 6);
6. publish Andronikos' works (Appendix).

Formal matters

The identification of copyists' handwriting, whenever it is proposed for the first time in this book, is marked by angle brackets <...> as it is usual in reference works about Greek palaeography; the same brackets are used for the first identification of dates and places. The numbering of tables and figures restarts at every chapter. Quotations in Greek and Latin, when not translated, are paraphrased; when extracted from manuscripts or archival documents, both Greek and Latin quotations follow the spelling used in the source.

Acknowledgements

This volume is a revised version of my PhD thesis (University of Hamburg, 2017). First and foremost, I would like to express special appreciation and thanks to my supervisor, Christian Brockmann, for encouraging my research on the manuscripts of Andronikos Kallistos. Undertaking a PhD experience in Hamburg has been a wonderful challenge, which would not have been possible without his constant and unconditional support. His Greek Palaeography class in 2012 kindled my interest in manuscript studies and I can never be thankful enough to him for the influence this had on my early career.

Very special thanks go to the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) for giving me the great opportunity to carry out my doctoral research in Germany with generous financial support.

I would like to express here my gratitude also to the institutions which hosted my research at the University of Hamburg and to their members. At the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) I had the opportunity to give presentations at every stage on my project. For comments, enlightening suggestions, and

kind support I am grateful to all of my colleagues. To Michael Friedrich, as director of CSMC, and to Oliver Huck, who coordinated the Graduate School of which I was member, go my special thanks for strongly believing in this work from the very beginning. Moreover, I would like to thank the whole staff of the Institut für Griechische und Lateinische Philologie, in whose library this project was mostly carried out in the years 2014–2017.

I owe a sincere debt of gratitude to distinguished scholars, colleagues, and friends for stimulating discussions and insightful comments: Michele Bandini, Giuseppe De Gregorio, Dieter Harlfinger, Klaus Lennartz, Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, Teresa Martínez Manzano, Paola Megna, David Speranzi, Giuseppe Ucciardello, Stefano Valente.

Heartfelt thanks also to Carole Bould, Caroline Macé, Simone Mucci, Stev Talarman and Paraskevi Toma who helped revise this book. Additionally, I wish to acknowledge the contributions of Dominika Herbst and Florian Ruppenstein (De Gruyter publishing house) regarding the improvement of coherence and content presentation of the book. Any remaining inaccuracies are entirely my responsibility.

Finally, my warm thanks go to Antonio Rollo for allowing me to grow as a researcher. His invaluable comments, suggestions, and hard questions accompanied me at every stage of this work.

1 Towards a New Biographical Profile

1.1 The question of Andronikos' birthplace and name

When contemporary scholars approach the investigation of Andronikos Kallistos' work, the first puzzling issue they encounter concerns his birthplace. Many sources point to an origin in Constantinople. Among these, and on more than one occasion, is the Byzantine scholar himself. Here is a list of the sources pointing to a Constantinopolitan birth, in chronological order.

(1458–1459 and 1462–1466) the *rotuli* from Bologna's *Studium* show that a certain *Andronicus Constantinopolitanus* or *grecus de Constantinopoli* or *de Constantinopoli*¹ was a lecturer in Greek language and teacher of moral philosophy during those academic years (mistakenly registered also as *Andromachus*, *Andronycus* or *Andromicus*);²

(28 April <1459>) the heading of an autograph letter in Greek addressed by Kallistos to Palla Strozzi reads: τῷ εὐγενεῖ καὶ σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ Παλλάντι τῷ Στροζίῳ Ἀνδρόνικος Βυζάντιος εὖ πράττειν ('Andronikos of Constantinople greets the noble and learned lord Palla Strozzi');³

(1 June 1462) at the end of a document validating Palla Strozzi's testamentary dispositions,⁴ Kallistos himself adds a few lines in Latin: *ego Andronicus filius Alexii Constantinopolitanus fui praesens et testor de praesentibus scriptis in die in qua dicta scripta sunt facta* ('I Andronikos, son of Alexios, of Constantinople, was present and witness to the present agreements on the day the things that had been written were carried out);

(26 April 1464) in a Latin letter by Francesco Filelfo to Alberto Parisi,⁵ Andronikos is referred to as *Byzantius*, that is 'Constantinopolitan';⁶

1 The importance of the information emerging from the *rotuli* – edited in Dallari 1888, 51, 62, 64–65, 67, 70 – has been first pointed out by Perosa 1953, 8.

2 The misspelled form *Andromachus* appears also in Theodoros Gazes' will preserved in codex Vat. Reg. lat. 1899; see Dorez 1893, 4.

3 For the letter, part of the Piancastelli collection kept at the library of Forlì, see the discussion *infra*, § 1.3.3 and Plate 9.

4 Ferrara, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Bentivoglio, Sezione Patrimoniale, busta 6, fascicolo 35, carta 2. See Gentile 1992, 299–300. For a reproduction, see *infra*, § 2.4.2.

5 See De Keyser 2015a, 1009. Perosa 1953, 7 mistakenly referred this letter to 4 April.

6 Thus can be observed the archaizing use both in Greek (Βυζάντιος) and Latin (*Byzantius*) of this adjective for indicating a provenance from Constantinople.

- (27 April 1464) in a letter in Greek written by Filelfo to Kallistos himself, the heading reads: Φραγκίσκος ὁ Φιλέλφος Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ χάρειν ('Francesco Filelfo greets Andronikos of Constantinople');⁷
- (29 April 1464) similarly, Filelfo addresses another Greek epistle to Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Βυζάντιος;⁸
- (31 October 1464) in a Latin letter from Filelfo to Alberto Parisi, Andronikos' name is again associated with the adjective *Byzantius*;⁹
- (c. 1468) in the manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 198 Andronikos signed his poem in praise of Bessarion's book *In Calumniatorem Platonis* again as Ἀνδρόνικος Βύζαντιος;¹⁰
- (1471–1473) the ledgers of *Entrata e uscita del Camerlengo del Monte Comune*, refer to regular thrimonthly payments to 'Messer Andronico Callisto da Constantinopoli', from September 1471 until October 1473;¹¹
- (c. 1473) in the ms. Turin, Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti, NN.V.7 (fol. 50r), the author of the two Greek compositions written in memory of Albiera degli Albizi is referred to as *Andronicus Byzantius*;
- (c. 1473–1474) the heading of the prefatory letter to the translation of Aristotle's treatise *De generatione et corruptione*, prepared in Florence by Kallistos for Lorenzo il Magnifico, reads: *Andronicus Callistus Byzantius clarissimo viro Laurentio Medici Florentino salutem*;¹²
- (21 March 1475) in a letter sent by Galeazzo Maria Sforza, duke of Milan, to his *referendarius* in Cremona, the ruler mentions 'Andronico da Costantinopoli doctore greco';¹³
- in an undated ode by Filelfo, addressed to Ἀνδρόνικος Βυζάντιος, lines 5–6 read: τόνδε (*scil.* Ἀνδρόνικον) Βύζαντος πόλις ὡς ἀρίστη | γείναθ' ('as Constantinople, the noblest city, gave him birth').¹⁴

⁷ The text has been published in Legrand 1892, 110–111 (epist. 62); see now De Keyser 2015a, 1009–1010.

⁸ See Legrand 1892, 111–112 (epist. 63) and De Keyser 2015a, 1012.

⁹ See De Keyser 2015a, 1061–1077.

¹⁰ See more *infra*, § 1.3.2.

¹¹ See again *infra*, § 1.6.

¹² See Rashed 2011, 203.

¹³ Milano, Archivio di Stato, Registro missive, no. 121, fol. 56r; see Cammelli 1942, 202.

¹⁴ Legrand 1892, 203–205.

On the basis of such evidence, Andronikos' latest biographers, Giuseppe Cammelli and Emilio Bigi,¹⁵ rejected the hypothesis of a Thessalonian origin suggested by Christian Friedrich Boerner more than two centuries ago.¹⁶ There are two sources which qualify Andronikos as native of Thessaloniki. Firstly, Giorgio Merula's (1430–1494) *Emendationes in Plinium*, in which the lectures at the *Studium Bononiense* about Theocritus are said to have been held by *Andronicus Thessalonicensis*.¹⁷ Secondly, book XXI of Raffaele Maffei da Volterra's (1451–1522) *Commentarii Urbani*, where the author does not seem to show any doubt concerning Thessaloniki as Andronikos' city of origin.¹⁸

On the one hand, it is undeniable that the indication *Constantinopolitanus*, written by Kallistos himself in Palla Strozzi's will, presents Andronikos' desire to be identified in the West as Constantinopolitan. The recurrence of the adjective *Byzantius*/*Βυζάντιος*, as in the letter addressed to Palla and in Filelfo's Greek and Latin epistles, indicates the same aim. On the other hand, however, it is difficult to explain away Giorgio Merula's and Volterranus' further comments, which explicitly speak of Andronikos as a Greek from Thessaloniki. These comments seem to provide more detailed information about Kallistos' geographical provenance. In addition, one should not forget that Thessaloniki was the native city of Theodoros Gazes, Andronikos' *necessarius*,¹⁹ *consanguineus*²⁰ and *consobrinus*.²¹ The uncertainty between Constantinople and Thessaloniki is still

15 See Cammelli 1942, 106 ('Che Andronico Callisto fosse nato a Costantinopoli sembra cosa da non porsi in dubbio') and Bigi 1961 ('Mancano precise notizie sulla data della sua nascita [...] è certo invece che egli nacque a Costantinopoli, e non a Tessalonica, come sulla base di una notizia del Volterrano aveva affermato il Boerner').

16 See Boerner 1750, 165.

17 *Et sane, ut liberius loquar, errores pudendos et temerarios fecere, qualis ille est quem in trigesimo primo notavimus; id quod arguit Andronicum Thessalonicensem praeceptorem nostrum hos minime iuisse. Nam is, quum olim Theocritum Bononiae mihi interpretaretur, de Crathide ea exposuit quae in Plinio iam legeramus moxque a Strabone tractata invenimus, et Crathim fluvium dici, non Catharim* (ed. Venice 1474 = *ISTC* im00504000); see on the subject Dionisotti 1968, 160.

18 *Andronicus item Thessalonicensis praeceptor in Graeca disciplina secundum Theodorum habebatur, forte et lingua patria superior* (see Cammelli 1942, 193 n. 1). Boerner's argument, which identifies Thessaloniki as Kallistos' birthplace, rested on Maffei's account.

19 See De Keyser 2015a, 1285–1286.

20 See Leone 1990, 62–63, epist. 9 (edited also in Legrand 1892, 331–332).

21 See Dorez 1893, 4.

found in even the most recent scholarship,²² given the absence of decisive evidence.²³ I believe that the most plausible hypothesis remains, for the moment, the one which Antonio Rollo suggested some years ago: Andronikos was born in Thessaloniki, and then, in his early youth, moved to Constantinople to study, thus shaping his cultural personality in the capital.²⁴

Be that as it may, lacking archival evidence or explicit statements, we are unable to say exactly *when* he was born. On the basis of the only indication of age (διὰ γῆρας, ‘because of my old age’) given by Andronikos himself in his letter of the year 1476 written to Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos, we assume, however, that Kallistos was born between the first and second decade of the fifteenth century and was therefore a contemporary of Gazes and Bessarion.²⁵

The second point of discussion concerns the form in which the full name of Andronikos is recorded in the accounts of his contemporaries.²⁶ One variant is countersigned by name and surname concurring morphologically in the same case, e.g. Ἀνδρόνικος Κάλλιστος in the nominative. The other variant always bears the surname declined in the genitive case (Καλλίστου), as if some sort of patronymic.²⁷

22 For Constantinople, see, for instance, the section dedicated to Andronikos Kallistos in Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 131; in favour of Thessaloniki argues Russell 2013, 132–133.

23 This cannot be the case of the colophon applied by an anonymous hand on the margin of fol. 189v of Mutin. α U.9.10, a codex from Kallistos’ collection: ἐπὶ ἔτους, ς᾽αλη΄ μ(η)νὶ μαρτίῳ εἰς τὰς κθ΄ ἡμέρας δ΄ παρέλ(α)βε Εἰσομαηλῆ τὴν μ(εγὰ)λλ(η)ν πόλ(ιν) Θησαλονίκη (‘In the year 6938 [= 1430], on Wednesday 29 March, Ismael conquered the large city of Thessaloniki’). This record has been improperly linked with Andronikos’ stay in that city by Centanni 1984–1985, 201; on the contrary, it refers to the fall of Thessaloniki. One finds another record on the same folio referring to the pillage of the Isle of Lefkada on 26 May 1430.

24 I quote here a passage from Rollo 2006a, 369: ‘È possibile che Andronico, nato a Tessalonica, si fosse trasferito precocemente a Costantinopoli, e che avesse in seguito di proposito sovrapposto al dato biografico reale quello ideale: nella capitale bizantina aveva condotto i suoi studi, lì aveva formato la sua personalità culturale, da lì era partito alla volta dell’Occidente in cerca di fortuna’. See also Boerner 1750, 165.

25 The fact that Andronikos had reached a venerable age by the time of his departure from Italy seems to be confirmed by the testimony of Raffaele Maffei da Volterra: *demum in Galliam comatam penetravit [...] ubi parvo post tempore, cum esset iam magnopere senex, morbo exstinctus est* (see Cammelli 1942, 199, 213). However, this remains a problematic source, which may have contaminated information about different people; see *infra*, § 1.5 and 1.7.

26 This issue was first presented in Pontani 1989, 127 n. 77.

27 If it were the case, Κάλλιστος might have been the name of an ancestor (that is, e.g., a grandfather or a great-grandfather), since Andronikos’ father’s name was certainly Alexios and not Kallistos, a fact witnessed in the will of Palla Strozzi; see *supra*, § 1.1 and *infra*, § 2.4.2.

This 'mixed' form in most occurrences has an article between the two names (Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Καλλίστου), and is witnessed in a number of epistolary testimonies, which will be discussed in detail later within this chapter: 1. a passage from a letter by Cardinal Bessarion addressed to Theodoros Gazes, convincingly dated by David Speranzi to the second half of the year 1453;²⁸ 2. a group of three letters all dating from May to June 1462, sent to Andronikos and Michael Apostoles from the baths of Viterbo again by Cardinal Bessarion and his attaché, Nikolaos Sekundinos;²⁹ 3. two letters by Theodoros Gazes to Andronikos written in <1472>;³⁰ 4. a testimony by Konstantinos Laskaris in the form of a letter to Juan Pardo written after 1476.³¹

On the other hand, compelling arguments support the validity of the form where both names agree in case, Ἀνδρόνικος Κάλλιστος; 1. that form was used by Andronikos himself to sign a brief poem in praise of Homeric poetry, which he placed at the end of the *Batrachomyomachia* in Vat. gr. 1314 (fol. 15v);³² 2. in the manuscript tradition of the aforementioned letters by Bessarion and Sekundinos, there is considerable fluctuation between the two forms;³³ 3. in the Latin correspondence by Italian humanists who became acquainted with Andronikos there is always a concordance between the two terms (i.e., nom. *Andronicus Callistus*, gen. *Andronici Callisti*, and so on).

28 See *infra*, § 1.2.2. The text of this letter is handed down in the last codicological unit of Marc. gr. Z. 527, in the hand of Bessarion's protégé Alexios Keladenos.

29 Two letters out of three are by Bessarion (ed. Mohler 1942, 511–513) and one by Nikolaos Sekundinos (ed. Boissonade 1833, 377–387; printed also in *PG* 161, cols 691–696). See *infra*, § 1.3.5.

30 See *infra*, § 1.6. The heading of the letter, copied at fol. 68r of Laur. 55.9 (within a codicological unit in the hand of Alexios Keladenos), reads Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Καλλίστου.

31 See *infra*, § 1.7.

32 See *RGK* I 18; Avezzù 1989–1990, 85 is credited with having correctly deciphered the *monokondylion*.

33 See *infra*, § 1.3.5. I have checked a fair amount of manuscripts transmitting the group of epistles sent to Andronikos by Bessarion and Nikolaos Sekundinos in 1462. Most of them are addressed Ἀνδρόνικῳ τῷ Καλλίστου (see e.g. Vat. Ott. gr. 90, Ambr. F. 88 sup., and Par. gr. 2652), thus displaying the genitive form Καλλίστου. However, there are some remarkable exceptions: this is the case, for instance, of the heading Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Καλλίστῳ at fol. 154v of codex Matr. 4790 (in the hand of Konstantinos Laskaris), as well as of the expression πρὸς Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Κάλλιστον at both fol. 93r of Berol. Phillipps 1616 (in the same hand of the copyist of Par. gr. 2652, <Antonios> [*RGK* II 37]) and fol. 227v of Oxon. Barocci 125. Finally, fol. 167v of Uppsala. gr. 8 presents a bizarre juxtaposition of two forms: in fact, the heading of the first letter reads Ἀνδρονίκῳ τοῦ Καλλίστου (thus declining both article and surname in genitive) and, just a few lines below, one comes across the alternative form Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Κάλλιστον.

The issue cannot be solved based on the documentation currently available. Furthermore, it is impossible to determine here the possible shifts from the one form to the other.³⁴ Hence, this monograph will use the form Ἀνδρόνικος Κάλλιστος, since it is already well rooted in the modern scholarship.

1.2 First traces of Androkinos' activity (before 1453)

1.2.1 An Italian sojourn before Constantinople's fall?

The time and circumstances of Andronikos' arrival in Italy present another challenging question to the reassessment of his biographical profile. One problematic source is the ode addressed to him by Francesco Filelfo.³⁵ Lines 9–12 of this short poem read: οὗτος ἐν ψυχῇ μέγα τι φρονήσας | γαῖαν ἀρχαίου λέλιπεν Λυκούργου | καὶ διὰ σφοδροῦ πελάγους Λατίνων ἦλθεν ἀκούσων. These verses have been often interpreted as a piece of evidence to support the hypothesis that Kallistos was present in Italy before the fall of Constantinople around the late 1430s and early 1440s. Cammelli first argued that the phrase Λατίνων ἦλθεν ἀκούσων might suggest the arrival in Italy during the council of Ferrara–Florence (1438–1439), for the copious number of Byzantine delegations is widely documented on this occasion. According to another interpretation of Filelfo's verses, the phrase Λατίνων ἦλθεν ἀκούσων could be understood as 'he came here in order to attend classes by Latin scholars', as other Byzantine learned men did.³⁶

In addition to this, it remains common in scholarship³⁷ (mainly relying on Alessandro Perosa's reconstruction)³⁸ that Kallistos' presence in Italy dates to the year 1441. This conclusion rests on three claims: 1. Vespasiano da Bisticci's chronicle of that year stating that Iohannes Argyropulos stayed at the Paduan residence

³⁴ Something similar seems to have happened to the name of the monk Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. The entry no. 20826 within the *PLP* recorded him as Ξανθόπουλος, Νικηφόρος Κάλλιστος; and still, the very first words of his *Historia ecclesiastica* read as follows: Νικηφόρος ὁ Καλλίστου τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν συνέταξεν [...] (see *PG* 145 col. 604).

³⁵ See the editions by Legrand 1892, 203–205 and Cortassa and Maltese 1997, 65–66.

³⁶ According to Guido Cortassa and Enrico V. Maltese, Andronikos was prompted to move to the West by the same desire for wisdom that led, for example, learned men such as Filelfo to move to Greece; see Cortassa and Maltese 1997, 65–66.

³⁷ This is the case of both outdated contributions (see, for instance, Bigi 1961 or Centanni 1984–1985, 201–202) and more recent publications, as e.g. Bossier 2004, XII–XIII, Déroche and Vatin 2016, 885, the short biographical record printed in De Gregorio and Martinelli Tempesta 2018, 215 and Franchi 2019, 333.

³⁸ See Perosa 1953, 7–9.

of Palla Strozzi and that an ‘altro greco dottissimo’ was there too;³⁹ 2. the identification, by Aubrey Diller,⁴⁰ of Andronikos’ handwriting in the colophon of the Par. gr. 1908 (Simplicius, *in Arist. Phys.*), copied by Iohannes Argyropulos for Palla in 1441; 3. the sense of intimacy between Andronikos and Palla Strozzi, which one might infer from a letter by Kallistos addressed to Strozzi in the year 1459⁴¹ and which — as Perosa has argued — can be explained only if one presumes that the two men had known each other for some time.⁴²

The first point, that Kallistos was the anonymous Greek scholar accompanying Argyropulos at Palla’s house in 1441, is merely speculative without further evidence.

The second point, the recognition of Andronikos’ handwriting that Diller suggested some decades ago, needs to be re-examined from both a textual and a palaeographical point of view. The picture below (Fig. 1.1) shows a detail from the lower margin of fol. 213v and is accompanied by a transcription of the text.

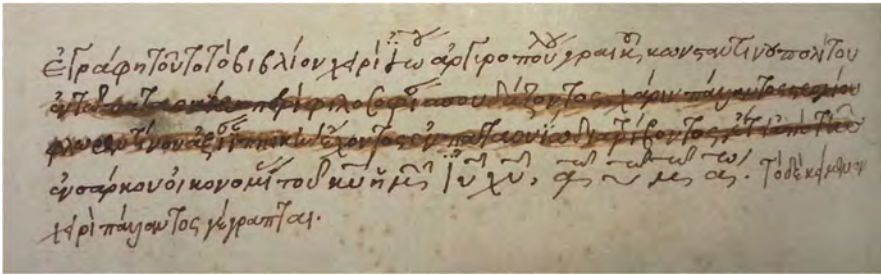


Fig. 1.1: Par. gr. 1908, fol. 213v; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

ἔγγραφη τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον χειρὶ Ἰω(άν)νου Ἀργυροπούλου Γραικοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλιτου |
 ἐν τῷ Παταοῦῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας σπουδάζοντος, χάριν Πάλλαντος Στρογίου | Φλωρεντίνου,

³⁹ See Greco 1976, 159–160.

⁴⁰ Diller 1967, 406–407.

⁴¹ About this letter, now preserved at the Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì, see more *infra*, § 1.3.3. The edition of the Greek text, provided with an English translation, is given *infra*, Appendix 4.

⁴² ‘[...] Al tempo della lettera, tra Andronico e Palla, si sono già stabiliti rapporti di una certa dimestichezza, che presuppongono precedenti contatti personali. Andronico conosce bene Palla, la sua famiglia, la gente di casa; egli ha avuto modo di sperimentare personalmente l’ἔπιεικές e il φιλόανθρωπον di Palla e dei suoi e l’amore di Palla per la lingua greca; ormai è convinto che la loro benevolenza nei suoi riguardi è quella di un tempo e non ha subito alterazioni (ἀμετάβλητον)’ (Perosa 1953, 9–10).

ἀξίαν ἰππικὴν ἔχοντος, ἐν Παταουῖῳ διατρίβοντος, ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς | ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ
κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, α^{-ῶ}υ^{-ῶ}μ^{-ῶ}α^{-ῶ}. τὸ δὲ κείμενον | χειρὶ Πάλλαντος γέγραπται.⁴³

This book has been written by the hand of Iohannes Argyropulos, Greek of Constantinople, in Padua, at the time he was studying philosophy, at the behest of the knight Palla Strozzi of Florence, living in Padua, in the year 1441 from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. The text has been written in the hand of Palla.

What mostly deserves attention is the nature itself of this *subscriptio*. It should be noted that Andronikos is *not* the copyist of the codex, that he did *not* collaborate in its production and that he did *not* contribute to it in any way, either with marginal notes or with interlinear revisions. Indeed, the only pieces of information gathered from the colophon of the Paris codex⁴⁴ are the following: the manuscript has been copied for Palla Strozzi by Iohannes Argyropulos in 1441, at which time he was studying philosophy in Padua (thus achieving a doctoral degree in 1444). The tone of these few lines does not resemble that usually characterizing the colophons placed by scribes while finalising the elaboration of a manuscript. It seems rather akin to that of a recollection, an evocation of an episode of the past. In addition, the meaning of the last sentence ('the text has been written in the

⁴³ As the image shows, lines 2–3 have been crossed out — at a later time — by someone who, for unknown reasons, wanted to erase some of the information presented. The text of this record was transcribed for the first time in Diller 1967, 407.

⁴⁴ Here a brief description: paper, mm 337 × 240, fols V (in parchment) + 214 + VI' (fols I'–III' last of the last quire; fols IV'–VI' in parchment). Quire composition: 21 *quiniones*. After the first sheet of the third quire, seven sheets have been added by Palla Strozzi (see below) to recover a textual loss. Quire numeration: Greek letters in the lower central margin of the first and last sheet. Folding: *in-folio*. Watermarks: a drawing similar to *Monts 24 Harlfinger* is clearly visible throughout the manuscript. Ruling scheme: Sautel–Leroy 20E2 (two columns). Written area: c. 220 × 160 mm. Lines: 40. The codex bears annotations in the hand of Palla Strozzi. Hereby two examples of his contributions. By means of the seven added sheets (fols 22–28), as anticipated, Palla filled a textual gap of codex Parisinus common to several witnesses to the tradition of Simplicius, as Mutin. α V.8.3, written around the year 1522, and Marc. gr. IV 15. In the superior internal margin of fol. 22r Palla recovers part of the text of column b of the previous page (fol. 21v: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τῶν μηνίσκων ψευδογραφίας), and adds: *deinde sequitur in alio exemplari sic ut τινὲς δὲ etc., ibi desunt*. Then, in the supplementary sheets the missing section (= Simpl. *in Arist. Phys.*, ed. Diels 1882, 58,25–69,35, up to the words ὠρισμένοις πως οὕσιν) is copied; the link is marked by a note in the central inner margin of fol. 28v: *sequitur οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ φύσεως μὲν οὐ etc.* The margins of fols 33v–34r are completely occupied by a long passage (84,13 μέρη τὸ ὅλον – 85,26 τῶν μερῶν οὐκ ἔσται), thus being integrated. Finally, there are three notes by Iohannes Argyropulos to Simplicius' text, expressed in a formulation which mixes Greek and Latin: fol. 55r = *credo* τῆλε [in the text τῆδε]; fol. 158v = *credo* ἀπείρου λόγος [in the text κενοῦ τόπος]; fol. 162v = *credo* οὕσιν [in the text ἔχουσιν].

hand of Palla') is still in need of interpretation. The key to solving the problem is given by another document, the will of Palla Strozzi. In describing the manuscript which was to be donated upon his death to the monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua, Palla wrote these lines:

Un volume in bombigina con assi con un poco di chuoio rosso di sotto. Expositione di Simplicio in greco sopra tre primi libri della phisica d'Aristotile, el qual non è di mia mano, ma è di mano di messer Giovanni Argiropolo greco di Constantinopoli, el quale io gli feci scrivere quando egli fu qui in Padova a Studio nel 1441.⁴⁵

These lines convey exactly the same information given by Andronikos in Par. gr. 1908. The text (τὸ κείμενον) he is referring to is therefore that of the colophon itself, which represents a translation and a verbatim quotation from Strozzi's last will, written in the very hand of Palla (χεῖρὶ Πάλλωντος) in 1462. This observation is complemented with palaeographic considerations concerning the writing style of these lines, the *ductus* of fol. 213v of Par. gr. 1908 being comparable to 'mature' samples of Andronikos handwriting. As it will become clear in the following chapters, it could not be definitively dated to the beginning of the 1440s; rather, it would perfectly fit the year 1462, that is, at the end of the period of Kallistos' consistently documented (although not uninterrupted) stay at Palla Strozzi's residence in Padua.

Third, the sense of familiarity, which Alessandro Perosa used to identify Kallistos with the anonymous scholar living at Palla's house in 1441, no longer seems as compelling as before, since palaeographic and historical evidence has recently emerged, which shows Kallistos and Palla Strozzi were in contact with each other at least since 1457.⁴⁶

In summary, there are no compelling arguments to substantiate the claim that Andronikos arrived in Italy in the early 1440s, whether for the Council or for the purpose of study.

1.2.2 Between Constantinople and Crete

In a recent article devoted to a chapter in the textual tradition of Quintus of Smyrna, Stefano Martinelli Tempesta has republished, translated and discussed part of one of Bessarion's famous letters. Handed down in the Marc. gr. Z. 527 (fols

⁴⁵ Ferrara, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Bentivoglio, Sezione Patrimoniale, busta 6, fascicolo 34, carte 21–22. See Fiocco 1964, 295–296.

⁴⁶ See *infra*, § 1.3.3.

240r–244v, copied by Alexios Keladenos),⁴⁷ these are all anepigraphic and undated. In particular, Martinelli Tempesta’s discussion concerns the penultimate letter (no. 34 in Mohler),⁴⁸ which is without a doubt addressed to Theodoros Gazes.⁴⁹ It concerns some books which Bessarion intends either to recover (a codex of Theophrastus lent to Giovanni Tortelli) or to have copied (some works by Quintus Smyrnaeus and Galen). The Cardinal is apparently away from Rome, busy with the Bolognese diplomatic delegation. An entire paragraph is devoted to Andronikos Kallistos:

Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Καλλίστου, ὃν ἄλλοτε συνέστησας ἡμῖν, ὅτε ἐπιλαθόμενοι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθημεν πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος οὐδέν, φιλοῦμεν μὲν καὶ διὰ σέ, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ καὶ δι’ αὐτόν. χρηστὸς γὰρ καὶ μέτριος ἀνὴρ καὶ σπουδαῖος καὶ ὅλως σοί τε καὶ τῇ σῇ συγγενείᾳ προσήκων. δεδιώς δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ Πλάτωνα λέγω,⁵⁰ ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου δόξαν ἀποφαινομαί, οὐ φαύλου ζῶου, ἀλλ’ εὐμεταβόλου, πλήν πάνυ ὀλίγων τινῶν καὶ εἰς ὀλίγα.⁵¹

Regarding Andronikos Kallistos, whom you have recommended to us on another occasion, since thereupon we did not provide you any answer due to our forgetfulness, <be aware of the fact that> we respect him on your account no less than his own: he is, in fact, an honest man, measured, gifted, by all means worthy of you and of being your relative. But I say this, following Plato, with concern, as I am uttering an opinion about a human being, which, while not a worthless creature, is nevertheless an inconstant one, save in very few instances and on rarest occasions.

The tone of the letter suggests that Andronikos, ‘an honest man, measured, gifted’ and worthy of being a relative of Theodoros, had recently arrived in Bologna in front of Bessarion, seeking employment through Gazes. We learn that this is not the first time the Cardinal has received a recommendation for Kallistos, who was already known to him for his talents. As Martinelli Tempesta argues, the letter must have been produced between 4 July 1453, when Bessarion is informed of the fall of Constantinople, and March 1455, when, following the death of Nicholas V, he quickly returns to Rome for the conclave, and Theodoros moves to Naples.⁵² David Speranzi, while studying the whole *corpus* transmitted by the Marc.

⁴⁷ Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 278–288.

⁴⁸ The text is handed down at fols 243v lin. 14–244r lin. 23 of Marc. gr. Z. 527.

⁴⁹ Diller 1977 identified the addressee, thus correcting the mistaken identification with Michael Apostoles by Mohler 1942, 478–484. For further details on the subject, see Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 270 n. 30 and Speranzi 2017, 146.

⁵⁰ See ps.-Plat. *Epist.* 13, 360c–d.

⁵¹ I give here the text as edited by Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 280.

⁵² Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 282–285.

gr. Z. 527, was able to go further into the details, defining more precisely the time-frame in which the letter was written, that is the last months of the year 1453.⁵³

Therefore, Bessarion's letter to Theodoros — the first reference to Andronikos Kallistos' presence in Italy — bears evidence for his stay in Bologna by end of the year 1453 and the beginning of 1454. It remains unclear, however, how long Andronikos had been living in the country before seeking Bessarion's support through Gazes, and where he had spent most of his time immediately before turning to Italy. By means of non-systematic studies of his manuscripts, nothing has yet emerged attesting to any 'Eastern' activity of Kallistos. In other words, the lack of indisputable philological, palaeographic, and codicological evidence has made it so far impossible to identify any manuscript testifying Andronikos' activity before the second half of 1453.

As previously noticed, Kallistos most probably studied in Constantinople, the city he 'felt' he came from, even if Thessaloniki were his birthplace. While in the capital, Andronikos certainly had the chance to buy the books he needed during his education and to make copies of them.⁵⁴ No indisputable evidence links any manuscripts marked by Kallistos' handwriting to his study in Constantinople; however, some books in his hand can be localised within the territories of the erstwhile Byzantine Empire because of their palaeographic and codicological features.

This is the case of Par. Suppl. gr. 541,⁵⁵ a small *in-quarto* paper manuscript of miscellaneous content nearly entirely handwritten by Kallistos (see Plate 1). A few leaves (136r–154v) are the work of an anonymous scribe (Fig. 1.2) — whose writing resembles Thomas Bitzimanos' — not convincingly identified in the past with Georgios Gregoropoulos.⁵⁶

⁵³ See Speranzi 2017, 143–162.

⁵⁴ A discussion on the manuscripts purchased in the Byzantine East will follow in the chapter dedicated to the development of Kallistos' book collection; see *infra*, § 2.1 and 3.1.

⁵⁵ For a description, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 43).

⁵⁶ The identification with Gregoropoulos has been first suggested in Harlfinger 1971, 411 and then included in *RGK* II 78, on which Centanni 1984–1985, 217 and Cataldi Palau 1998, 505 build upon.

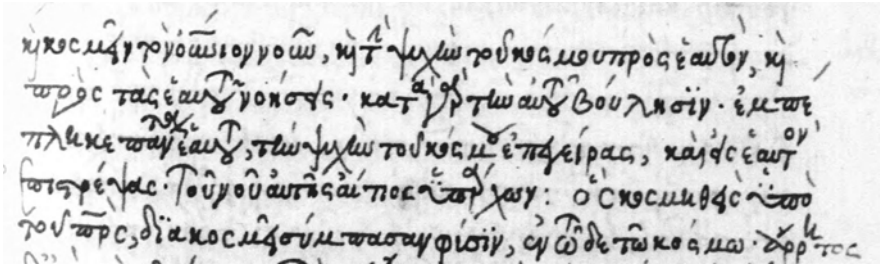
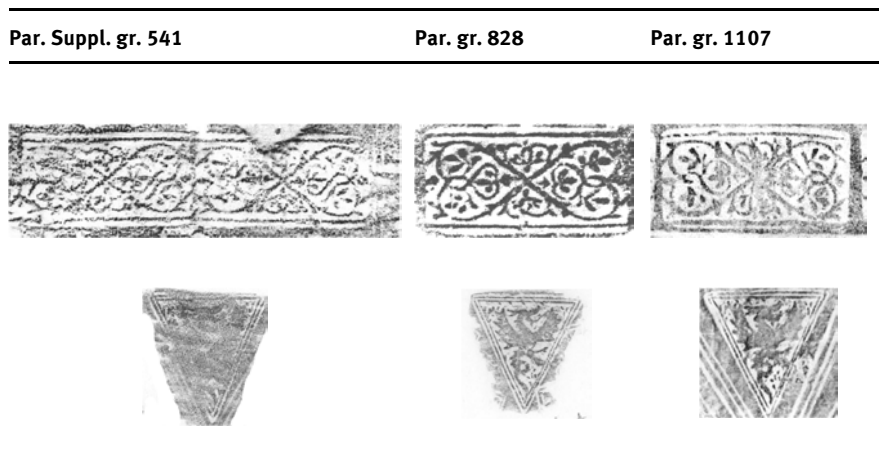


Fig. 1.2: Par. Suppl. gr. 541, fol. 137r; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

There is, in addition, a third (anonymous) scribe at <fol. 201v>, who has been overlooked and to whom we will return later.⁵⁷ A homogeneous composite, the Paris codex is particularly relevant to our study, as it still preserves its original Byzantine binding. Two experts in this field, Dominique Grosdidier de Matons and François Vinourd, recognized this binding to be of Cretan manufacture. The decorations are typical of the products modelled on the island; they are comparable, for instance, with well-known Cretan codices, like Par. gr. 828 and 1107, linked to Michael Apostoles' environment (see Table 1.1).⁵⁸

⁵⁷ I found the same hand collaborating with Kallistos in other manuscripts likely copied in Crete; see *infra*, § 2.1.1.2.

⁵⁸ I would like to thank Christian Förstel, curator of the manuscript department at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, for allowing me to access a detailed description of the codex. A very similar binding is found in Monac. gr. 449, of which the Cretan Michael Lygizos is partially the scribe (fols 1r–13v, colophon applied in Gortyna in the year 1464/1465; see *RGK I* 282). One comes across a similar binding in codex Salmanticensis 17, investigated by Martínez Manzano 2014, 250–252 (see also Martínez Manzano 2010, 510–515, with plate VI). I take advantage of this footnote for a brief observation. The Cretan origin of the bindings of these manuscripts is not in dispute; this does not imply, though, that every single text contained in them originated in Crete. It should always be borne in mind that many books may have been produced theoretically elsewhere before landing on the island, as the quires may have been kept untied for a long time.

Table 1.1: Samples of Cretan bindings.

The analysis of the watermarks found in Par. Suppl. gr. 541 confirms its production around the mid-fifteenth-century. There are three drawings: *Enclume sommée d'une croix*, similar to Briquet 5955/5956 (1425–1452, known in several similar variations);⁵⁹ *Monts dans un cercle*, vaguely similar to Briquet 11882 (Venice, 1457–1459);⁶⁰ and *Fleur*, identical to Briquet 6306 (1438–1455, variously localized)⁶¹.

The watermark *Fleur* deserves particular attention. With regard to Greek manuscripts, it has been filed under no. 80 in Dieter and Johanna Harlfinger's catalogue, after being found in Marc. gr. Z. 606, a book completed by Theodoros Agallianos in 1446.⁶² On the one hand, this further confirms the 'Byzantine' origin of Par. Suppl. gr. 541 before 1453; on the other, it provides indications concerning the place of production of the volume. From what we learn from the bibliography,⁶³ Agallianos was active mainly in Constantinople, and nothing is said about a stay in Crete. However, by cross-referencing some palaeographic data, I propose a revision to currently-held views. One clue associating the activ-

⁵⁹ See fols 3–137 and in particular fol. 21.

⁶⁰ See fols 218–291 + the central bifolium 319/320.

⁶¹ See the first quire and fols 138–217, 292–353.

⁶² Harlfinger 1974–1980.

⁶³ About his activity and manuscripts see *RGK* I 126 = II 163 = III 208; *PLP* 94; Blanchet 2011 (with further bibliography).

ity of this copyist with the isle of Crete is found in Par. gr. 1919, on which Agallianos collaborated with the well-known Cretan scribe Georgios Tribizias.⁶⁴ Another clue is the fact that some books coming from Agallianos' quill circulated on the island. Vat. gr. 2156, subscribed in 1450,⁶⁵ bears annotations in the hand of Lauro Quirini,⁶⁶ whose presence in Crete dates from 1453 onwards. The activity of Agallianos as scribe, therefore, is not likely to have taken place exclusively in Constantinople, but also in Crete.

Moreover, regarding the analysis of the watermark *Fleur* (Briquet 6306 = Harlfinger 80) found in Par. Suppl. gr. 541, one observes how often this motif occurs in other codices or sections of codices which can in all likelihood be traced back to mid-fifteenth-century Crete: Ambr. M 41 sup., partly copied by the Cretan scribe Michael Lygizos;⁶⁷ Haun. Fabr. 63,4^o and Par. gr. 2008,⁶⁸ both in the hand of Lygizos; the second codicological unit (= fols 57–142) of Ambr. C 47 sup., copied by the hand of the Cretan copyist Georgios Tribizias;⁶⁹ Par. gr. 2803, a manuscript entirely in the hand of Tribizias;⁷⁰ Haun. NkS 6,4^o, a codex copied by a Cretan hand in the writing-style τῶν Ὀδηγῶν.⁷¹

Data coming from studies of textual criticism support the hypothesis of a Cretan origin of most of the texts contained in the codex Par. Suppl. gr. 541. The text of Aristotle's *Mechanica* (fols 155v–169r, watermark *Fleur*), for instance, is akin to the one handed down in Marc. gr. IV 57,⁷² copied in Crete (Heraklion) by the *protopapas* Iohannes Symeonakes⁷³ before 1446. As a result of my collation, which

64 For times and length of Tribizias' stay on the island of Crete see now Speranzi 2016a, 143–158 (with reference to further bibliography).

65 See *RGK* III 208.

66 See Stefec 2012b, 149 n. 195.

67 See Harlfinger 1974–1980; for the identification of the scribe, see Harlfinger 1971, 414 and *RGK* I 282.

68 See respectively Schartau 1994, 396 and Young 1953, 23 (where the copyist was mistakenly believed to be Emmanuel Atramyttenos; the correct identification with Lygizos is to be found in *RGK* I 282 = II 386)

69 See a description of this item in Stefec 2014, 151–152. The first unit of the codex is by the monk Gregorios; the first identification is by Stefec 2010a, 71 (still mentioned as *Anonymus* KB Harlfinger, later specified in Stefec 2014, 137). For the verification of the watermark, see Dorandi 2009, 20.

70 See Liakou-Kropp 2002, 183–186.

71 See Schartau 1994, 284.

72 See van Leeuwen 2016, 31, 56, 68. According to Bottecchia 1982, 84, codex Parisinus (*siglum* P^s) happened to be even a direct copy of the codex Marcianus (*siglum* U^m) (a description of which is found in Mioni 1972, 246–247).

73 For his activity as scribe, see *RGK* I = 184 II = 244 III 306.

has shed light on the original features of the text,⁷⁴ the verses of the so-called pseudo-Phocylides (fols 54r–57v, watermark *Enclume*) can be traced back to a source common to many books produced in Crete.⁷⁵ Accordingly, Rudolf S. Stefec pointed out that for the Greek version of Boethius' *De consolatione* (fols 200v–315v, watermark *Fleur*) the manuscript Par. Suppl. gr. 541 is a *Schwesterhandschrift* to Vind. Phil. gr. 51, which was realized from a lost source at the time of the arrival in Crete of refugees from Constantinople.⁷⁶ Finally, with regard to Iohannes Peditasimos' commentary on Cleomedes (fols 33v–52r, watermark *Enclume*), Paula Caballero Sánchez recently demonstrated the dependence of the Paris manuscript of Kallistos on a source (now lost) that must have been on the island of Crete between the second and third quarter of the century.⁷⁷ Among the apographs of this source, she identified the manuscript Oxon. Barocci 111, in the hand of the aforementioned Symeonakes and the Ambr. M 34 sup., copied by Lygizos. The possibility, therefore, that Kallistos did spend some time in Crete at a certain point of his career is worth considering. In this regard, in the following chapters evidence will be presented that a number of manuscripts have to be linked to Kallistos' graphic and scholarly activity on the island.⁷⁸

A decisive hint comes from a so far unknown draft letter, dating to the years 1472–1474, written by Michael Apostoles. The letter, which has recently been published from Par. Mazarine 4461,⁷⁹ gives us confirmation of the steps of Andronikos' career between East and West. Apostoles claims he could have already met Kallistos for a discussion, if he had liked it, ἔν τε Κρήτη ἔν τε Βωνωνία καὶ Ῥώμη καὶ αὐτοῦ γε ἐν Φλωρεντία ('in Crete, Bologna, Rome and also there in Florence'),⁸⁰ thus mentioning the places where Andronikos resided between the 1450s and the 1470s.

74 That is, the text before correction. One of the issues with the critical edition by Derron (1986) is that the editor did not distinguish the original text from later corrections. Though they are likewise in the hand of Kallistos, they are in a different ink. In all likelihood they were applied when Andronikos was already living in Italy, since they derive from a comparison with Vat. gr. 915, i.e. a manuscript that circulated at Bessarion's house.

75 These manuscripts are: Par. gr. 2008, in the hand of Lygizos; Laur. Redi 15, copied by Emmanuel Zacharides (more on this codex in Vendruscolo 1995, 357–362); Par. gr. 2866, partially in the hand of Antonios Damilas; Oxon. Barocci 64 and Lond. Harley 5664, both work of Andreas Donos. These manuscripts have been first grouped together in Derron 1986, XCVIII.

76 See Stefec 2012a, 44–45.

77 See Caballero Sánchez 2018, 122–125, 138–139.

78 See *infra*, § 2.1.

79 See Villa 2021.

80 Villa 2021, 448, lines 15–16.

Finally, a piece of literary evidence seems to corroborate this picture. It consists of Andronikos' own words in his *Monody on wretched Constantinople*.⁸¹ In a remarkable passage, full of *pathos*, Kallistos appeals to the still-free Peloponnese⁸² and the other great cities that had been spectators of Byzantium's dramatic fall, addressing them thus:

Ὡ Ῥώμη θεία, τί ποτε δράσεις, τῆς θυγατρὸς γενομένης δούλης; [...] Ὡ Πελοπόννησος δυστυχῆς, νῦν σὺν τοῖς δυσὶν ἀυταδέλφοις τοῦ κλεινοῦ βασιλέως θρηνήσετε, καὶ πέμψετε κοπετούς, αἶμα μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐ δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐκπέμποντες [...] Ὡ θειοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη πόλις τῶν Ἑνετῶν, τί δράσετε, νῦν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὑμῶν καὶ φίλης φθαρείσης;⁸³

O holy Rome, what will you do now that your daughter is a slave? [...] O wretched Peloponnese, now together with the two brothers of the illustrious emperor you will burst into weeping and wailing in grief, blood, rather than tears, gushing from your eyes [...] O holiest and mighty city of the Venetians, what will you do now that your sister and friend has been destroyed?

In this desperate invocation to Rome, the Peloponnese and Venice there is an evident insistence on the second person plural. In the following paragraph, however, there is a sudden switch to the first-person plural:

Ὡ φίλοι Κρητες, τί πάθωμεν νῦν τῆς πικρᾶς ὄρφανίας ἐπεισελθούσης ἡμῖν; Τύψομεν ἤπου τὰ στήθη καὶ ξανούμεν τὰς παρειάς [...] καὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον διάζομεν ὡς τινες ἡμιθνεῖς, ἔλκοντες βίον ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ θανάτου μηδὲν διαφέροντα.⁸⁴

O Cretan friends, what shall we endure now that we are doomed to this bitter condition of orphans? We shall beat our chest and we shall scratch our cheeks [...] we shall spend all our time as if half dead, dragging on a painful life that is no different from death.

These words seem to suggest that Kallistos learnt of Byzantium's fall while living on the island together with his 'Cretan friends', by which might be meant the learned men and scribes with whom he collaborated.

In this sense, perhaps, the allusion to Daedalus in the following lines acquires a new meaning too.

⁸¹ The most important witness to this work is Par. gr. 1774, partially copied by the scribe Konstantios, whose activity might be localised in Crete; see more *infra*, Appendix 2 (where the text of the *Monody* is republished and provided with an English translation).

⁸² The fall of Mystras (1460) is definitely a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Monody*.

⁸³ Lines 480,13–24 ed. Orlandi (see *infra*, Appendix 2).

⁸⁴ Lines 480,27–30 ed. Orlandi (see *infra*, Appendix 2).

Φεῦ τίς Δαίδαλος νῦν με πτερώσας πρὸς τὴν Πόλιν ἀπάξει καὶ στρέψει πάλιν ταχέως;
 Βούλομαι γὰρ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ προσμεῖναι, τὸ μὲν ἵνα περιχυθῶ τοῖς παιδικοῖς καὶ κειμένοις, τὸ
 δ' ἵνα μὴ πολὺν ὀρῶ χρόνον ἃ μὴδ' ἐπαῖειν ἰσχύω.⁸⁵

Alas, which Daedalus could give me wings to go now to the City and bring me back? For I want to see, but not linger, on the one hand embracing what I loved there, on the other not looking too long at what I cannot even stand to hear.

Flying from the Minotaur's labyrinth in Crete with his wings of wax, Daedalus is asked to bring Andronikos back to Constantinople for a last glance and a farewell to the city devastated by the Turks.

Giuseppe Cammelli's old suggestion⁸⁶ (later considered by Agostino Pertusi),⁸⁷ that Kallistos must have learned about Constantinople's fall while still in the East, was up until now unsupported by any concrete evidence. Thanks to these findings, it can now be confirmed as an historical-biographical fact.

1.3 Seeking fortune in Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara (1453–1462)

1.3.1 Copying manuscripts at Bessarion's residence (1453–1455)

Around the end of 1453, as seen, Kallistos had been living for some time with Bessarion. While in Bologna, Andronikos practised the activity of copying manuscripts for a fee more intensively than he would do during the rest of his career in Italy.⁸⁸ Almost all the manuscripts bearing Kallistos' handwriting and owned by the Cardinal can be shown to pertain to this (first) stay in Bologna (1453–1455). The evidence from the material analysis of the manuscripts provides detailed indications of Andronikos' scribal activity during these years.⁸⁹ It is not hard to imagine that Kallistos had intended to remain as close as possible to the Cardinal,

⁸⁵ Lines 482,22–25 ed. Orlandi (see *infra*, Appendix 2).

⁸⁶ Cammelli 1942, 114.

⁸⁷ Pertusi 1976, II, 354: '[...] la monodia lascia chiaramente intendere che egli (*scil.* Andronico) si trovava non lontano dalla città [...]'. On the contrary, Botley 2019, 182 seems still convinced that Andronikos was in Constantinople at the time of the fall: 'He was in the city when it fell to the Ottomans in 1453'.

⁸⁸ Kallistos was to copy again manuscripts for Cardinal Bessarion in the late 1460s while in Rome; see more *infra*, § 2.3.1.

⁸⁹ See *infra*, § 2.1.3.

thus hoping to secure a more solid settlement through his intercession. Nevertheless, an unforeseen event was to force Bessarion to leave Bologna suddenly: the delegation ended between 23 and 24 March 1455, when the Cardinal left for Rome after Pope Nicholas V's sudden death.

1.3.2 Andronikos Kallistos, Andronikos Kallipolites, and Andronikos Kontoblakas

Contrary to general belief, Andronikos Kallistos was not in Pavia in the spring of 1456. This information had been gathered from some Greek letters⁹⁰ sent by Filelfo to a certain Andronikos Kallipolites.⁹¹ The identification of Andronikos Καλλιπολίτης with Andronikos Κάλλιστος, mainly found in outdated publications⁹² (but also in recent ones),⁹³ turned out to be unfounded. The tendency to merge the two figures has been prompted by several peculiar coincidences: 1. this Andronikos Kallipolites appears to have a good — and not merely epistolary — relationship with Francesco Filelfo, just like Kallistos; 2. in a letter to Kallipolites, Filelfo introduces one of his young students eager to learn Greek, Bonaccorso of Pisa,⁹⁴ the same person who was to complete the purchase of Kallistos' library in 1475 in Milan together with Giovanni Francesco Della Torre;⁹⁵ 3. Filelfo asks (in vain) Kallipolites to allow him to consult (and possibly have a copy of) a manuscript with the difficult grammatical text by Apollonius Dyscolus⁹⁶ — a request

90 The text of these two letters (with a French translation) is edited in Legrand 1892, 80–82 (epist. 41), 83–84 (epist. 43), 85–86 (epist. 44). See now De Keyser 2015a, 657–658, 659–660, 665–666. For checking some readings, one can also consult the manuscript Trivultianus 873 (fols 164r–165r).

91 *PLP* 10429.

92 See Calderini 1913, 256–257 and Diller 1967, 407 n. 4.

93 See Botley 2002, 202; Botley 2006, 414 n. 66; Martinelli Tempesta 2009, 9; Monfasani 2018, 414; Botley 2019, 184 n. 25; Monfasani 2019, 20–21. In the newly published critical edition of Filelfo's Greek-Latin epistolary by Jeroen De Keyser the question of identity of these figures is not outlined, thus completely equating Andronikos Καλλιπολίτης = Andronikos Βυζάντιος = Andronikos Κάλλιστος; see for this the entry in the general index (De Keyser 2015a, 2169). I shall take advantage of this footnote to mention that in the past the figure of Andronikos Galesiotes (*PLP* 3526) was also unduly superimposed on that of Kallistos in the bibliography; Scaduto 1982, 344, 460, 466 is in this respect misleading.

94 Legrand 1892, 80–82 (epist. 41). See De Keyser 2015a, 657–658. A biographical account on Bonaccorso is given in Ballistreri 1969.

95 See *infra*, § 3.2.

96 Legrand 1892, 83–84 (epist. 43). See now De Keyser 2015a, 659–660.

which was to be repeated some years later (in 1461) to Andronikos Kallistos himself, through a letter to Palla Strozzi.⁹⁷

More than a hundred years ago, Theodor Klette convincingly demonstrated the impossibility of identifying Andronikos Καλλιπολίτης with Andronikos Κάλλιστος.⁹⁸ The German scholar's argument mainly relied on the cross analysis of two pieces of evidence: a Latin letter⁹⁹ dating 6 August 1466, sent by Filelfo to the *protonotarius* Catone (or Catanio) Spinola living in Genoa; a Greek letter¹⁰⁰ sent by Filelfo again to Andronikos Kallistos, dating 28 August 1466. In the first letter, Filelfo informs Catone that he has finally found the Greek teacher he was looking for: a *vir graecus genere et callipolites, sed non graece solum in omni doctrinae genere praestantissimus, verum latinis etiam musis deditissimus charissimusque*, named Andronikos, who will be soon moving to Spain seeking for fortune. According to the letter, however, the Greek teacher would prefer to settle, upon adequate payment, in Genoa at Catone's, rather than moving to Salamanca. In the second letter — to which we will return later — Filelfo congratulates Andronikos Βυζάντιος (= undoubtedly Kallistos) for having managed to leave Bologna and having settled in Rome at Bessarion's house. In addition to this incongruence, which in itself makes it impossible to identify the two Ἀνδρόνικοι, one should consider also the toponym Καλλιπολίτης, indicating a provenance from Gallipoli (the modern-day Turkish city of Gelibolu, formerly Καλλίπολις).¹⁰¹ In Filelfo's Greek-Latin epistolary, this indication accompanies both the addressee of all three Greek letters written in 1456 and, ten years later, the same figure mentioned in the Latin letter from 1466 to Catone Spinola. In contrast to this, the denomination Βυζάντιος/Byzantius is always attached to Kallistos. It has never been noticed that, instead of Kallistos, the profile of Andronikos Kallipolites would better fit to another namesake obscure émigré, that is, Andronikos Kontoblakas.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ See *infra*, § 1.3.5.

⁹⁸ Klette 1890, 93–97.

⁹⁹ See De Keyser 2015a, 1190–1191.

¹⁰⁰ See Legrand 1892, 123–125 (epist. 72) = De Keyser 2015a, 1191–1192.

¹⁰¹ I have examined the possibility that the denomination Καλλιπολίτης could mean 'native of the Καλλίπολις *par excellence*', thus indicating a Byzantine from Constantinople. I encountered the employment of the epithet καλλίπολις in reference to the city of Byzantium by classical authors; see the case of Themistius (*Or.* 3, 63,2 Downey; *Or.* 6, 123,6 Downey; *Or.* 34, 219,17 Downey – Norman). However, it seems not convincing that Filelfo might have sporadically referred to Andronikos Kallistos with this epithet (instead of the usual Βυζάντιος/Byzantius).

¹⁰² *PLP* 13053.

Some short works of this Byzantine scholar remain, even though his handwriting has not yet been identified: 1. a speech, composed in Latin and praising the study of Greek literature,¹⁰³ which is likely to have been composed at the time of his stay in Italy; 2. an elementary grammatical course for beginners;¹⁰⁴ 3. an invective against the citizens of Brescia.¹⁰⁵ All three suggest that he was active as lecturer for the Greek language and literature. Kontoblakas is known to have spent most of his time in the north of the peninsula (i.e. Lombardy and Veneto, where the activity of Andronikos Kallipolites is recorded too), apparently between the 1450s and the 1460s, and to have been in contact with some Italian scholars, to whom he surprisingly seemed to have had a very bad relationship. A witness to this is, for example, the invective written by him against the citizens of Brescia, who had imprisoned him for six months. It might not be a coincidence that in this polemical speech Kontoblakas chooses Francesco Filelfo as a fictive interlocutor and well-respected judge in the dispute. Filelfo is the same learned man the mysterious Andronikos Kallipolites was shown to have good and stable contact with. The unfriendly attitude shown by Kontoblakas was subject to criticism by some Italian scholars at the time, including Pietro Bravi, a learned man from Verona, who in turn wrote an invective against him.¹⁰⁶

103 This speech, transmitted with the title of *Andronici Contoblacae natione greci oratio in laudem litterarum graecarum* (see Vat. Reg. lat. 1557, fols 34r–36v) has been edited and commented in Schmitt 1971, 275–277. With regard to a supposed teaching activity of Kontoblakas in Bologna, Schmitt 1971, 266 apparently committed a mistake by merging the profiles of Kontoblakas and Kallistos.

104 See Rollo 2012, 103 n. 1. The text of Kontoblakas' Εἰσαγωγή is handed down in two manuscripts, Vat. gr. 1822, fols 146r–194r (see a catalogue entry in Canart 1970, 221–222), and Genoa, Durazzo-Pallavicini 234 (B VI 23), fols 1r–44v (see Puncuh 1979, 303–304). In both cases the grammar seems to be copied by hands of Western students; with regard to the scribe of this codicological unit of Vat. gr. 1822, a certain Λάζαρος (RGK III 378), Canart 1970, 222 spoke of 'alumnus quidam occidentalis [...] manu imperita'. The watermarks which have been detected in both manuscripts might indicate a provenance from North-Italy; see e.g. the drawing *Tête humaine* similar to Briquet 15618 [Verona, 1462] found in Vat. gr. 1822, or the drawing *Oiseau* similar to Briquet 12129 [Vicenza, 1473–1478] witnessed in the Genoa codex.

105 As reported by Kristeller II 44, the text is handed down in the manuscript of Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 28 (fols 37v–40v). See Monfasani 1990.

106 See Kristeller II 23. The text of the *Invectiva Petri Bravi Veronensis in quendam greculum Andronicum latini nominis impugnatorem* has been edited from the manuscript Padua, Museo Civico, B.P. 1223, fols 20v–21v in Hankins 2003, 417–419. Hankins thought of Andronikos Kallistos as at the addressee of this invective, but, as was rightly observed, it is certainly Kontoblakas, considering the reference to an imprisonment; see Monfasani 2011, 182 n. 3 and Lamers 2015, 88 n. 96. On Pietro Bravi see Kristeller I 83, II 11, 23, 470, 495; for a sample of his Greek

Kontoblakas knew Bessarion and worked for him for some time (as an assistant or as a scribe, one might guess), but at some point their relationship fell apart. At the foot of a letter sent from Rome (on 13 February 1472) to the Parisian humanist and librarian Guillaume Fichet, the Cardinal accuses Kontoblakas of ingratitude:

Andronicus ille Contoblas, monstrum naturae, ut omnium ignarissimus contemnendus est. Nihili homo est, et non minus indoctus quam ingratus, quandoquidem parum id quod scit domi nostrae didicit et nostro pane nutritus. Valeat cum ingratitude sua!¹⁰⁷

One has to condemn this Andronikos Kontoblakas, a monster of nature, as the most ignorant of all men. He is a good-for-nothing and is no less illiterate than he is ungrateful, for indeed what little he know he owes to our house, and with our bread he has been fed. May he be gone with his ingratitude!

Forced to leave Bessarion's house and seek his fortune elsewhere, Kontoblakas moved to the North. He might be identified with the 'altro Andronico greco' mentioned in a letter to Niccolò Michelozzi by Giuliano de' Medici, a piece of evidence which has never been taken into account.¹⁰⁸ The text of this epistle, written in vernacular Italian and dating 9 August 1473, reports a request by a certain Andronikos to hold Greek classes either in Florence or, if not possible there, in Pisa. It might not be a coincidence, then, that he indicated the city of Pisa, since a school of humanities (giving shelter to other émigrés like Demetrios Kastrenos) had recently been founded there by Bonaccorso, the same person who had learned Greek in the 1450s from Andronikos Kallipolites on the recommendation of Filelfo.¹⁰⁹

handwriting see *RGKI* 345 (Bravi copied in Padua fols 146v–151v of the manuscript Lond. Harley 6290). The same polemical mood emerges in an unpublished exchange of letters between a certain Andronikos (maybe Kontoblakas) and an unknown Gregorios. This correspondence had already caught the attention of Herbert Hunger a few decades ago; see Hunger 1978, 21–22. To my knowledge, the text of these letters, which I plan to publish in the near future, is handed down in five manuscripts: Monac. gr. 265, Vat. gr. 1393, Par. Suppl. gr. 196, Ambr. D 118 inf. and Vall. Carte Allacci 116.

107 The text of the epistle has been edited in Legrand 1892, 235–238 and then in Mohler 1942, 561–563 (no. 77).

108 See Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Ginori Conti, 29.34, carta 2r. The expression 'un altro Andronico greco' is not surprising, for at that time a more 'famous' Andronikos (namely, Kallistos) had already been teaching Greek in Florence at the *Studium* for three years (see *infra*, § 1.6).

109 Might Kallipolites be the 'Andronicus grecus' acknowledged as author of some Latin distichs to Federico da Montefeltro written on the latter's wife's death, Battista Sforza, in 1472. I

Setting this hypothesis aside, which remains in need of further confirmation, Kontoblakas was to leave Italy and spend the rest of his life abroad teaching Greek. The last piece of information we know about him is a letter he sent in 1477 from Basel to his pupil Johann Reuchlin, who was leaving Basel for Paris, in order to encourage him to continue studying Greek.¹¹⁰

1.3.3 Teaching Greek in Ferrara (?), Padua, and Bologna (1455–1459)

It is not known whether on the day of Bessarion's departure from Bologna Andronikos had already been teaching Greek privately in the city for some time. The official position as public lecturer for Greek language at the university was held by Lianoro Lianori¹¹¹ for the academic years 1455/1456, 1456/1457, and 1457/1458; in addition, the employment of Kallistos in Bologna dates at the earliest to the academic year 1458/1459.¹¹²

It is uncertain where Kallistos resided between 1455 and 1458. A brief stay in Ferrara could be assumed for the year 1456, as will be seen in more detail below.¹¹³ Then, it has long been held that Andronikos was present in Rome around 1457,¹¹⁴ as he was believed to have collaborated with the hieromonk Kosmas and Manuel Atrapes in copying the Laur. 60.16, a composite manuscript made of units completed in Rome and dating to 1457. This evidence suggested that Kallistos had left Bologna shortly after the conclusion of Bessarion's legation and resided in Rome between 1456–1457 together with him and other émigrés from his entourage.

transcribe here this short composition from Vat. Urb. lat. 1193, fols 120v–121r: *Tanti fama ducis totum celebrata per orbem / compulit ut caelo collocet ipse suo / Iuppiter atque tuum pateat iam nomen Olympo, / agmine quod fortes Marte viros superas. / Sic ego dum radiis nomen fulgeret ab alto, / protinus exarsi, quo tua sacra colam / numina grata diis musisque dicata serenis, o Federice, salus et decus Italiae.* Cinquini 1908, 250–251 attributed these verses to Kallistos, though we lack any evidence for Kallistos being in contact with Federico da Montefeltro or spending time in Urbino, unlike other Greeks (like Demetrios Kastrenos) did.

110 See Legrand 1892, 238. A record of Kontoblakas' teaching activity in Basel was to be included some years later in the epistolary of Reuchlin himself. In a letter sent by Reuchlin to his brother Dionys on 7 March 1506, he tells that he first learned Greek in classes given by Kontoblakas while living in Basel (i.e. 1474–1477); see on this Schmitt 1971, 267–269.

111 For Lianoro and his Greek manuscripts refer to Martínez Manzano 2015a, in part. 156–171. I recently found Lianoro's writing in <Matr. 10099> (Juvenal), wherein he added some *graeca* (see e.g. fols 40v and 47r).

112 See Dallari 1888, 43.

113 See *infra*, § 1.3.4.

114 See, for instance: Eleuteri 1981, 153; Pietrobelli 2009, 91; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 131.

David Speranzi definitively proved that this reconstruction was wrong by means of a complete codicological investigation of Laur. 60.16. On the contrary, he demonstrated that between 1456 and 1458 Kallistos was mostly somewhere else, far from Rome and from Bessarion's household. First of all, the independent nature of the various units which make up the codex Laurentianus — assembled around 1457 by its owner, that is, Gaspare Zacchi, Bessarion's secretary during the Bolognese legation — became clear.¹¹⁵ Then, Speranzi noticed that the quire written by Andronikos (containing the *Encomium in Gordium martyrem* by Basil of Caesarea), folded as a letter before being bound within the codex, had been sent by Kallistos to Rome via courier, addressed to Zacchi himself.¹¹⁶ Finally, Speranzi suggested that in those years Andronikos was staying in Padua, at Strozzi's residence. This last piece of information is based on the recent discovery of Kallistos' addition of the *graeca* in Ptolemy Par. lat. 17542, manufactured in Padua at Nofri Strozzi's house, son of Palla, in the spring of 1457.¹¹⁷ Therefore, it is not unlikely that Kallistos had been residing for a certain period in Veneto (hosted by the Florentine nobleman), perhaps even since mid-1455, a *terminus post quem* likely being the month of March, as Bessarion suddenly left Bologna for Rome.

115 Speranzi 2016a, 54–70 (with the identification of Zacchi's Greek handwriting).

116 Speranzi 2016a, 62–63. On the verso of the last leaf (fol. 97v) of this *senio* (fols 92–97), Speranzi noted the presence of a now erased note *Romę. Apostolico reverendo protonotario domino G(aspri) Volaterrano*. With reference to the relationship between Andronikos and Gaspare Zacchi I cursorily note the following. In the front-leaf of the codex Lond. Royal 16 C XXIII (for a description of this manuscript, see *British Library* 1999, 238–239; the copyist has been identified with Demetrios Skaranos in Rollo 2014a, 140–141), I came across a Latin epigram in elegiac distich: *Gaspara qui credit Graios celasse libellos / erratque et recta fallitur ille via, / Andronicoque loquor docto semperque morato / at male de nobis credit ille diu*. These lines seem to suggest that a certain Gaspare was unfairly accused by a certain Andronikos to have stolen — or better, 'hidden from sight' (*celasse*) — some Greek books. The verb *celare* might indicate here Gaspare's lack of willingness to let Andronikos access his Greek manuscripts. Whereas there is no decisive evidence to identify the two characters with Zacchi and Kallistos, one important clue must be taken into account. As pointed out by de Lannoy 1977, VI, XIX, with regard to the text of Philostratus' *Heroicus*, the London manuscript provided with the mention of Gaspare and Andronikos turned out to be the antigraph of Comensis 1.3.19, i.e. a manuscript copied by Andronikos Kallistos (in collaboration with Michael Lygizos; for a description and further bibliography see Stefec 2014, 154–155 and *infra* 6.1 [catalogue entry no. 3]). If this is not coincidental and we are talking about the same people, the London Philostratus could be identified with the manuscript registered at no. 145 (*Idem* [scil. *Philostratus*] *de Eroicis viris de imaginibus et de vitis sophistarum*) in the inventory of Gaspare Zacchi's library; see Di Benedetto 1978, 187.

117 Speranzi 2016a, 213–214.

As anticipated, the *rotuli* on the lecturers at the *Studium Bononiense* record for the year 1458/1459 the teaching activity of a certain ‘Andromachus Constantinopolitanus’, whom Perosa first identified with Kallistos.¹¹⁸ This experience, though, must not have been highly gratifying for him. Palla Strozzi is the addressee of a famous letter, currently kept among the manuscripts of the Collezione Piancastelli in the Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì (see Plate 9),¹¹⁹ which confirms Kallistos’ presence in Bologna in 1459. The letter dates from 28 April; there is no explicit indication of the year, but the information is easily deduced from the reference to the arrival in Bologna of Pope Pius II, travelling together with Cardinal Bessarion towards the Council of Mantua. From these lines Kallistos’ desire to meet the Cardinal and then immediately return to Padua at Strozzi’s residence clearly emerges. It is likely that Andronikos did as he intended and moved to reside permanently in Padua at the end of the spring of 1459. For after this date the Bolognese *rotuli* lack further information and no epistolary or documentary evidence suggests that Kallistos stayed longer in Emilia.

1.3.4 Gathering evidence for Kallistos’ activity in Ferrara (1456? and 1459–1460)

In the pioneering book dedicated to the distinguished Byzantine scholars who came to the West to teach Greek, Humphred Hody (1656–1707) was the first to quote, with regard to Kallistos’ activity in Italy, a short excerpt from a letter of recommendation sent by the English humanist John Free (c. 1430–1465) to the Italian scholar Ludovico Carbone (1430–1485).¹²⁰ From this extract, whose source Hody did not indicate, it seems we can glean information about a short stay of Kallistos in Ferrara. In more recent times Walter F. Schirmer published the full text of Free’s letter to Carbone, which has been handed down, along with other epistles, in form of autograph draft, in a manuscript now kept in Oxford (Bodleian

118 See Dallari 1888, 51 already quoted in Perosa 1953, 8 (the name appears misspelled also in the *rotuli* from the years 1462–1466). It is the first instance of a foreign scholar teaching Greek in the Bolognese University.

119 Bibl. Comunale di Forlì, Raccolte Piancastelli, Sezione Autografi Secc. XII–XVIII, ad vocem Andronico Bisanzio. The letter is an autograph by Kallistos, as I have already proved; see for this Orlandi 2014a, 166–167. Published for the first time, with some slight errors, in Perosa 1953, 10, the text has been republished and provided with an English translation *infra*, Appendix 4.

120 See Hody 1742, 228–229. The work by Hody remained for some years as a handwritten memoir and was published after his death by the physicist and scholar Samuel Jebb (c. 1694–1772).

Library, Bodl. 587).¹²¹ While commenting it, Schirmer, unlike Hody, did not associate its content with the activity of Kallistos, referring instead to ‘a Greek named Andronicus, who has been recommended’.¹²² This has contributed to the dissociation in the literature of this account from the figure of Kallistos. It is worth, at this point, to report first the whole text:¹²³

Io(annes) Fre¹²⁴ An(glicus) s(alutem) p(lurimam) d(icit) clarissimo viro domino Lodovico de Carbo(ni)bus

Quod raro ad te litteras dem, suavissime Lodovice, non est quod apud nos in oblivionem veneris. Nihil enim tale in me cadere potest, et maxime erga te, quem a tempore in itae inter nos amicitiae unice¹²⁵ semper et amavi et colui; et quamquam¹²⁶ innumeri fere sunt qui te et divinas virtutes tuas amplectuntur, me tamen habes ὃς τοῖς ἅπασιν τῶν πρωτείων¹²⁷ ἀμφισβητῶ, μᾶλλον¹²⁸ δὲ οὐκ ἀμφισβητῶ, συγχωροῦσι γὰρ ἅπαντες.¹²⁹ Itaque causam puta esse cur scribendi officio non satisfaciam vix punctum temporis ad id mihi dari, et si quando datur, non adsunt quibus meas epistulas praestam [sic]. Verum hoc tempore, quando ad vos proficiscitur doctissimus vir et mihi necessitudine maxima coniunctus Andronicus grecus, nullus prorsus ex(cusationi) lo(cus) relinquitur;¹³⁰ intendit autem istic τῆς σεμνοτάτης φι(λοσο)φίας¹³¹ insignia sumere. Est sane in greca literatura adeo excellens ut, mea quidem sententia, nemini hac nostra aetate concedat, ne tuo quidem, ut bona venia¹³² dicam, Theodoro.

Est preterea modesto ingenio suavique et suae gentis vitio maxime alieno. Hunc igitur <tibi> commendo quem velim amplectatis ὡς τὸν φίλον φίλτατον¹³³ et eo magis ὅτι ἐμοί

121 See Schirmer 1963, 124 n. 122. Letters by Free in the Bodleian manuscript are handed down at fols 157r–166v.

122 Schirmer 1963, 124 (‘empfohlen wird ein Grieche namens Andronicus’).

123 Oxon. Bodl. 587, fol. 159r. I have corrected some readings throughout the text and given account of the explanations of non-ordinary abbreviations. Schirmer is credited with the explanation of a number of unusual abbreviations: An(glicus); ex(cusationi) lo(cus), φι(λοσο)φίας, po(testa)tis. Some clues (such as the incorrect calculation of spaces) show that the Greek given by the quotations was added at a later time.

124 This is the way the form of the name appears in full in the other letters (see fols 159v, 161r, 164r).

125 *supra lin. scriptum*.

126 *post quamquam del. quam mul(ti)*.

127 *πρωτάων cod.*

128 *μᾶλλον cod.*

129 Synesius, *Epist.* 17,7–8.

130 *ex corr.*

131 Synesius, *Epist.* 1,2.

132 *veniam cod., corr. Schirmer.*

133 Synesius, *Epist.* 16,16 (ὡς φίλων φίλτατον).

καταθύμιος ἔστι [sic], ut, si qua in re opera tua uti velit,¹³⁴ experiatur litteras nostras alicuius apud te po(testa)tis esse; te vero¹³⁵ predicatore virtutum suarum multos illi conciliabis amicos. Itaque δίδου τε οἱ αἰδοίαν χάριν καὶ ποτ' ἄστῶν καὶ ποτὶ ξείνω<ν>.¹³⁶ Mitto ad te aliquid nugarum mearum quas sub montibus Euganeis proxime lusimus. Eas ubi bis ter legeris, verum si ita meruerint, committe marito.¹³⁷ Tu fac sine tuis ad nos literis Andronicus non redeat, et si quid praeter eas aliquid abs te editum commiseris, erit mihi quam gratissimum; quod si sepius feceris, levius aliquanto feram τὸ ἀποσθερεῖσθα<ν> [sic] τῆς θειοτάτης σοῦ ψυχῆς.¹³⁸

John Free, Englishman, conveys his best regards to the illustrious Sir Ludovico Carbone

That I only rarely send you letters, dearest Ludovico, is not due to the fact that I have forgotten you. Indeed it is not possible for such a thing to happen to me and even more so regarding you, whom from the beginning of our friendship I have always uniquely loved and respected. And although almost infinite is the number of those who appreciate you and your divine virtues, you nevertheless have me 'disputing the primacy to all, indeed I do not dispute it at all, for everyone accords it'. Believe therefore that the reason why I do not fulfil the duty of writing to you is that I am not allowed even a moment of time to do so, and if I am sometimes allowed, there is no one to whom I can entrust my letters. And yet, at this moment, when the Greek Andronicus, a very learned man bound to me by a very great friendship, is leaving and heading towards you, there is no longer any place left for excuses. He intends to pursue there the honours of venerable philosophy. He is really excellent in the knowledge of Greek literature to the extent that, in my opinion, at the present day he is not inferior to anyone, not even to your Theodore (*scil.* Gazes), and this I say in good will.

He is also mild-mannered and kindhearted, and most certainly a stranger to the vice of his people. I therefore recommend him to you; I would like you to welcome him 'as your dearest friend' and all the more so because I am very fond of him, so that, should he wish to have recourse to your help in any matter, he may come to know that our letters are of some importance to you; and you, by endorsing his virtues, will guarantee him many friends. So 'grant him kind respect as much among citizens as among foreigners'. I send you something of my poetic jokes that I have recently composed at the foot of the Euganean Hills. Once you have read them two or three times, as long as they have earned it, give them back to the 'husband'. Please arrange that Andronicus does not return to us without your letters, and if in addition to these you will have sent something else composed by you, that will be most

134 *supra lin. scriptum.*

135 *ex corr.*

136 Pind., *Olymp.* 7,90 [δίδου Pind.].

137 There is no uncertainty in the reading of the word *marito* in the manuscript; however, the meaning of the expression *committe marito* remains unclear.

138 Synesius, *Epist.* 10,11–14.

pleasing to me; if you will do this more often, it will be much easier for me to bear ‘being deprived of your soul’s divinity’.

From these lines we get some information: 1. Andronikos is leaving from the place where Free is in order to reach the place where Carbone lives; 2. the words of praise expressed by Free suggest a close acquaintance with the Byzantine master and his skills as a talented scholar, as if the two had known each other for a long time; 3. along with the recommendation Free gives some assurances about the moral integrity of Andronikos, defined ‘a stranger to the vice of his people’ (i.e. paedophilia);¹³⁹ 4. the reason for Andronikos’ stay in the place where Carbone resides seems to be the achievement of academic appointment in that city (*insignia sumere*), perhaps as a result of some teaching activity;¹⁴⁰ 5. Andronikos’ stay is intended to be of short length: upon his return, he will be able to bring with him letters with news of Carbone.

Despite the lack of explicit geographical and chronological data, information about the stages of Free’s Italian stay – along with what is known about the activity of Carbone – makes it possible to present some hypotheses. We must not forget that everything must match with the movements of Andronikos in the 1450s. A hint that Andronikos might have already spent some time in Ferrara after his first sojourn in Bologna at Bessarion’s residence comes from a manuscript that has never been associated with him. Some *marginalia* to the text of Pollux’ *Onomasticon* in Laur. 58.1¹⁴¹ – partly copied by the so-called ‘scribe G’ (traditionally identified with Gian Pietro da Lucca, †1457)¹⁴² – are the work of <Kallistos> himself. His interventions consist of slight corrections and additions to fols 98r–100v. The

139 The mention of the moral integrity of this Andronikos does not seem incidental and supports, I believe, the identification of this Andronikos with Kallistos. This might actually evoke the charge of paedophilia raised some time before by Pietro Bravi da Verona against another Byzantine named Andronikos, namely Kontoblakas (see *supra*, § 1.3.2). In his invective Bravi had in fact accused the *graeculus* Ἀνδρόνικος of not even being worthy to bear his own name, and had maliciously distorted it in Παιδόνικος. For the prejudices of the Westerners against the Byzantines active in Italian Humanism, see also the remarks by Lamers 2015, 86–91. On the paedophilia in Byzantium see Koukoules 1955, 505–512.

140 For the expression ‘*insignia (doctoratus) sumere*’, refer e.g. to the archival documents published in the series of *Acta graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini* (Padua, 1922–2008).

141 Bibliography on the codex is summed up *infra* 6.2 (catalogue entry no. 69).

142 Fols 1r–12v and some *marginalia* are his work; the identification is by Speranzi 2005, 475. See also Martinelli Tempesta 2015b and Martinelli Tempesta and Speranzi 2018, 206. Fols 13r–16v, 68r–113v are work of another scribe (= ‘B’). Fols 28r–67v are in another anonymous hand (= ‘C’) acting also in codex Perus. F 54 (see Hoffmann 1983, 114 plate 8). Finally, fols 17r–27v (along with a small piece of fol. 28rv) are a later restoration by Francesco Zanetti.

marginal note καὶ Δημοσθένους ‘τὰ βάρβαρα σπογγύζειν καὶ τὸ μέλαν τρίβειν καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον’ placed at fol. 98r (Fig. 1.3) signals, for instance, a *locus parallelus* in Demosthenes (*De corona* 258).

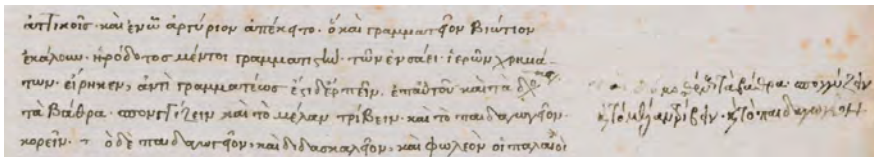


Fig. 1.3: Laur. 58.1, fol. 98r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

Gian Pietro da Lucca was a pupil of Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua and Guarino in Ferrara in the mid-1440s and consistently resided in Venice in the years 1451–1456.¹⁴³ It is likely that he was the owner of Laur. 58.1, as his annotations are found throughout the manuscript.

We ask when and where Kallistos had the possibility to consult it. We know, for instance, that certain books written in the hand of Gian Pietro da Lucca had for a time been present in several cities: Mantua, Ferrara, Verona, and Lucca.¹⁴⁴ We have no trace of Andronikos’ activity in Mantua, Verona or Lucca. On the contrary, an attempt to date Kallistos’ annotations in the Laurentianus to a period spent in Ferrara around the years 1455–1456, where he may have first met Free, remains possible. In addition, the graphic features of these annotations resemble very closely those of the earliest autographs of Kallistos’ activity in Italy as a scribe.¹⁴⁵

As is known, Free spent the years 1456–1458 in Ferrara to study classics, together with other English students, at the school of Guarino.¹⁴⁶ Free’s move to Padua probably dates from the end of 1458; he was to stay there at least until March 1461. It seems that he later moved from Padua to Florence and hence to Rome, where his death may have occurred around the year 1465.¹⁴⁷ A companion

¹⁴³ For a detailed biographical account, see Pignatti 2001.

¹⁴⁴ For the fate of this batch, refer to Speranzi 2005. Martinelli Tempesta 2015b recently shed light on the possibility that some books coming from the collection of Gian Pietro were in Ferrara in the late 1450s or in the early 1460s.

¹⁴⁵ See on this *infra*, § 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 (with *specimina*).

¹⁴⁶ For references to the presence of English scholars in these years see Weiss 1967, 84–127; Schirmer 1963, 91–145; Rundle 2019, 174–227; some remarks are in Wilson 2017, 50.

¹⁴⁷ The last detailed biographical account on Free remains Weiss 1967, 106–112; fundamental is also Schirmer 1963, 114–126.

of Free in Ferrara, Ludovico Carbone trained there as a scholar and had already been studying Greek language and literature before Free's arrival at the school of Theodoros Gazes (before the latter moved to Rome).¹⁴⁸ After obtaining his doctorate in 1456, Carbone became a professor in Ferrara and he was to remain there continuously for about ten years until 1464–1465, when he was called to teach rhetoric in Bologna.¹⁴⁹

The whole set of John Free's *epistolae familiares* preserved in the manuscript Bodl. 587 has been dated by Schirmer, on the basis of some references to historical facts recalled in them, to the years 1457–1458 and therefore located, for the most part, in Ferrara. However, at the time of the letter sent to Carbone containing the recommendation of Andronikos, Free seems to have already moved from Ferrara to Padua; quite striking in this regard is the reference to some *nugae* composed 'at the foot of the Euganean Hills' (*sub montibus Euganeis*). Free did not move to Padua before the fall of 1458.¹⁵⁰ Since he apologizes for having delayed sending news to Carbone, it is possible to assume that not little time had passed before Free decided to write a letter to his friend. For these reasons it is plausible to propose for the letter a dating to the year 1459.

Taking into account what is known about Andronikos' activity in the meanwhile (as said,¹⁵¹ he was teaching Greek in Bologna in the spring of 1459, planning to leave as soon as possible for Padua), a *terminus post quem* for the dating of Free's letter to Carbone and, consequently, the time of the beginning of Kallistos' short stay in Ferrara is necessarily set after April 1459. Upon his return to Padua from Bologna, Andronikos must have soon left Padua for Ferrara, bringing with him the recommendation letter by Free. He must have spent a short period of time there, in which he may have carried on his studies, may have copied manuscripts,¹⁵² and taught Greek, as said in the epistle.

In conclusion, Kallistos' first stay in Ferrara may have taken place around 1456, whereas the second sojourn in that city may have lasted from the second half of 1459 to the year 1460.

148 A key witness to the teaching of Gazes in Ferrara are the *recollectae* by Carbone studied by Tissoni 2009 and Tissoni 2018.

149 On the biography of Carbone refer to Paoletti 1976.

150 See Weiss 1967, 108–109.

151 See *supra*, § 1.3.3.

152 See more *infra*, § 2.2.1.

1.3.5 Again in Padua at Strozzi's house (1461–1462)

In 1461 Kallistos was certainly back in Padua, as a series of letters from Filelfo to Palla Strozzi confirms. The first one dates from 1 January.¹⁵³ Filelfo appealed to Strozzi to intercede with Andronikos, to provide him with a copy of some texts he believed the Byzantine owned: Cornutus' *De natura deorum* (this copy corresponds to the manuscript Vat. gr. 1314, fols 191r–213r) and works by Palaephatus and Michael Synkellos.¹⁵⁴ In the following letter, dated 28 January 1461, Filelfo asks Palla to gather more information from Andronikos on the possibility that these texts (Cornutus, Palaephatus and Synkellos) were available in Candia, in Crete, as Kallistos himself seemed to have suggested.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, he asks Palla to borrow or to acquire a copy upon payment of one of Andronikos' manuscripts, containing Apollonius Dyscolus' *De constructione* (= Par. Suppl. gr. 541, fols 58r–129v), a text which Filelfo had wanted for a long time. A letter dated 19 April 1461¹⁵⁶ concludes the correspondence regarding these texts and informs us

153 [...] *Agit enim istic apud vos Andronicus Callistus noster, vir disertus et doctus. Isti autem esse audio τὸν τε Παλαίφατον Περί παλαιῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαῖον Κορνοῦτον Περί ἀλληγοριῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Σύγκελλον γραμματικόν. Peto igitur abs te maiorem in modum ut eos libros aut nobis excribi cures mea impensa, aut ad nos ire, qui hic excribantur redituri ad dominum quamprimum [...]* (ed. De Keyser 2015a, 805).

154 Manuscripts belonging to Kallistos with works by Palaephatus and Synkellos have not been identified. In the case of Synkellos, I verified whether Andronikos' book might have been Ambr. M 51 sup., a manuscript from the Valla-Pio collection (see *infra*, § 3.3.). It lacks, however, any traces of Kallistos' hand.

155 *De libris quid responderit Andronicus Callistus, ex tuis litteris didici. Velim ex eo certior fias apud quem eiusmodi hospitentur ἐν τῷ Κάνδακι, apud Laurumne Quirinum an apud alium quondam. Ad haec audio Andronico isti esse Apollonium grammaticum Περί συντάξεως ῥημάτων. Quo ad eius fieri licet, rem mihi gratissimam navabis, si dederis operam ut codex ille excribendus eat Mediolanum, e vestigio rediturus ad vos. Quod si id minus, saltem velim eam curam suscipias, ut istic apud vos excribatur. Nam quod impenderis, dabo ad te quamprimum [...]* (ed. De Keyser 2015a, 808). We cannot exclude that works by Michael Synkellos and Palaephatus never belonged to Andronikos' collection. The suggestion to turn to people living in Crete and handling with manuscripts, like Quirini, corroborates the link between Andronikos and people acting on the island. In all likelihood, such contacts had originated during Kallistos stay there (see for this *supra*, § 1.2.). Finally, on the issue of the identification of Filelfo's codex containing Cornutus, see Krafft 1975, 317–318.

156 *Apollonium tuum de prae-positionum constructione idcirco tua opinione celerius redire ad te curavi, ut intelligeres nos librariis etiam graecis non carere, idque ut ostenderes Andronico Callisto, si quos petieramus libros misisset ad nos, eos non diu fuisse a domino abfuturos. Nam quod vir doctus inficias ierit eiusmodi libros esse apud se, est hic apud nos testis locupletissimus, qui eos et viderit et lectitaverit in eodem apud Andronicum codice, quo etiam Apollonius continetur. Itaque non possum non mirari quid causae fuerit, quod gratificari nobis noluerit Andronicus, praesertim*

that Filelfo returned the manuscript of Apollonius Dyscolus owned by Palla Strozzi, after Kallistos had refused to temporarily grant his copy.

I previously mentioned a document containing Palla Strozzi's will, underigned by Andronikos among others. Kallistos' stay in Padua thus lasted around three years, from the spring of 1459 to the one of 1462. During this time, Kallistos managed to enrich his manuscript collection, gathering some copies for himself from Palla Strozzi's antigraphs. A famous example — illustrated on several occasions by Francesco Donadi¹⁵⁷ — is the codex Ambr. H 52 sup., containing Lysias' *Orations* and Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen*, a direct copy by the hand of Iohannes Rhosos of Pal. gr. 88, owned by Palla. Likewise, Mark Sosower¹⁵⁸ assumed the existence of a common antigraph (now lost) owned by Palla, from which descended two witnesses to Theophrastus' *Historia Plantarum*, that is, Par. gr. 2069, copied by Kallistos, and Pal. gr. 162 by Iohannes Skutariotes. Marwan Rashed¹⁵⁹ argued that Par. gr. 2032 (a book likely owned by Strozzi) was the antigraph to a manuscript (now unfortunately lost) included in Andronikos' collection and employed by him as antigraph during his Italian stay for the copy of some Aristotelian treatises in Vat. gr. 249 (in all likelihood in Rome) and in Vat. gr. 2201 (in Florence). Other manuscripts which Andronikos accessed in Padua at Palla Strozzi's residence are Par. gr. 1852 (Arist., *EN*), Par. gr. 1906, 1908 and 1909 (Simpl., *in Phys.*), Urb. gr. 151 (Planudes), Vat. gr. 1324 (Lucian), on some of which he also left handwritten notes.

Finally, during these years, Andronikos strengthened his contacts, even from a distance, with Bessarion and all the members of his milieu. Kallistos participated over years in the Platonic-Aristotelian debate going on within the intellectual humanist circles. A recent finding by Teresa Martínez Manzano sheds light

cum multo magis libris graecis abundemus quam ipse, et iis quidem in omni doctrinae genere. Itaque poterat beneficium veluti foenerari. Nec enim id eo factum existimo, quod nobis esse aliquid noluerit, quod sibi soli esse opinaretur. Nam sine illis etiam aliquid possumus [...] (ed. De Keyser 2015, 831–832).

157 See Donadi 1976 and Donadi 2005, 27–30.

158 See Sosower 1986, 143 n. 6; this hypothesis had been supported already by Einarson 1976.

159 See Rashed 2001, 218–229. However, Kallistos' engagement with Strozzi's manuscripts is interesting as it improves our knowledge about Palla's library. The discovery of some autograph notes — so far unacknowledged — by <Andronikos> in Vat. gr. 1950 (fols 230r, 232r, 234v, 235v, 236r = Xenoph., *Agésilas*), together with philological evidence about the transmission of Xenophon's works (see Serra 1978–1979, 80, 103; Serra 1979, 15; Jackson 1990; Schmoll 1990; Muratore 1997, Muratore 2022), corroborates the idea that this manuscript belonged to Palla Strozzi, as first suggested in Sosower 1986, 143, 151. Concerning Kallistos' interventions on the text of *Agésilas*, see *infra*, § 5.3.2.

on the terms of Andronikos' engagement in the editorial story of *In calumniatorem Platonis*: Kallistos was commissioned to revise the text of the third book (which was to later become the fourth) of the work, handed down in the hand of Bessarion himself in the codex Scor. Σ.III.1 (fols 152r–185v).¹⁶⁰ Andronikos' personal contribution within the controversy consists of a pamphlet in defence of his relative Theodoros Gazes, the latter having taken Aristotle's side in this *querelle*. In a brief polemical work, Michael Apostoles attacked Gazes who had written in turn a pamphlet known as *Adversus Plethonem pro Aristotele de substantia*.¹⁶¹ The work by Apostoles¹⁶² was disliked by Bessarion. Kallistos' reaction to Apostoles' treatise occurred in form of a long philosophical epistle offered to the Cardinal, commonly referred to as *Defensio Theodori Gazae*.¹⁶³

The role played by the monk Hesaias of Cyprus¹⁶⁴ at several stages of the controversy, both from the point of view of textual and material evidence, has not yet been emphasized enough. It must be mentioned that Hesaias was the addressee of a letter written by Georgios Trapezuntios in response to Bessarion's Ὅτι ἡ φύσις βουλεύεται.¹⁶⁵ Again to Hesaias, Theodoros Gazes dedicated the paper known as *Adversus Plethonem pro Aristotele de substantia*,¹⁶⁶ which was to trigger Michael Apostoles' reaction and Kallistos' counter-reaction. Hesaias was the first to receive the writing sent by Apostoles to Bessarion, as Michael himself tells us.¹⁶⁷ As we learn from Bessarion's words,¹⁶⁸ Andronikos read the treatise prior to the Cardinal. The newly discovered draft letter by Apostoles — which has already been mentioned for other reasons¹⁶⁹ — confirms the fact that Kallistos laid his hands on the work before it reached the Cardinal: 'against the will of the author

160 See Martínez Manzano 2018, 379–380 and plate 8.

161 The text is in Mohler 1942, 151–158. See also Powell 1938a.

162 The text is in Mohler 1942, 161–169 (edited under the Latin title *Ad Theodori Gazae pro Aristotele de substantia adversus Plethonem obiectiones*).

163 The text, first edited in Mohler 1942, 171–203, is hereby critically edited (with an account on the manuscript tradition) and provided with an English translation; see *infra*, Appendix 1.

164 See on him *PLP* 6745; recent findings in Speranzi 2018, 197–200 and Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 123–125, 133–134, 137.

165 This text was to be later inserted by the Cardinal himself as chapter three of his extended reply, the philosophical treatise *De natura et arte*; see Accendere and Privitera 2014; Mariev, Marchetto and Luchner 2015.

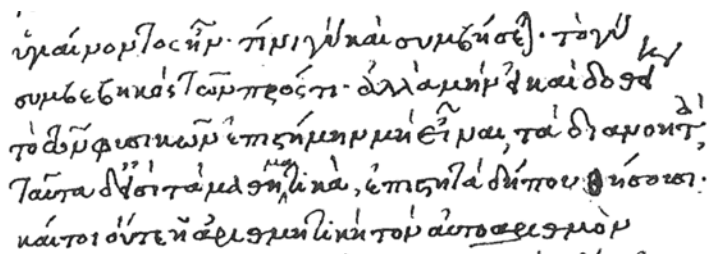
166 Mohler 1942, 151–158.

167 See Stefec 2013a, 54–56 (*Epist.* 13, 14, 15), 149.

168 Ἀνδρόνικος γὰρ ὁ Καλλίστου, πρότερον αὐτὰ ἐξητακῶς τε καὶ διακωδωνίσας, οὕτως αὐτὰ τε καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἡμῖν πέπομφεν; see the text in Mohler 1942, 511–513 and Cattaneo 2020a, 149–153.

169 See *supra*, § 1.2.2.

and Bessarion', Andronikos allegedly 'stole the book from Hesaias' while the latter was delivering it to the Cardinal.¹⁷⁰ Finally, we can identify <Hesaias> as the copyist of the fourth codicological unit of Scor. Φ.III.15, i.e. one of the two main witnesses to Kallistos' reply to Apostoles composed in defence of Gazes¹⁷¹ (Fig. 1.4).



ἡμῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐπιπέμειν καὶ συμβῆσαι. τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 συμβεβηκὸς τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔχει καὶ δὲ οὐδὲ
 τὸ εὐφραστῶν ἐπιπέμειν μὴ εἶναι, τὰ διαφορῶν
 ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ ἐπιπέμειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ
 καὶ τοῖς ὄντε ἡ ἀρετῆς ἵκναι τὸν ἀποστολῆμον

Fig. 1.4: Scor. Φ.III.15, fol. 189r; © Real Biblioteca del Monasterio.

Rudolf S. Stefec attributed to this period two letters sent by Michael Apostoles to Andronikos.¹⁷² Deciphering the meaning of these letters is not easy given Apostoles' very cryptic language,¹⁷³ but, briefly, it seems that in both of these short messages Michael asks Kallistos to show himself to be more sympathetic; in the first letter (no. 36) Andronikos is reproached for not being spontaneously friendly; in the second one (no. 39) the existence of a remote seventh-degree kinship is recalled: this should lead them not to be hostile to each other. According to Stefec, the tone of these letters would suggest ongoing good relations: this is the reason why it has been proposed to date them before May 1462, that is, at the time Apostoles had not yet received Kallistos' harsh reply. It remains problematic, however, to give any certain chronological reference for these epistles.

Either way, Andronikos' firm but measured intervention in the debate gained the appreciation of Bessarion, which he expressed in a short letter sent from Viterbo's thermal baths on 19 May 1462.

¹⁷⁰ See Villa 2021, 448 lines 18–21. As far as manuscripts are concerned, it has already been pointed out that Hesaias was the possessor of one of the main volumes transmitting the treatises of the controversy, Ambr. F 88 sup; see Speranzi 2018, 197–200.

¹⁷¹ The letter by Apostoles also gives us the name of the person who delivered the text by Andronikos to him, bringing it to Crete from Italy; for Apostoles hereby names a ἱερεὺς Iohannes, who can be identified with the priest Iohannes Plusiadenos; see Villa 2021, 448 lines 1–7.

¹⁷² See Stefec 2013a, 71 (epist. 36), 73 (epist. 39), 151–152.

¹⁷³ See on this topic Rollo 2014c.

Βησσαρίων καρδηνάλις Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Καλλίστου φιλοσοφεῖν

Ἀνέγνων καὶ τὰ Μιχαήλῳ φύρδην κατὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου Θεοδώρου συντεθειμένα καὶ τοὺς σοὺς ἐκείνου σωφρονισμούς· κρίσιν τὲ καὶ ψήφον περὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἐξήνεγκα, ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνῳ ἐπεσταλμένοις ὄψει, ὧν σοι πέμπομεν τὰ ἀντίγραφα. περιττὸν γὰρ καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ῥάδιον φαρμακευμένῳ καὶ πρὸς σὲ μακρηγορεῖν. εὖ πράττοις. ἐδόθη ὅπου καὶ τὰ πρὸς Μιχαήλον.¹⁷⁴

Cardinal Bessarion wishes to Andronikos Kallistos to be a wise man

I have read both the work coarsely compiled by Michael against our friend Theodoros and your call for restraint to him. I have gained for both a judgement and a preference, which you will see within the letters that have been sent to him, of which we send you the copy. For it is unnecessary and not easy at all for me while undergoing therapy even to be verbose to you. Farewell. This was sent at the same time as that to Michael.

174 I quote here the Greek text as it is handed down in the manuscript Laur. 58.33 (fol. 91v), just correcting the form of the name Βησαρίων in Βησσαρίων. These lines have already been printed in Boissonade 1833, 388 from Par. gr. 3053, in *PG* 161, cols 691–696, and then in Mohler 1942, 513 (epist. 50). However, one should be aware that the text edited by Mohler (thence reprinted now in Cattaneo 2020a, 155) is an undisclosed mixture of Par. gr. 3053 and Laur. 58.33, which are witnesses to two different versions, as far as I could verify by means of full collations. The ‘revised’ version of the text is that transmitted by Laur. 58.33, its apograph Oxon. Barocci 165, its copy Matr. 4790 and Matr. 4766, the latter being in turn apograph to the former. The textual features of the other version, which is more inaccurate than that found in the Laurentianus, are the following: Μιχαήλου (vs. Μιχαήλῳ); συγκεχυμένα (vs. συντεθειμένα); ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων (vs. περὶ ἀμφοτέρων); the words ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνῳ ἐπεσταλμένοις ὄψει ὧν are missing; οὐ (vs. οὐδὲ); the greeting εὖ πράττοις is omitted; καὶ ὅτε καὶ ὅπου (vs. ὅπου). The manuscripts which preserve this ‘rough’ version (apparently closer to the original one) are Berol. Phillipps 1616 and its apograph Par. gr. 2652; Par. gr. 3053, which is in turn a copy of Par. gr. 2652; finally, Berol. Phillipps 1610, a late sixteenth-century copy of Berol. Phillipps 1616. That most of these variant readings originated from a rewriting of the text (this bearing, thus, interlinear additions and corrections) is proven by the presence of further combinations of words in other witnesses: this is, for instance, the case with the words ὅπου καὶ ὅτε καὶ in Scor. Φ.III.15, its copy Ambr. B 141 sup., the latter’s apograph Ambr. D 118 inf. and Uppsäl. gr. 8; ὅπου καὶ and ὅτε καὶ are variant readings to each other. The Uppsälensis clearly bears evidence of a ‘mixed’ text, based on the ‘revised’ version but still presenting some features of the ‘rough’ one: see ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων instead of περὶ ἀμφοτέρων. Mixed features are found also in Vat. gr. 1393 and its apograph Vall. Carte Allacci 108. I shall give a detailed account on the transmission of this short epistle in the near future.

Two weeks later (on 5 June), Bessarion's assistant Nikolaos Sekundinos expressed his satisfaction about the text of the *Defensio* with a letter too.¹⁷⁵

1.4 The second stay in Bologna (1462–1466)

The letter by Sekundinos is probably the very last Kallistos received during his stay in Padua. Then, on the day of Palla Strozzi's death, which occurred on 18 May, Kallistos moved back to Bologna, where, after a three year pause, he again took up the public teaching of Greek language and literature, together with moral philosophy (but only *diebus festis*).¹⁷⁶ In the preface to his *Grammatica*,¹⁷⁷ Konstantinos Laskaris mentions this activity, which Kallistos practised until the summer of the year 1466.¹⁷⁸

A short passage from a letter sent by Andronikos to Demetrios <Chalkondyles>, written between 1463 and 1465, lists the Greek authors studied in his courses:¹⁷⁹

“Ἴνα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατ’ ἐμὲ εἰδῆς, ἴσθι με ἑλληνιστὶ μὲν ἀναγινώσκοντα τοῖς ἑταίροις τοὺς τοῦ Πινδάρου ὕμνους καὶ τὰς τοῦ Φαλάριδος ἐπιστολάς καὶ προσέτι τὰ Θεοδώρου γραμματικά, ῥωμαῖσι δὲ ἀναγνώσαντα ἤδη τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους πολιτικά τε καὶ οἰκονομικά, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἱερὰν τελετὴν ἄλλο τι τῶν τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει περὶ φύσεως συγγραφέντων ἀναγινώσκειν ἀρξόμενον.

175 I shall soon give a critical edition and a translation of Sekundinos' letter (first printed in Boissonade 1833, 377–387), after investigating the whole manuscript tradition. For Sekundinos' translation into Latin of some chapters of Kallistos' *Defensio* (edited by Monfasani 1985), see more *infra*, Appendix 1.

176 This emerges from the *rotuli* edited in Dallari 1888, 62, 64–65, 67, 70. On the subject, see Perosa 1953, 8. During his absence from Bologna, Greek was not taught for the years 1459/1460 and 1460/1461, and courses were held *diebus festis* by Gianmario Filelfo during 1461/1462. For further information on Kallistos' teaching activity in Bologna, see also the introduction by G. M. Anselmi in Chines 1992, 5–6.

177 For the text see Martínez Manzano 1994, 199.

178 For a more precise chronological *terminus ante quem*, set as August 1466 by a letter by Filelfo to Kallistos, see *infra*.

179 The letter was first published in Powell 1939, 19–20 from Cantabr. Trinity College O.2.36. I would like to thank James Kirwan, Senior Library Assistant of the Trinity College library, for providing me with digital scans of the Cambridge codex, which enabled me to correct in many points the text edited by Powell. I give here (see *infra*, Appendix 5) a new critical edition of this correspondence revised through the collation of a new witness, i.e. Vall. F 40 (fols 65r–68r), and accompanied by an English translation.

So that you too are informed about me, you should know that I am explaining to my companions Pindar's hymns, Phalaris' epistles and Theodoros' *Grammar*, I have already lectured in Latin on the political and economic works of Aristotle, and after Easter I will begin to lecture on some other works by Aristotle on nature.

Andronikos explicitly claims to read in Greek Pindar, Phalaris, and the grammar by Gazes;¹⁸⁰ furthermore, he informs his interlocutor that he has already read in Latin — perhaps for the classes on moral philosophy — Aristotle's political and economic writings, and that he is going to add very soon to his course some works on *Physics*. It is possible to recognize some manuscripts which Kallistos employed for his courses: Mutin. α T.9.14 and Laur. Ashb. 1144 may have been used for classes on Pindar, Mutin. α T.9.2 for Phalaris.¹⁸¹ The codex of Gazes' *Grammar* that was in Kallistos' private collection has not been yet identified with certainty, despite the fact that his handwriting has been found in three witnesses to this work.¹⁸² It would be interesting to know which Latin manuscripts Andronikos owned and used for his classes of philosophy. Theocritus is not mentioned, but we know from other sources that Andronikos also lectured on the *Idyllia* during his stay in Bologna.¹⁸³ Traces of Kallistos' classes on Theocritus are found in codex Salmanticensis 71, a manuscript recently examined by Teresa Martínez Manzano.¹⁸⁴

Andronikos' teaching and scholarly activity in Bologna has been often recorded in the memoirs of his contemporaries. Our main sources are again Francesco Filelfo's Greek and Latin letters. Some of these are directly addressed to Kallistos;¹⁸⁵ other letters — which are mostly in Latin — only briefly mention the Byzantine scholar.¹⁸⁶

180 New data on the manuscripts containing Gazes' *Grammatica* (some of them perhaps manufactured in Bologna) and its employment in Andronikos' school will be discussed in the following chapters. See *infra*, § 2.3.1 and 4.1.5.2.

181 The same opinion is shared by Gamillscheg 1978, 242 and Günther 1999.

182 Neap. II.D.9, Ott. gr. 52, Vat. gr. 13; see *infra*, § 6.2 (catalogue entries nos 88, 108, and 112).

183 On Kallistos' classes about Theocritus one should mention again the record by Giorgio Merula's quoted *supra*, § 1.1.

184 See Martínez Manzano 2011. The Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation originating from Andronikos' school. More evidence about classes on Theocritus held by Kallistos *infra*, § 5.3.1 and 5.4.

185 These letters are in Greek and were first edited in Legrand 1892. See now De Keyser 2015a.

186 This is, for instance, the case with the first piece of evidence we come across: a cover letter Filelfo wrote on 26 April 1464 to his friend Alberto Parisi (see De Keyser 2015a, 1009): Filelfo asks Parisi to deliver a letter he had sent to Andronikos. Filelfo was turning to Kallistos because

A record of Kallistos' Bolognese teaching comes from a letter dated 31 October 1464, sent again to Alberto Parisi.¹⁸⁷ Here Filelfo writes about the debate on his *Sphortias*¹⁸⁸ prompted by Galeotto Marzio da Narni, lecturer of rhetoric at the *Studium Bononiense* for two academic years (1463/1464 and 1464/1465).¹⁸⁹ Filelfo is surprised that the latter's proficiency of Greek is so poor; then, in Bologna he might have turned to such a worthy learned man and teacher as Andronikos.¹⁹⁰ More generally — as these lines show — Filelfo criticizes all those Bolognese intellectuals who do not take the opportunity to learn Greek from Kallistos.¹⁹¹ He comes back to this subject in a letter written some months later to Argino da Busseto (21 March 1465). Filelfo congratulates his friend for attending Andronikos' classes: it is inconceivable — he writes — that a man of letters would totally ignore Greek.¹⁹² On the same day, he wrote two more letters: one in Latin to Bernardo Moretti,¹⁹³ and one in Greek to Kallistos.¹⁹⁴ The main topic of both letters is the same: Andronikos should not give in to Galeotto Marzio's provocations, as the latter — aware of the Kallistos' relationship with Filelfo — is maliciously trying to draw him into the debate on the *Sphortias*.¹⁹⁵

of an 'Aristotelian issue' raised by a corrupted passage in the text of Plutarch's *De placitis philosophorum* (1,10); we learn the details of this from two epistles sent to Kallistos between 27 April and 29 April (see De Keyser 2015a, 1009, 1012). Filelfo contacted Bessarion, as well, for the same reason, as shown by a Latin letter sent to the Cardinal on the same day (26 April 1464; see De Keyser 2015a, 1008–1009).

187 On this figure see Frati 1931.

188 For details about the debate and a critical edition of the text, see De Keyser 2015b.

189 See Dallari 1888, 64, 67; see also Perosa 1953, 7. A recent account on Galeotto of Narni can be found in Miggiano 2008.

190 See De Keyser 2015a, 1065–1066: *Crede mihi, Alberthe carissime, nullo pacto fieri posse quenquam satis excultum latinis litteris, ubi graecas ignorarit omnino. Quare non possum vos omnis, qui Bononiae agitis, non mirari plurimum quod, cum vobis viri doctissime eruditi copia data sit ad graecam disciplinam penitus consequendam, malitis indocti esse quam docti. Nunquam equidem discendi gratia traiecissem in Thraciam Constantinopolin (qua in urbe septennium egi), si istiusmodi mihi Andronicus Byzantius in Italia esset oblatus. At facitis vos quemadmodum avari solent, qui et famem et sitim in summa abundantia patiuntur. Quales discipuli futuri sunt, cum istorum magister in tanta versatur incitia? [...]*. This is only a brief excerpt of a quite long letter covering many pages (1061–1077) of the edition by De Keyser.

191 Concerning the success of Kallistos' Bolognese courses, it should be noticed that Cammelli 1942, 116–117 — to whom these pieces of evidence were unknown — had already believed they did not have great success.

192 De Keyser 2015a, 1089–1090.

193 De Keyser 2015a, 1090–1091.

194 De Keyser 2015a, 1091.

195 See on this work De Keyser 2015b.

These pieces of evidence seem to describe a period characterized in many ways by great enthusiasm, but also by lack of stability. Bolognese intellectual circles rejected the spread of Greek studies, thus provoking apprehension amongst the Greeks active in the city. Filelfo refers to such disturbance (ταραχαί) in the letter which informs about the end of Kallistos' Bolognese stay, dated 28 August 1466:

Ἵτι μὲν τῶν Βονωνιέων ἀπαλλαγείς ταραχῶν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεστάτῳ λιμένι πάσης εὐδίας τὲ καὶ γαλήνης ἤδη διάγεις, παρὰ τῷ τελείας ἀρετῆς τε καὶ σοφίας τεμένει, Βησσαρίωνι, συνήδομαί σοι τὰ μέγιστα τῆς εὐτυχίας. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐλπίσεις ἂν τυχεῖν τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ὑπὸ τοιοῦτου δεσπότη τελῶν;¹⁹⁶

I am very happy for you that you now live calmly and in tranquillity in the safest harbour, in the sanctuary of virtue and wisdom — that is, at Bessarion's house — far from Bologna's disturbance. In fact, what sort of benefits should you not obtain from such a patron?

Filelfo says he is happy about Andronikos' recent move to Bessarion's in Rome: he could not find a safer and calmer space, thus finally leaving behind the precariousness and misunderstandings.

1.5 The Roman years at Bessarion's house (1466–1471)

From August 1466 to summer 1471 Kallistos was in Rome as Bessarion's guest. As a proper patron, the Cardinal gave shelter to the most illustrious Greek scholars of the time, and invited to his 'court' some of the best Italian humanists. The so-called 'academy' at Bessarion's residence was growing and was to be led from 1467 onwards by Theodoros Gazes.¹⁹⁷

Unlike the Bolognese stay, Kallistos' Roman years lack evidence coming from the voices of his contemporaries: there are on the whole only four occurrences.

¹⁹⁶ De Keyser 2015a, 1191.

¹⁹⁷ A list of the names of the scholars acting in the 'academy' was elaborated by Niccolò Perotti in his comment to Statius' *Silvae* (Vat. lat. 6835, fol. 55v: *Non Theodorum dico, non Catum, non Valerium, non Andronicum, non Narniensem Theophrastum, non Domicium Veronensem, Pomponium, Octavium, Lucillium, Pierum Durantinum, sed Bentevoleum nostrum, sed Rufum, sed Almadianum, sed Alexin, sed caeteros qui adhuc adolescentes in huiusmodi studiis versantur: quanquam, nisi me animus fallit, nec priores illos nec ipsum Academiae principem Bessarionem pigebit aliquando in his extraordinariis studiis animum relaxare*, namely, Gazes, Giovanni Gatti, Valerio Simonelli, Kallistos, Teofrasto da Narni, Domizio Calderini, Pomponio Leto, Ottavio Ubaldini, Lucillio, Pierio Durantino, Pierio Bentivoglio, Matteo Rufo, Giovanni Battista Almadiani, Alexios Keladenos). See also Speranzi 2011, 120–121 (with previous bibliographical references).

The first one is a letter from Filelfo to Theodoros Gazes (21 January 1469) showing happiness for Andronikos' condition under the protection of Bessarion:

Gaudeo equidem plurimum eruditissimum virum mihi que amicissimum Andronicum Callistum, necessarium tuum, apud vos agere, idest in Musarum et sapientiae domicilio; quem ut meis verbis salvere iubeas abs te peto.¹⁹⁸

I am glad that your relative Andronikos Kallistos, a very learned man and a very dear friend of mine, is staying with you, that is to say in the house of Muses and wisdom. I beg you to greet him for me.

In addition, there is a letter from Gazes to the cardinal Marco Barbo, where Kallistos is briefly mentioned.¹⁹⁹

As he had already done in Bologna more than ten years earlier, Kallistos completed some commissioned copying work in Rome, too, for his patron Bessarion and, occasionally, for others, like Nicholas of Kotor, the bishop of Modruš.²⁰⁰ However, the activity as a scribe must have been a very marginal obligation during these years. The Cardinal was soon to entrust Kallistos with the definitive clean copy of the treatise *In calumniatorem Platonis*, the parchment codex Marc. gr. Z. 198.²⁰¹ Bessarion's choice was likely motivated by the awareness that Andronikos' accuracy and profound knowledge of the matter would guarantee the best conditions for the work of copying. Andronikos benefited in turn from the possibility of consulting Bessarion's library for his own needs, by collating texts on which his philological activity had been focused for years.²⁰²

In Rome, Andronikos also worked as an assistant for the preparation of some printed editions. A documented case of collaboration with Giovanni Andrea Bussi (1417–1475), bishop of Aleria,²⁰³ is worth mentioning in this regard. In the preface

198 De Keyser 2015a, 1285.

199 The letter dates between 18 September 1467 and 18 March 1471; see on this Leone 1990, 62–63. Contrary to the impression given in Filelfo's letter, two further pieces of evidence offer a different view on Kallistos' stay in Rome: 1. the record by Raffaele Maffei da Volterra, according to which Andronikos lived in Rome in such misery that he was forced to leave for Florence to seek his fortune there (*Romae apud Nicenum vivebat profitebaturque non pari quidem virtuti emolumento. Quapropter sicuti plerique alii eius generis coactus est egestate urbem deserere Florentiamque se conferre*; see Cammelli 1942, 180); 2. some verses by Giannantonio Campano (1429–1477), mocking Andronikos' financial condition (see Martinelli Tempesta 1995, 138). The verses by Campano are found in Vat. lat. 2874 (fol. 29rv), as already signalled by Kristeller II 355.

200 See more *infra*, § 2.3.1.

201 Diller 1967, 406–407 first identified Kallistos as the scribe of the manuscript.

202 See *infra*, § 2.1.3 and 2.3.1.

203 See on him Miglio 1972 and Miglio 2002, 30–51.

to the edition of the Latin translation of Strabo's *Geographia* (printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1469),²⁰⁴ Bussi claimed to have collaborated with Theodoros Gazes, his 'counsellor' for highly critical philological issues, as well as with Andronikos Kallistos and Lampugnino Birago.²⁰⁵

As is well known, pope Paul II (August 1464–July 1471) had always had suspicions towards philhellenic humanistic circles because of their potential pagan and anti-Christian deviances. These suspicions prompted him to ask for the closure of the so-called Roman 'academy', thus restricting the space in which intellectuals could be active, such as Giovanni Andrea Bussi himself, who benefited from the collaboration with the members of the circle like Kallistos, Gazes, and the young man Alexios Keladenos. It is therefore no wonder that the condition of the Byzantine émigrés in Rome became progressively more disadvantageous towards the end of the 1460s.

The possibility of taking over Iohannes Argyropulos' place as lecturer at the Florentine *Studium* persuaded Andronikos to leave Rome and move there. In the summer 1471 he was with certainty in Florence: the *terminus post quem* of his arrival can be found in the recommendation letter sent from Bessarion to Lorenzo de' Medici on 23 August.²⁰⁶ His arrival should be thought of as a sort of turnover with Argyropulos officially leaving Florence on 23 July.²⁰⁷

1.6 The Florentine period (1471–1474)

It has never been sufficiently elucidated when exactly Andronikos' teaching in Florence started, and what it consisted in. We know about Andronikos' activity from the summer 1471. However, in the official accounts of the Florentine *Studium*, Kallistos' name only appears from the academic year 1473–1474 onwards.²⁰⁸ Therefore, the last biographers were not convinced that the Byzantine

204 *ISTC* is00793000.

205 [...] *In quo* (*scil.* in recovering some passages of Strabo's text) *Theodoro meo Gazae atque Andronico, Lampo item Birago, graece latineque doctissimis viris, non exigua gratia est habenda*; see Miglio 1978, 35. See also Orlandi 2020a, 231–232, 239.

206 The letter, in Italian vernacular, is kept in the State Archive of Florence (Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza 46, doc. 122). See Cammelli 1942, 179–180.

207 See Cammelli 1942, 176. Argyropulos first went to Rome, as proved by the letter dated 26 October 1471 published in Cammelli 1941, 133.

208 See Verde 1973, I, 298; II, 24; IV, 1, 95–96, upon which rest some recent contributions, like Megna 2009, XXV–XXVI, Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 131 and De Gregorio and Martinelli Tempesta 2018, 215.

scholar held an official teaching position (that is, with a regular salary) from September 1471. Instead, they suggested private forms of allowances granted by Lorenzo.²⁰⁹ Some documents from the State Archive in Florence, first published some years ago by Jonathan Davies and not yet taken into account, allow us to solve the issue once and for all. The ledgers of *Entrata e uscita del Camerlengo del Monte Comune*, refer to regular thrimonthly payments to ‘Messer Andronico Callisto da Constantinopoli’, from 3 September 1471 until October 1473; these payments amounted to a modest salary of roughly 200 florins per year.²¹⁰ After all — as Cammelli and Perosa had already observed²¹¹ — in an elegy to Lorenzo de’ Medici, dated by Perosa to the summer 1473,²¹² Angelo Poliziano, Andronikos’ most illustrious student, asked Lorenzo to ‘keep’ (*servare*) Kallistos in his place, to avoid the risk that he might leave the city, thus implying that he had been already holding a position there for some time (vv. 9–18):

Tu tantum Andronicum serves! O quantus ab illo
spiritus in nostri pectoris ima venit!
O quos ille tibi gignit nutritque poetas,
dum tonat argolicis troica bella modis!
Iam tibi Aristotelem vertit, penitusque retrusas
naturae arcano concinit ore vices.
Unica materies illi es, spes unica solus;
una illi vitam tu dare voce potes.
Parva petit, dare magna soles; da parva petenti:
parva tamen nescis si dare, magna dato.²¹³

In this famous elegy two *auctores* are mentioned, whose works were read in Kallistos’ courses: Homer and Aristotle. Teaching Aristotle represented without a doubt an element of continuity with Iohannes Argyropulos’ courses. Lines 13–14 (*iam tibi Aristotelem vertit, penitusque retrusas / naturae arcano concinit ore vices*)

209 See Cammelli 1942, 181–185: ‘Purtroppo a questo punto ci vengono a mancare le documentazioni [...] Noi ci domandiamo [...] quale mai fu la sorte di Andronico Callisto, se cioè egli potè ottenere l’elezione nello Studio, e in caso affermativo, quale fu lo stipendio che gli fu assegnato al momento dell’elezione’. See also Bigi 1961: ‘Non sappiamo se l’insegnamento di Andronico in questa città fosse un vero e proprio incarico ufficiale’.

210 See Davies 1998, 174–175. Andronikos was paid with some delay. His first salary, for instance — referring to his first teaching period (three months, that, is from 3 September to 3 December 1471) — was credited one year later (on 12 September 1472).

211 See Cammelli 1942, 186–187 and Perosa 1953, 11.

212 See Perosa 1953, 11.

213 I quote here vv. 9–18 of the edition by Maier 1971. See also Megna 2009, XXV–XXVI.

allude to the Latin translation of Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* completed by Andronikos and dedicated to Lorenzo.²¹⁴

However, Kallistos' Florentine courses were not only about Aristotle, as the famous *recollectae* of classes kept in the manuscript Laur. 66.31 clearly show. This codex has transmitted annotations concerning Andronikos' interpretation on Homer's *Iliad*,²¹⁵ Demosthenes' *De corona*, and Theocritus' *Idylls* written down by an anonymous student.²¹⁶ Pindar's *Olympians* should also be taken in consideration: a Latin translation by the hand of Bartolomeo Fonzio, along with marginal notes referring to Andronikos' classes, is preserved in the manuscript Magliab. VII 1025.²¹⁷ In another famous elegy by Poliziano, dedicated to Fonzio, the main authors read by Andronikos are mentioned again within a few lines (193–198):²¹⁸

Rursus in Andronici doctum me confero ludum
qui tumidos nodos laxat Aristotelis,
Smyrnaeique docet iocunda poemata vatis:

214 The text of the Latin version is handed down in two codices, Laur. 84.11 and Neap. VIII.E.18 (see for the latter Kristeller VI 114b). The long preface to the translation with the dedication to Lorenzo was first published in Hankins 1994, 37–42 from the Laurentianus. More recently, Rashed 2011 offered the *editio princeps* of the whole text, not acknowledging though the existence of Neap. VIII.E.18. A list of works noted by John Leland (c. 1535) shows that another copy of the translation by Andronikos was kept in Cambridge in the first half of the sixteenth century at the *publica bibliotheca minor* (i.e. the library built and equipped with books at the expense of Thomas Rotherham which opened in 1474/1475); see Clarke 2002, 70–72. To this day this copy — referred to in Leland's list as *Andronici Calysti Bizantii interpretatio in libro Arist. de. generat. & corrupt.* — has disappeared.

215 For some remarks about the Latin version of the *Iliad* transmitted from this codex, arranged in the framework of Andronikos' school, see *infra*, § 4.2 and 5.4.

216 See more in Orlandi 2014a (with further bibliography).

217 On the attribution of the writing to Fonzio and a first study of the translation see Fera 1997.

218 The elegy is edited in Bausi 2003. It mentions some of the most eminent disciples attending Andronikos' classes in Florence: Ugolino Verino (see on him Bausi 1996), Carlo Marsuppini *Iunior* (son and namesake of the chancellor) and Giovambattista Buoninsegni (see Kristeller 1972 and Megna 2021, 308–308). Together with these scholars, who were all Poliziano's close friends, one should also group the addressee of the poem, Bartolomeo Fonzio, as well as many Florentine intellectuals who attended Iohannes Argyropulos' courses, like Donato and Piero Acciaioi, Alamanno Rinuccini, and Francesco Filarete. It seems thus that Raffaele Maffei da Volterra was not exaggerating when mentioning the *magnus discipulorum concursus* which distinguished Andronikos' lectures; see Cammelli 1942, 192. The memory of Andronikos' teaching in Florence was to survive for a long time. In a famous letter of 19 March 1480, Poliziano would trace the stages of his education in Florence under Argyropulos, Kallistos, and Chalkondyles; see Picotti 1955, 74. Still in 1524, the mysterious Stephanus Joanninensis was to recall that Lorenzo invited *Andronicum virum in omni disciplinarum genere doctissimum atque eminentissimum atque peripatheticum Florentiam ad eius Achademiam atque ad publice profitendum*; see Della Torre 1902, 9–10.

iam populat Graias Dardana flamma rates;
fulminei post haec aperit Demosthenis artem,
aequiparat nostri quem Ciceronis opus.²¹⁹

The class on Homer's *Iliad* took place at the same time Poliziano was carrying out (upon Lorenzo's request) a translation in Latin of the first books of the poem. Demosthenes must have been of great interest too, for he was the 'Greek Cicero' which the Plutarchean *synkrisis* in *Parallel Lives* presented to humanist culture, an idea that infused the culture throughout the fifteenth century.²²⁰ Moreover, it can be hypothesised that Kallistos dedicated lessons to Hellenistic and Late Antique Greek poetry as well. The presence in his library of texts from these periods in itself does not suggest anything more than a personal interest for such texts.²²¹ It is far more relevant that in Vat. gr. 1373 – a book owned by Poliziano (and partially in his hand)²²² coming from Andronikos' school milieu – the same epigrams from the *Anthologia Planudea* found in some other manuscripts of Kallistos' collection were transcribed.²²³

Undoubtedly, Andronikos also read and interpreted Apollonius Rhodius. Proof comes from the Latin version transcribed by Bartolomeo Fonizio, transmitted in Ricc. 153. This codex contains at fols 90r–95v the beginning of a translation *verbum de verbo* of the text *secundum Andronici interpretationem*, clearly conceived for study purposes. The *retractatio* by Fonizio, kept today in Ricc. 539,²²⁴ is modelled upon this translation. Concerning manuscript production, many codices related to Kallistos teaching and philological activity can be linked to the years 1471–1474. By way of example, I cursorily mention some of the books – annotated by Andronikos – which I have assigned to the collection of one of his

219 I quote from Maier 1971.

220 See on the subject Resta 1962, 35, 50.

221 Günther 1999 mentioned the presence of manuscripts of Aratus (Mutin. α T.9.14), Nicander (Mutin. α T.9.2), and Lycophron (Laur. Ashb. 1144 and Mutin. α T.9.14) in Andronikos' library.

222 See Perosa 1953, 11–15, Maier 1965, 286–287, and Maier 1966, 113–115 for some aspects of this codex's content and its link to Kallistos' school. See Pontani 2002 for a thorough study of the codex. As Perosa observed, in the manuscript there are also the *ἐπίγραμμα ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ* composed by Andronikos in praise of Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis* (fols 4r–5r; see *infra*, Appendix 8) and a Greek version of a Latin epigram by Poliziano (fol. 16r; edited in Perosa 1953).

223 One can compare the contents of the first leaves of the Vaticanus with the poems handed down in Mutin. α U.9.22 (fol. 189v), Mutin. α Q.5.20 (fol. 172r), and Par. Suppl. gr. 541 (fol. 57v). See Orlandi 2014a, 174–175.

224 See on the subject Resta 1978, 1054–1131. Bartolomeo himself was to teach Apollonius at the *Studium* some years later, in 1481. As recorded in Kristeller II 19, a very late copy of Fonizio's *retractatio*, dated to the eighteenth century, is kept in the manuscript Padua, Bibl. Universitaria, 1487.

Florentine disciples, so far anonymous.²²⁵ These manuscripts reflect Kallistos' didactic interests: on the one hand Demosthenes, Theocritus and Pindar (respectively, Vat. gr. 2207 and Lond. Burney 109), on the other Aristotelian philosophy (Ricc. 46, Monac. gr. 332, Vat. gr. 2189, and Vat. gr. 2201).

There are not many epistles from these years specifically regarding Kallistos. A common denominator to all extant pieces of evidences is that they reveal a sense of uncertainty and anxiety among the Byzantine scholars active in Italy in the 1470s. One year after Andronikos' departure from Rome, Theodoros Gazes had sent him two short letters, apparently both dating to the year 1472.²²⁶ On 9 August Gazes praises Andronikos for his decision 'not to have joined the others in the journey to the land of the Scythians', that is, to Turkey.²²⁷ This may be an allusion to the fact that Kallistos chose not to follow his fellow Greeks. Moreover, the letter aims at informing Kallistos of Gazes' condition. Life in Rome, according to Theodoros, is not as quiet as before and expectations of a more favourable situation by the election of the new pope Sixtus IV (August 1471) had faded away. In the second epistle, Theodoros announces to Kallistos that he has provided for the transmission of his message to Bessarion and that he has also done so through Iohannes Sophianos. We do not know the content of the message delivered to the Cardinal by Kallistos; we can nonetheless perceive in Theodoros' words a sense of apprehension, for he anxiously advises Andronikos not to reveal his intentions to others and not to attract attention.²²⁸ Accordingly, a passage from a letter by Demetrios Chalkondyles to Giovanni Lorenzi (c. 1440–1502), probably written in the last months of 1472, reports a brief meeting in Bologna

²²⁵ See *infra*, § 4.1.3.

²²⁶ The text was published by Mohler 1942, 576–577 and then by Leone 1990, 72–74.

²²⁷ ὅτι οὐ συναποδημήσας τοῖς ἄλλοις σύ γε εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, ἐπαινῶ σου τὸν λογισμόν. εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐπαινεῖ, οὐπω ἀποδεκτόν αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, πρὶν ἢ τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀπελθόντος, ὡς ἔσχε, πυθέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ φθονήσεις, οἴμαι, οὐδενὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ εὐτυχίας [...]; see Leone 1990, 72 (epist. 14). About the Scythian-Turkish connection — to which other contemporary authors (e.g. Enea Silvio Piccolomini [Pius II] and Francesco Filelfo) likewise refer — see Bisaha 2006, 43–93, 147–150 and Carile 2008, 25–35. It is perhaps interesting to remark that some years before also Michael Apostoles, in an epistle sent to Iohannes Argyropoulos, had also referred to the 'savage Turks' holding him in captivity on the Black Sea as Σκύθαι καὶ Σαυρομάται (see Stefec 2013a, epist. 4, lines 47,26–48,3); on the identification of the addressee with Argyropoulos see Rollo 2014c, 328–329.

²²⁸ συμβούλευε δὲ καὶ τῷ Σοφιανῷ μηδὲν ἔξω φέρεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν ἄλλο τι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις τε καὶ βοηθήμασι. οὕτω γὰρ βέλτιον ἔξει τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἔστι δ' ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, ὡς διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν, μηδὲν μηδενὶ κοινολογεῖσθαι τῶν ἔξωθεν περὶ τοῦ συμβάντος ἐπιμένειν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷς πρότερον καὶ ὅποσα εἴωθε πρότερον δρᾶν ἔτι δρᾶν καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐμφαίνειν μεταβολὴν [...]; see Leone 1990, 73–74 (epist. 15).

between Demetrios (coming from Padua) and Andronikos (coming from Florence), upon the occasion of Bessarion's arrival in the city (that is, 9–12 May) on his way to France. During this meeting Demetrios learned from Andronikos of Theodoros Gazes' recent unfavourable and unstable situation in Rome. This anxiety soon led Gazes to leave Rome definitively and to move to the monastery of San Giovanni a Piro. The passage is worthy of mention for it is emblematic of the condition of many Greeks residing in Italy:

ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος καθηγεμὼν Θεόδωρος, ὡς ἐπυθόμην ἐν Βονωνία παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνδρόνικου — ἦλθε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ Φλωρεντίας ἐκεῖσε διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἦν καὶ ἡμεῖς — ἐμεινεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἔχων παρὰ τοῦ Νικαίας τὸ γλίσχρον ἐκεῖνο σιτηρέσιον ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἐδίδου παρῶν, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στατήρας ἑκατὸν οὓς νεωστὶ ἐπηγγεῖλατο παρέχειν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. ὁ μέντοι Θεόδωρος ἐτύγχανεν ἡμῖν γεγραφὼς μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἢ ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνδρόνικου ὡς ἂν μὴ τύχη προμηθείας τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, οὐκέτι δυνήσεται διατρίβειν ἐν Ῥώμῃ οὐδὲ εὐπορεῖν ἰκανῶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. προσδοκῶ γε μὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔτερα γράμματα διδάξοντα ἡμᾶς τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀκριβέστερον.

Our master Theodoros, as I heard in Bologna from Andronikos — he also came from Florence for the same reason as I did — remained in Rome, still receiving from the Nicene <Cardinal> that modest subsidy that the latter used to give him, along with a hundred staters from the Pope which he had newly promised to give him every year. Well, Theodoros <himself> wrote to me a short while before I heard this from Andronikos that he will not be staying in Rome any longer if he does not get any further consideration from the Pope, nor will he even be able to satisfy his basic needs. I do expect to receive other letters from him informing me further about his condition.²²⁹

The Florentine stay, as the previous ones, was suddenly interrupted. We do not know much about the reasons which prompted Kallistos to leave Florence: a compelling one was probably his precarious financial situation which — as seen in Poliziano's elegy — had been jeopardizing Andronikos' sojourn since 1473. Furthermore, the hope of a more stable settlement, together with the loss of his closest friends' support, might have contributed to his decision.²³⁰

²²⁹ Ed. Noiret 1887, 492 (lines 15–26). I have corrected *παριῶν* (Noiret) into *παρῶν* by checking the autograph manuscript Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 3v.

²³⁰ It should be kept in mind, for example, that Bessarion died in Ravenna on 18 November 1472, coming back from the diplomatic delegation in France on behalf of Sixtus IV; Theodoros Gazes was to die in 1476.

1.7 From Milan to England (1475–?)

In March 1475, Kallistos travelled to Milan. He was forced to stop in Cremona, as a letter sent on 21 March by the duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza to his *referendarius in loco* proves.²³¹ This is a letter of intercession, in which the duke demands that Andronikos' *capsae* containing *libri greci et latini* be immediately returned.²³² They were temporarily seized by local authorities while waiting for the payment of the duty fees. It is not clear whether the position held by Kallistos in Milan was public or private, for the duke mentions some unspecified 'servitij', which could hence indicate private teaching. However, it should be said that there had been no Greek teachers in Milan since 1464, that is, since Konstantinos Laskaris left the city.²³³ It is also unknown whether Giorgio Valla attended Kallistos' lectures during this brief Milanese stay.²³⁴

At any rate, it is clear that this experience also turned out to be unsatisfying. Overwhelmed by financial difficulties and tired of being disappointed, Andronikos was even forced to sell his precious book collection to pay for his last (as far as we know) travel. As noted in a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici by Giovanni Francesco Della Torre²³⁵ (i.e. the buyer of the collection of 'Andronico grecco'), dated 10 November 1476, Kallistos used the amount of money coming from the

231 The text of the letter — first published in Motta 1893, 154 from a document kept in Milan (Archivio di Stato, Registro missive, no. 121, fol. 56r) — is also in Cammelli 1942, 202–203.

232 The presence of Latin books in Kallistos' collection is certainly interesting. However, none of them has so far been identified.

233 For an account on Laskaris' movements in these years and a further bibliography, see Orlandi 2014c, 234.

234 In this regard, we lack evidence proving that Valla was a pupil of Kallistos in Pavia in the year 1465, as claimed in Heiberg 1896, 10 and repeated in other contributions, e.g. Gardenal 1981, 93, Tessier 2003, 190, Raschieri 2020a, and Raschieri 2020b, 318. In his comment to the *Compendium* of Chrysoloras' *Erotemata*, Ludovico Pontico Virunio writes: [...] *ut Ἀνδρόνικος μείζων ἐστὶ Θεοδώρου ἐνὶ δακτύλῳ, bene autem facit hanc comparisonem Chrysoloras, quoniam amici erant Andronicus praeceptor nostri Georgii Vallae et Theodorus Gaza magnificus rector gymnasii Ferrariensis* (see Rollo 2014a, 108 n. 1). We wonder whether the Greek master of Valla acting in northern Italy in the mid-1460s may have been Andronikos Kallipolites/Kontoblakas and not Kallistos; see *supra*, § 1.3.2. I am preparing a paper on this issue.

235 The text, already edited in Cammelli 1942, 206–207, is republished *infra*, § 3.2, together with all the details of the purchase of Andronikos' manuscripts.

sale to travel to England together with a ‘signore della Morea’, who has been identified with Georgios Hermonymos²³⁶ or Demetrios Kantakuzenos.²³⁷

By the time of the letter by Giovanni Francesco Della Torre, Andronikos had already left Italy for at least eight months. For there is a letter, dated 3 March 1476, written by him from London to the Byzantine nobleman Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos²³⁸ who was in Paris at the service of the King of France, Louis XI. Kallistos asks for the liberation of his friend Georgios Hermonymos, charged with espionage and arrested.²³⁹

The last document concerning Kallistos’ biography deals with the announcement of his death:

ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τυραννούντων φειδωλία Θεόδωρον ἐς ἄκρον πάσης σοφίας ἐληλακότα ἐς Καλαβρίαν ἀπήλασε καὶ ἐν Πολυκάστρω – φεῦ – ἀδόξως θανεῖν ἠνάγκασεν, Ἀνδρόνικον δὲ τὸν Καλλίστου ἐς τὰς βρεττανικὰς νήσους, ὅπου φίλων ἔρημος τέθνηκε, Φραγκούλιον δὲ ἄνδρα σοφὸν οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ τῆς ἰταλίας, Δημήτριον δὲ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανήκειν βαρβάρους δουλεύοντα. παραλείπω δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἐμὸν καθηγητὴν Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἀργυρόπουλον ἐν μέσῃ Ῥωμῇ πενόμενον καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην τὰς ἑαυτοῦ βίβλους ἀποδιδόμενον.²⁴⁰

236 See Pietrobelli 2009, 97 n. 48. As pointed out in Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 194 n. 33, the identification with Hermonymos raises some issues. We do not know much about Hermonymos’ movements, besides the fact that he had already been travelling abroad on diplomatic delegation since June 1473 (see Kalatzi 2009, 39, 44–49); at any rate – as Martinelli Tempesta observes – in 1475 Hermonymos was already in England.

237 See Harris 1995, 146–147. Recently, Botley 2019, 187–188 also suggested that Kallistos’ travelling companion might be Demetrios Kantakuzenos. In Botley’s view, this Kantakuzenos is to be identified with a namesake, a lesser-known scribe [= RGK II 129], whose activity began in London in 1476, that is at the time of Kallistos’ arrival in England. Botley’s hypothesis, as fascinating as it may be, is not supported so far by strong evidence. On Kantakuzenos see Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 188–189, 194 n. 33.

238 See *PLP* 5531.

239 For more details on this, see Kalatzi 2009. The text of the letter first appeared in Boissonade 1833, 420–426 (then in *PG* 161, cols 1017–1020); it is published again in the Appendix to the present volume. Andronikos passed through France on his way to England, as reported by Raffaele Maffei da Volterra (see Cammelli 1942, 199, 213), for he tells us he visited Hermonymos more than once in Paris. For Kallistos’ letter to Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos, see *infra*, Appendix 6.

240 I give here the text as edited by Martínez Manzano 1994, 161–162 (with slight modifications after collating fol. 148rv of Matr. 4620); a Spanish translation is in Martínez Manzano 1998, 167–169. This testimonium contrasts the aforementioned record by Raffaele Maffei (*demum in Galliam comatam penetravit [...] ubi parvo post tempore, cum esset iam magnopere senex, morbo exstinctus est*, reported in Cammelli 1942, 199, 213), according to which Kallistos died in France and not in England shortly after his arrival. We ask therefore also in this case whether Maffei might have merged different pieces of information referring to Kallistos and Kontoblakas (see *supra*, § 1.3.2).

The avarice of the rulers drove Theodoros [*scil.* Gazes], who had reached the top in every branch of knowledge, to Calabria and forced him — alas — to die in obscurity in Policastro, Andronikos Kallistos to the British Isles, where he died without friends, Frankulios [*scil.* Serbopulos], a learned man, I do not know in which part of Italy, Demetrios [*scil.* Kastrenos] to return to his homeland at the service of barbarians. And I do not speak of my learned master Iohannes Argyropulos, who lives in misery in Rome and has to pawn his books every day.

These lines come from a letter sent by Konstantinos Laskaris to the Spanish scholar and poet Juan Pardo.²⁴¹ The passage about Iohannes Argyropulos is fundamental to defining the timeframe in which the letter was composed. Since Argyropulos was still alive when the letter was written²⁴² and his books were sold between October 1481 and November 1484,²⁴³ the epistle was composed between 1481 and 1484 and, consequently, the year 1484 itself represents the ultimate chronological *terminus ante quem* for Kallistos' death. Due to the absolute lack of information, it is not possible to state with any precision the date, which necessarily occurred between 1476 and 1484. Still, it is significant that no manuscript evidence (neither in form of books nor of letters) has come to light to date concerning his sojourn in England; and this might be an indication that he probably did not live very long on the island after landing in 1476.

Table 1.2: Andronikos Kallistos in Quattrocento epistolaries.

Date	Sender	Addressee
<July 1453 – March 1455>	Bessarion	Theodoros Gazes
28 April <1459>	Andronikos Kallistos	Palla Strozzi
<April 1459 – December 1460>	John Free	Ludovico Carbone
1 January 1461	Francesco Filelfo	Palla Strozzi
28 January 1461	Francesco Filelfo	Palla Strozzi
19 April 1461	Francesco Filelfo	Palla Strozzi
<before 1462?>	Michael Apostoles	Andronikos <Kallistos> ?
<before 1462?>	Michael Apostoles	Andronikos <Kallistos> ?

²⁴¹ See *PLP* 21930 (with further bibliography) and Martínez Manzano 1998, 4, 12, 14, 18, 167.

²⁴² Argyropulos was to die on 26 June 1487; see Bigi 1962 (with further bibliography).

²⁴³ See Mercati 1910, 580.

Date	Sender	Addressee
19 May 1462	Bessarion	Michael Apostoles
19 May 1462	Bessarion	Andronikos Kallistos
5 June 1462	Nikolaos Sekundinos	Andronikos Kallistos
<1463 – 1465>	Andronikos Kallistos	Demetrios Chalkondyles
26 April 1464	Francesco Filelfo	Alberto Parisi
27 April 1464	Francesco Filelfo	Andronikos Kallistos
29 April 1464	Francesco Filelfo	Andronikos Kallistos
31 October 1464	Francesco Filelfo	Alberto Parisi
21 March 1465	Francesco Filelfo	Argino da Busseto
21 March 1465	Francesco Filelfo	Bernardo Moretti
21 March 1465	Francesco Filelfo	Andronikos Kallistos
28 August 1466	Francesco Filelfo	Andronikos Kallistos
21 January 1469	Francesco Filelfo	Theodoros Gazes
<18 September 1467 – 18 March 1471>	Theodoros Gazes	Marco Barbo
23 August 1471	Bessarion	Lorenzo de' Medici
<12 May 1472 – 21 March 1475>	Demetrios Chalcondyles	Giovanni Lorenzi
9 August <1472>	Theodoros Gazes	Andronikos Kallistos
<9 August – 18 November 1472>	Theodoros Gazes	Andronikos Kallistos
<18 November 1472 – 21 March 1475>	Michael Apostoles	Andronikos Kallistos
6 February 1473	Francesco Filelfo	Lorenzo de' Medici
21 March 1475	Galeazzo Maria Sforza	Sforza's <i>referendarius</i> in Cremona
3 March 1476	Andronikos Kallistos	Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos
10 November 1476	Gian Francesco Della Torre	Lorenzo de' Medici
19 March 1480	Angelo Poliziano	Lorenzo de' Medici

Date	Sender	Addressee
<October 1481 – November 1484>	Konstantinos Laskaris	Juan Pardo
1 September 1483	Ermolao Barbaro	Giorgio Merula
14 October 1492	Antonio Urceo Codro	Aldo Manuzio

2 Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space: On Kallistos' Scribal Activity

The present chapter gives an outline of Kallistos' scribal activity, beginning with the earliest manuscripts produced when he was still living in the territories of the collapsing Byzantine Empire and the very first scribal tasks accomplished in Italy (i.e. at Bessarion's residence, in Bologna). Next comes an analysis of Kallistos' manuscript production between Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, Rome and Florence. Manuscripts that were part of his own book collection are distinguished from those that were not. Palaeographic remarks close the chapter.

2.1 The beginnings, from Byzantium to Italy

The first batch of evidence about Andronikos' scribal activity consists of manuscripts, which can be all linked back to the years of his presence in the Byzantine East, between Constantinople and Crete.

2.1.1 Crete (before 1453)

As already highlighted in the previous chapter, the manuscript Par. Suppl. gr. 541 (Plate 1) presents clear Byzantine codicological features and may therefore be used as a starting point for this analysis. Dieter Harlfinger¹ is credited with having identified the watermark *Fleur* we have already been focusing on while speaking of the Paris manuscript in the first codicological unit of the codex Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, A 4 (= fols 1–71, Arist., *Phys.*), which is likewise in the hand of Kallistos (Plate 2). One might infer therefore that this unit also was manufactured in the Byzantine East and, more precisely, in Crete. However, before drawing any conclusion, one should first widen the range of investigation to gather more evidence.

The scrutiny of Kallistos' manuscripts brought to light more samples of books bearing the watermark *Fleur* 80 Harlfinger. Among these is Vat. Ross. 1025 (see Fig. 2.1), which contains Aristotle's *De anima* along with Philoponos' commentary.²

¹ See *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 136.

² For bibliographical references and a description, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 45).

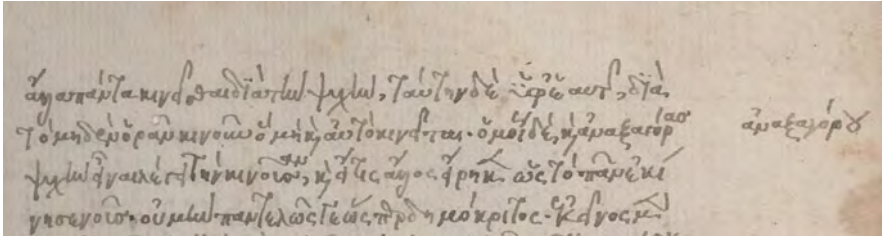


Fig. 2.1: Ross. 1025, fol. 3r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Also this volume, made up of two coeval codicological units (I = fols X–33; II = 34–309), presents both the *Fleur* and the *Enclume* featured in Par. Suppl. gr. 541³ and in the Erlangensis. We currently lack reliable critical studies on the textual transmission of Aristotle's *De anima*⁴ and Philoponos' commentary, which would help to identify the antigraph of Vat. Ross. 1025. Yet, an interesting clue comes from a record written down by Kallistos at fol. Xv. The text of this record⁵ is found in a group of manuscripts originating from Cretan *scriptoria*, such as Berol. gr. fol. 67 (now kept in Kraków), copied by Georgios Tzangaropoulos, and Scor. T.II.21, realized around the year 1464/1465 by the *protonotarius* Andreas, a collaborator of Michael Apostoles in Crete.⁶ With regard to the commentary of Philoponos, partial collations of some *recentiores* provided an equally valuable insight to the hypothesis of a Cretan origin of the Rossianus, for its text proved akin to that of Ambr. D 80 inf.,⁷ a book manufactured by the Cretan scribe Thomas Bitzimanos,⁸ and to that of the Mutin. α V.6.11,⁹ which is in the hand of Aristobulos Apostoles, son of Michael.¹⁰

³ See *supra*, § 1.2.2.

⁴ For an attempt at an identification of some families, see Siwek 1965.

⁵ Inc.: ἐν μὲν τῇ φυσικῇ ἀκροάσει...; expl.: ...ἀρχὴν ἀνάγει τὸν λόγον. For the whole text of the record (to be found also in Bern. 135, Ambr. F 113 sup., and Vrat. Rehd. 15 [see *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, *suo loco*]) refer to Konstantinides 1887, 216–217; see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 45).

⁶ See for this Rashed 2001, 265–270. Furthermore, Ambr. G 61 sup. (owned by Lauro Quirini, who was active in Crete) has been identified by Rashed as common ancestor of this group of manuscripts for the text of *De generatione et corruptione*.

⁷ Martini and Bassi 1906, II, 1031.

⁸ RGK I 141 = II 187 = III 236.

⁹ Puntoni 1896, 505.

¹⁰ RGK I 27 = II 38 = III 46. The clearest evidence of the relationship between these manuscripts is the abrupt interruption of the text (due to difficulties in reading the damaged antigraph) they present in the second book of the work by the words ἀέρος λέγω καὶ ὕδατος ... ἡμῖν σώματος μεταξύ ἢ ἀντίληψις (Io. Phlp., in *Arist de an.*, ed. Hayduck 1897, 426, 27–33). While waiting for

Material analysis of the codex Cambridge, University Library, Nn.III.18 qualifies it as being another sample of Andronikos' scribal activity in Byzantium. A volume containing Thucydides' historical work (see Plate 3), the Cantabrigensis provides evidence for the drawing *Fleur* and, in addition, for the aforementioned watermark *Enclume*.¹¹ Moreover, Powell's pioneering studies on the transmission of Thucydides' text reveal that this manuscript (*siglum* N) descends from a lost antigraph, from which in turn an entirely Cretan strand of the tradition stems. To this branch belongs a handful of manuscripts copied by scribes active on the island between 1450 and 1475, such as Michael Apostoles, Michael Lygizos, Antonios Damilas, and Georgios Tzangaropoulos.¹²

Even in Cambridge, less than a one-mile-walk from the University Library, another manuscript written entirely in the hand of Kallistos is preserved. A witness to the text of Herodotus' *Historiae*, the codex no. 30 (1.2.9) today kept at the Emmanuel College interestingly shows the same codicological and palaeographic features as the former.¹³ The analysis of the watermarks has brought to light once more evidence for both the drawings *Fleur* and *Enclume*.¹⁴ We are usually able to identify the models from which Kallistos derived the texts copied in the manuscripts made in Italy; this is not the case with the antigraph of the Cambridge Herodotus, which is believed to have gone missing.¹⁵ This might be another hint pointing toward a genesis in the East from a lost Byzantine source.

While cataloguing manuscripts in Venice, Elpidio Mioni recognized *Fleur* 80 Harlfinger (= Briquet 6306) among the leaves of Marc. gr. Z. 374. This contains

further investigation, one can outline three hypotheses: 1. the Ambrosianus and the Mutinensis, undoubtedly more recent than the Rossianus, are both descendants of the latter; 2. the Ambrosianus is a copy of the Mutinensis or viceversa (one of them being, in this case, a sibling to the Rossianus); 3. the Rossianus, the Ambrosianus, and the Mutinensis are all siblings to each other and descend from the same unidentified ancestor, available on the island between 1450 and 1475.

11 While in Italy, Kallistos was to restore the codex and correct the text by collating it with two other witnesses: Marc. gr. VII 5 (owned by Palla Strozzi) and Par. Suppl. gr. 255; see more *infra*, § 5.2.1 and 5.2.2.

12 See Powell 1938b, 105.

13 Powell 1937 is credited with having established a comparison between the Cambridge Thucydides and the Cambridge Herodotus.

14 For a description, see *infra*, 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 2).

15 The Cantabrigensis is the only fifteenth-century manuscript which has been taken into account because of its interesting readings in the newly published critical edition by Nigel G. Wilson (*siglum* S); see Wilson 2015a and Wilson 2015b.

books I–V of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica*, copied almost entirely by Andronikos Kallistos (Plate 4).¹⁶ As far as I am aware, it has never been pointed out that fol. 166v is not the work of Andronikos, but of another scribe acting in mid-fifteenth century Crete, i.e. <Iohannes Rhosos> (Fig. 2.2).¹⁷ To my knowledge, this is one of the earliest pieces of evidence of Rhosos' scribal activity before he moved to Italy.

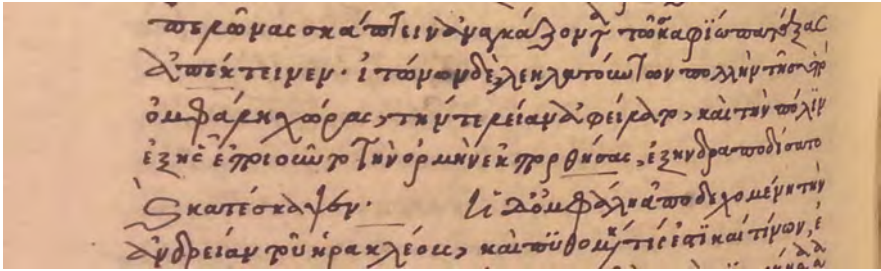


Fig. 2.2: Marc. gr. Z. 374, fol. 166v; © Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

Other leaves of the Marcianus bear the drawings *Enclume* (similar to Briquet 5956) and *Monts dans un cercle sommés d'une croix* (vaguely similar to Briquet 11882), i.e. the same watermarks we already came across while investigating Par. Suppl. gr. 541 and Erlangensis A 4. This is a hint that these three pieces were manufactured at the same time. From a stemmatic perspective, the Venice Diodorus has turned out to be a sibling of Mutin. α U.8.3,¹⁸ a book copied and subscribed by

¹⁶ Mioni 1985a, 132–133.

¹⁷ Another anonymous copyist, whose handwriting resembles that of the so-called *Anonymus* MA Stefec (see Stefec 2013b, 224) and whose participation in the making of the book had been so far overlooked, is responsible for the copy of <fol. 128r>.

¹⁸ Chamoux and Bertrac 1993, LXXXII–LXXXIV and XCVII.

Michael Apostoles in Crete.¹⁹ Their antigraph is Ambr. F 110 sup., for which a Cretan origin is likely too.²⁰ Thus, the common source of both the Marcianus by Kallistos and the Mutinensis by Apostoles must have been available on the island around the middle of the fifteenth century.

According to this data, the first codicological unit (= fols 1–8) of Ambr. L 35 sup. (Fig. 2.3) can also be included into this group.

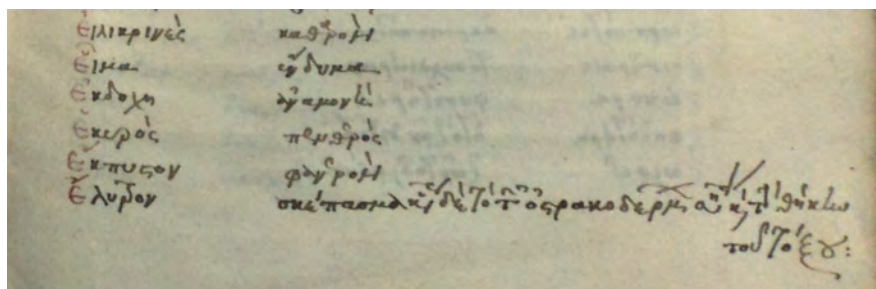


Fig. 2.3: Ambr. L 35 sup., fol. 2r; © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

In this *quaternio*, Andronikos transcribed a short text entitled λεξικὸν συνοπτικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον, which seems to stem from Zonaras' lexicon.²¹ The features of Kallistos' writing convincingly match the aforementioned ones. In addition, there are further hints pointing at a Cretan origin of this *quaternio*: 1. this alphabetical lexicon has been transcribed on paper bearing the aforementioned watermark *Enclume*; 2. the fact that this codicological unit belongs to a composite manuscript merging sections copied by the Cretan scribe Michael Lygizos (units III = fols 13–48 and IV = fols 49–150, with the exception of fol. 116),²² and by <Angelo

¹⁹ The subscription at fol. 215v reads: Μιχαῆλος Ἀποστόλης Βυζάντιος μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος πενία συζῶν καὶ τήνδε τὴν βίβλον μισθῶ ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐξέγραψεν; see the description in Puntoni 1896, 497–498. I report here the discovery of some *marginalia* in the hand of <Apostoles> in the 'Cretan' manuscript Berol. Phillipps 1615 (Demosthenes); see fols 6r, 10r, 15v, 37v, 69r, 112r.

²⁰ This manuscript was to belong to the collection of Manuel Sophianos later on. See Pontani 1991.

²¹ See Studemund 1886, 117. Stefano Martinelli Tempesta is credited with the discovery of Andronikos' handwriting (see Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 108, 109, 132–133, 136). The scholar also identified a marginal annotation in the hand of Georgios Alexandros Chomatas at fol. 30r (see Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 132, 138).

²² Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 140.

Vadio> (fol. 116 and unit V [= fols 151–160]), a learned man who resided in Crete in the mid-fifteenth century and was presumably the owner of the book;²³ 3. the presence of the original Byzantine/Cretan leather binding, whose decorations bear similarities to those of Par. Suppl. gr. 541.

The scribal activity of Kallistos in the East — as well as at a later time in Italy — did not only consist in the copying of manuscripts. A complementary aspect concerns the restoration of old books, most dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, belonging to his collection. In this regard, material analysis has brought to light historical and cultural aspects related to Andronikos' work as *instaurator*, such as the identification of the place and time in which this task was performed and the identification of the manuscripts used as antigraphs for the recovery of missing passages of the text.

For the works by Nikephoros Blemmydes handed down in the manuscript Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 (a thirteenth-century-book that was to end up a few decades later in the hands of Giorgio Valla)²⁴ we are now provided with reliable data confirming that the restoration was performed in Crete, in all likelihood before 1453. First, the watermarks²⁵ found in these parts of the manuscript (fols 107–114, 127–139, 147–149, 151–157; see a specimen at Fig. 2.4) point to a Byzantine/Cretan origin. In addition, the antigraph used for completing the text (Monac. gr. 225) proved to be available at that time on the island.²⁶

23 For the Greek writing of Angelo Vadio da Rimini, which we identify in the Ambr. L 35 sup., refer to Stefec 2012b.

24 See *infra*, § 3.3.

25 *Monts <dans un cercle>* 84 Harlfinger (similar to that of Erlang. A 4, see below) fols 112, 114, 127/134; *Tête humaine* similar to Briquet 15616 (1448–1456; same as Oxon. Barocci 63 [see more data below]) fols 129/132, 130/131; *Monts* 52 Harlfinger (similar to that of Erlang. A 4, see below) fols 136/139, 149, 152/156, 153/157.

26 See Valente 2021, 37–42.

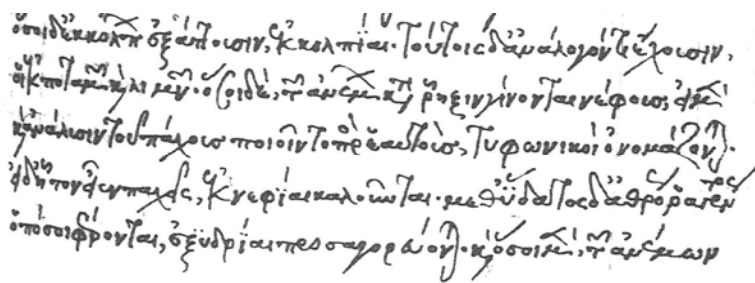


Fig. 2.4: Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71, fol. 109r; © Bodleian Library.

Accordingly, Kallistos completed the text of the Vind. Suppl. gr. 23 (Plutarch) by supplementing the missing section (fols 1–40). The material aspects (writing and watermarks) indicate a rather early date for the restoration. Furthermore, Rudolf S. Stefec discovered in this manuscript *marginalia* in the hand of Lauro Quirini, whose activity in Crete is well known.²⁷

Finally, despite the lack of a philological proof, codicological evidence (in addition to an apparent palaeographic homogeneity with all the previous findings) leads to the conclusion that the restoration of Mutin. α U.9.10, a collection of rhetorical works, was also undertaken on the island of Crete. For in its restored sections (fols 2r–25v, 95r–102v, 191r–215r), the aforementioned drawing *Enclume* appears.

2.1.1.1 The apographs of Par. gr. 2403

In a fundamental study on the exegetical tradition of the *Odyssey*, Filippomaria Pontani highlighted a few years ago the importance of the witness Par. gr. 2403 (thirteenth–fourteenth century, *siglum* D). This manuscript contains, in addition to Homer’s work, a unique sylloge of texts of different genres (Cleomedes, Aratus, Lycophron, Pindar and Nicander). With reference to the *Odyssey*, Pontani’s philological investigations have brought to light the dependence of a section of the manuscript Mutin. α U.9.22 (see Plate 5), copied by Andronikos Kallistos, on the Par. gr. 2403.²⁸

²⁷ See Stefec 2012a, 42–43. For more details about Quirini’s activity see also Stefec 2014, 173–174, 192–193 and Martínez Manzano 2019b, 193–199, 206. I recently found other traces of his Greek and Latin writing in <Vat. gr. 2364> (see e.g. fols 145r–147v).

²⁸ Pontani 2011, 277–282, 371–377.

Nothing definite is known so far about the history of the Paris codex before its stay in Venice in the mid-1500s and its entry into the library of Jean Hurault de Boistaillé. Pontani had put forward the hypothesis of a Florentine location of the codex, which in theory is not incompatible with what is known about Andronikos' biography. However, the codicological features and the writing that characterize the aforementioned section of the Mutinensis prove to be incompatible with a dating consistent with the timespan spent by Kallistos in Florence (1471–1474); furthermore, both codicological and palaeographic features of the Mutinensis are somewhat closer to those of the manuscripts described so far in the previous pages, which are proper examples of 'Byzantine' production. It is therefore necessary to consider the hypothesis that Kallistos consulted the Paris manuscript (or an apograph of it) in the East, before his arrival in Italy.

It is worth noting in this regard that from Par. gr. 2403 descend not only some of the scholia to the *Odyssey*, but also other texts copied by Andronikos and scattered today in several books belonging to his collection. For Cleomedes' *Caelestia*, the Paris manuscript has been identified as an antigraph of the Laur. Ashb. 1599 (fols 113r–152v) (see Plate 6).²⁹ From the same model Andronikos took the scholia to Aratus³⁰ for his Mutin. α T.9.14 (fols 1r–53r) (see Plate 7) where he also copied the *Alexandra* of Lycophron (fols 116r–188r, along with the commentary of Tzetzes) and the *Hymns* of Pindar (fols 188r–262v); it is striking that for both Lycophron and Pindar a dependence of the Mutinensis on Par. gr. 2403 has been likewise recognized.³¹ The last work for which the Paris manuscript has been identified as an antigraph to a book belonging to Kallistos is the *Theriaka* of Nicander,³² copied in Mutin. α T.9.2 (fols 68r–98r) (Plate 8). In addition, from a codicological point of view, significant concurrences between these manuscripts deserve to be noted: the watermark *Monts* — in a very small-format variant, unfortunately unknown to the repertoires — that I found in the leaves of the Aratus Mutin. α T.9.14 (e.g. at fols 21/24 and 30/31) is identical to that found in the Nicander Mutin. α T.9.2; in this codicological unit there is also another variant of the drawing *Monts* — likewise unknown to the repertoires and vaguely similar to the

²⁹ Todd 1990, IX.

³⁰ Martin 1974, XI–XII.

³¹ See Günther 1999, 325 (with references to Lycophron) and Irigoien 1952, 377–390, especially 386–387 (for Pindar). As noticed by Irigoien, it is remarkable that some of the other witnesses to the text belonging to the same branch are by the hand of Cretan scribes.

³² Jacques 2002, CLI–CLVII.

type Briquet 11654 (Vicenza 1449) — which I found identical in some units of Mutin. α U.9.22.³³

Therefore, it is evident that at a certain moment of his ‘Byzantine’ activity Kallistos must have had at his disposal a single manuscript, most likely the Paris codex itself (or one of its apographs), containing all these texts combined together. A valuable clue to the location of the model used by Andronikos comes from Jacques’ researches on the tradition of the *Theriaka* of Nicander. He has identified Par. gr. 2403 as the progenitor of a family, which he renamed the ‘Cretan family’.³⁴ In fact, the common denominator among the witnesses to this family coming from the Paris manuscript is that they were written by copyists, whose origin and/or activity is known to be Cretan: an example is Vat. Urb. gr. 145, belonging to Angelo Vadio and copied by Michael Lygizos and Georgios Tribizias.

In conclusion, according to this information, it is possible that Andronikos consulted and used Par. gr. 2403 (or an apograph of it) as a model during his time spent in Crete, the traces of which have been reconstructed in these pages.

2.1.1.2 Tracing the footsteps of an unknown scribe: The *Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg

The manuscript Mutin. α U.9.18 (Nemesius, *De natura hominis*) is wholly in the hand of a still unidentified scribe. Ernst Gamillscheg was the first to recognise Andronikos’ handwriting in this small *in-quarto* made of paper bearing the watermark *Monts* similar to the type 11656 Briquet. In this case, Kallistos’ work merely consists of the addition of titles and initials in red ink (see Fig. 2.5). Gamillscheg assigned to the main scribe the *nom de plume* of *Anonymus* β-π, in accordance with the peculiarity of the shape of these letters.³⁵ The source for Nemesius’ text is the manuscript Lond. Harley 5685, a manuscript that seems to have remained mostly in the territories of the former Byzantine Empire throughout the fifteenth century.³⁶

³³ The same watermark is also found in Mutin. α Q.5.20, in the section of the scholia to Pindar (fols 116–181), for which, to my knowledge, no dependence on Par. gr. 2403 has yet been acknowledged.

³⁴ Jacques 2002, CLI–CLVII.

³⁵ See Gamillscheg 1978, 238. At a later time Andronikos added on the lower margin his characteristic ‘double’ quire numeration with Greek letters (α–ι) and Arabic numerals (see more *infra*, § 6.1) and bound this manuscript together with Mutin. α U.9.3 (α’–κη’); see Gamillscheg 1978, 238 n. 63.

³⁶ See Morani 1981, 7–15.

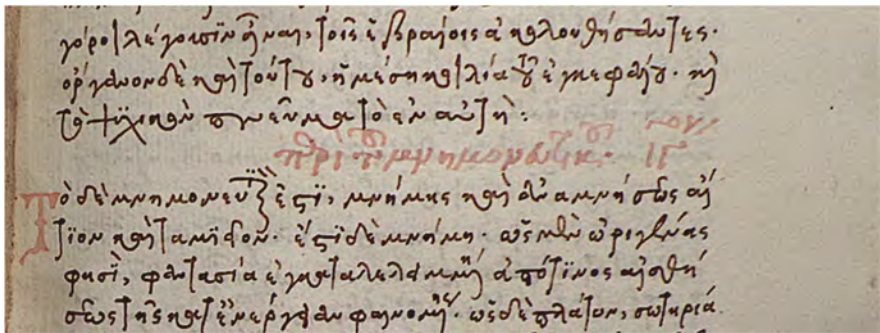


Fig. 2.5: Mutin. α U.9.18, fol. 37r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

The *Anonymus*' handwriting has been discovered by Gamillscheg in another book from Andronikos' library, Mutin. α W.5.5. This *in-folio* miscellaneous collection of lexicographic works was produced by the *Anonymus* β-π (Fig. 2.6) in collaboration with several scribes (Kallistos, Georgios Tzangaropoulos,³⁷ Emmanuel Zacharides,³⁸ and another unknown copyist); it is worth noting that both Tzangaropoulos and Zacharides are scribes known to have been active in Crete in the mid-fifteenth century. In codicological terms, this manuscript bears evidence for paper watermarked *Enclume* in the aforementioned type similar to 5955 Briquet, i.e. a witness to the manuscript production on the island.

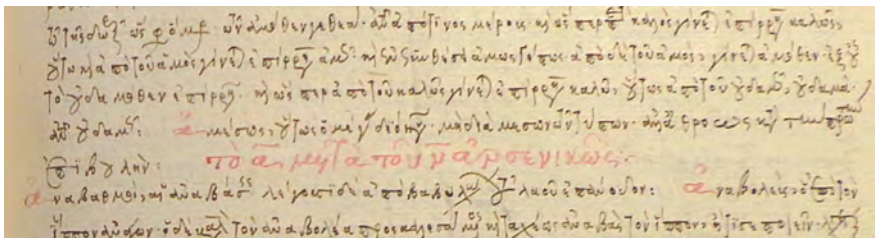


Fig. 2.6: Mutin. α W.5.5, fol. 22r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

³⁷ See RGK I 72 = II 193 = III 121.

³⁸ See RGK I 114 = II 146 = III 189. For a detailed account of the scribes participating in the copy of the Mutinensis, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 28).

According to these findings, it seems that the collaboration between Kallistos and *Anonymus* β-π took place during the late 1440s and early 1450s on the island of Crete. Thanks to new data it is possible to clarify this picture.

In the University Library of Bologna, there is another manuscript mostly copied by the *Anonymus*. This is the Bonon. 2638, a tiny codex³⁹ consisting of three independent units with a currently upset order of sheets and quires. The second unit (= fols 92, 38–43, 99, 44–91; rhetorical-grammatical writings by Planudes), which bears the same paper watermarked *Monts* found in Mutin. α U.9.18, is entirely in the hand of <*Anonymus* β-π>; and <Andronikos>, just like in the Modena manuscript, is responsible for the addition of initials and titles in light-red ink⁴⁰

39 I give here a more detailed description of the manuscript than that found *infra*, § 6.2 (catalogue entry no. 65). Paper, fifteenth century (*ante* 1453), mm 206 × 141, fols I+117+I' [blanks 23–26]. Composite manuscript, made of three codicological units: I (= fols 1–37; Constantinople?); II (= fols 92, 38–43, 99, 44–91); III (= fols 93–98, 100–117). Formerly kept in the library of the convent of Canonici Regolari di San Salvatore. The watermark found in the first unit, copied by an unknown scribe, is a drawing *Ciseaux* without correspondence; see fols 9/16, 12/13, 2/26. The order of the folios is incorrect. Quire composition: 1–2⁸; 3⁸⁺⁴⁺¹ (= fols 17–22, 27, 29 + 23–26 + 28); 4⁸. To the original leaves of the third quire (= 17–22, 27, 29) a *binio* was added (= 23–26) along with a single leaf (= 28). Numeration with Greek letters (α'–δ') in the lower central margin of the first sheet. The written area is mm 23[129]54 × 23[81]35 (25 lines, ruling scheme Sautel–Leroy 20D1n). Contents (excerpts from grammar treatises): 1r Ἀνάγνωσις σαφειστάτη πῶς δεῖ συντάσσειν (fragments; inc.: πρὸ πάντων δεῖ γινώσκειν, ὅτι πᾶν ῥήμα εὐθείαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιέχει [see Vind. Phil. gr. 347, fol. 139r and Lond. Harley 5744, fol. 15r]); 5r Georg. Choer., *De figuris poetiis* (inc. πάσης παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας γραφῆς); 9v Ioseph Rhakend., *Synopsis artis rhetoricae* 18 (inc.: τὰ τῆς λέξεως πάθη ἢ ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ [cf. Tryphon, *De passionibus dictionum* 3]); 14v Tryphon *De passionibus dictionum* 1 (inc.: τὰ τῶν λέξεων πάθη εἰς δύο γενικώτατα διαφοῦνται); 16v Manuel Moschor., *De vocum passionibus* 1 (inc.: ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι τῶν λέξεων); 19v [Io. Phlp.] *De dialectis* (inc.: διάλεκτός ἐστι γλωττης ἰδίωμα); 29v Manuel Moschor., *De dialectis* (inc.: Ἰὰς διάλεκτος λέγεται ἢ τῶν Ἰώνων); 35r Max. Planudes, *Atticismi* (inc.: Ἄντι τοῦ εἰπεῖν μνημονεύω τοῦ δεῖνος). The second codicological unit (= fols 92, 38–43, 99, 44–91) was probably made in Crete (c. 1445–1453). At e.g. fols 46/49, 77/82 a watermark *Monts* (small-sized) is found, without correspondence. Quire composition: 1⁸ (= 92, 38–43, 99), 2–7⁸. Numeration with Greek letter (α'–ζ') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of <*Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg>. The written area is mm 19[156]29 × 22[91]29 (29 lines, ruling scheme Sautel–Leroy 22D1b). Contents: 92r Max. Planudes, *Dialogus grammaticalis*; *De syntaxi* (des. mut.: ἐνεργεῖν τε καὶ πάσχειν 113,8 Bachmann). Finally, the third (incomplete) unit is made of fols 93–98, 100–117. We do not know whether also this part, which is the work of an unknown scribe, was made in Crete (c. 1460–1490, according to the watermarks [*Tête de boeuf* without correspondence; see fols 95/96, 111/112]). Quire composition: 1⁸⁻² (wants 1 and 8), 2–3⁸, 4²; the numeration is missing. The written area is mm 18[158]29 × 23[92]28 (28 lines, ruling scheme Sautel–Leroy 20D1). This unit contains part of Aelius Aristides' *Contra Platonem* (inc. mut.: οὕτως εἶχον ὥστε μηδὲ 202,18 Jebb).

40 See fols 44r, 48v, 50v, 51r, 52v, 56r, 62r, 63r, 69r, 72r, 76r, 77rv, 79v, 81v, 83r, 84r, 92r.

(Fig. 2.7), which is the same used for both Mutin. α U.9.18 and Mutin. α W.5.5. Moreover, other codicological features of Mutin. α W.5.5 are identical to those of Mutin. α U.9.18: it is size and *mise en page* (with regard to written area, ruling scheme, number of lines per page). This may suggest that the *concepteur* of the manuscript was Kallistos himself, to whom at least the Mutinensis belonged with certainty.

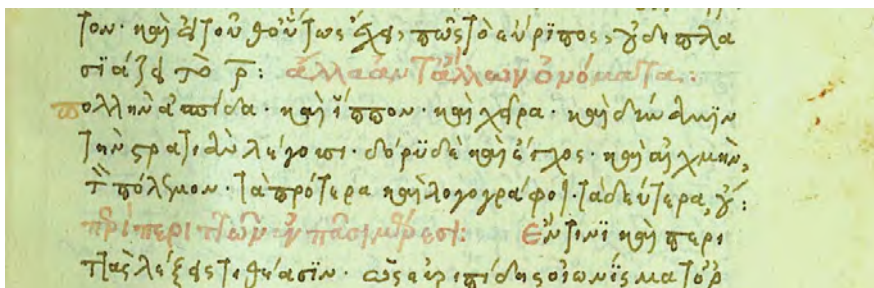


Fig. 2.7: Bonon. 2638, fol. 77r; © Biblioteca Universitaria.

Moreover, a manuscript kept in Oxford at the Bodleian Library, Barocci 63, shows evidence of a scribal collaboration which likely took place in Crete. This codex is quite problematic from both palaeographic and codicological points of view. It is composed of five independent codicological units. The first, the fourth and the fifth are not of interest within the scope of the present topic. The second one is wholly in the hand of Michael Lygizos,⁴¹ whose scribal activity on the island has already been mentioned. The third codicological unit (= fols 120–183) deserves a closer look. Despite the fact that the current order of the leaves is extremely messy, this unit is codicologically homogeneous. Aubrey Diller first signalled the presence of Kallistos (Fig. 2.8) as one of the scribes responsible for the transcription of works by Libanius and Aelius Aristides.⁴²

⁴¹ Identification in *RGK I*.

⁴² Diller 1967, 408–409.

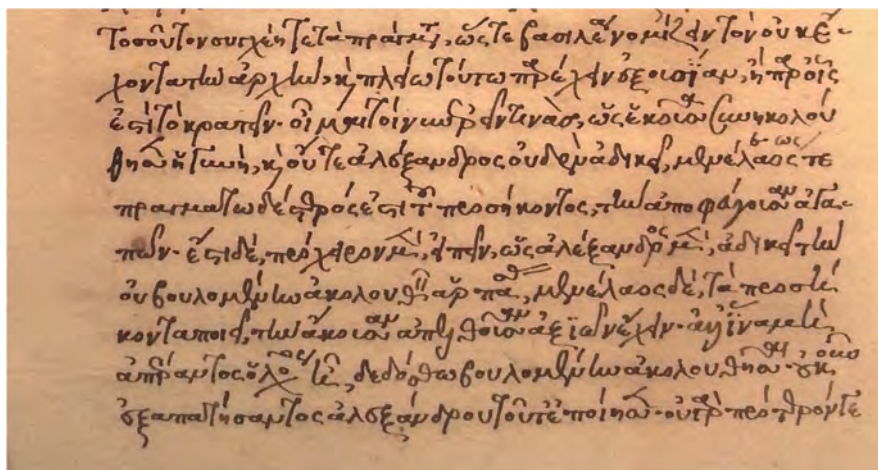


Fig. 2.8: Oxon. Barocci 63, fol. 129v; © Bodleian Library.

A collaborator of Kallistos was, in this case, Georgios Tribizias. A third scribe, whose handwriting has so far been confused with Kallistos',⁴³ worked together with both Kallistos and Tribizias. It is the same copyist responsible for a single sheet (<fol. 201v>) in Par. Suppl. gr. 541.⁴⁴ We can compare here the Oxoniensis (Fig. 2.9, lines 1–4 of the picture, up to the word ταύτην) and the Parisinus (see below, Fig. 2.12), which has already been presented as a remarkable witness to Andronikos' scribal activity in the Byzantine East. Finally, it has been so far overlooked that lines 22–29 of fol. 135r are the work of another scribe, who is none other than <Anonymus β-π> (Fig. 2.9 [last lines]).⁴⁵

⁴³ So Diller 1967, and more recently, Liakou-Kropp 2002, 164, who speaks of variations in writing ('Schriftschwankungen'). A first attempt towards a distinction of the hands is in Rollo 2014b, 288; see more *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 31).

⁴⁴ See also *supra*, § 1.2.2 and 2.1.1.

⁴⁵ I found the hand of this anonymous scribe in another manuscript as well which is not related to the activity of Andronikos Kallistos: <Ott. gr. 210> (see e.g. fol. 72r and following).

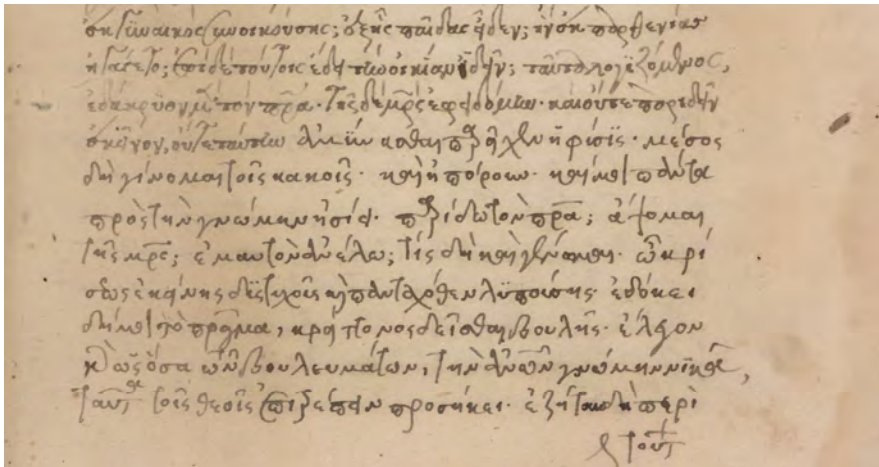


Fig. 2.9: Oxon. Barocci 63, fol. 135r; © Bodleian Library.

It may be worth noting that some features of the *mise en page* (e.g. c. mm 160 × 90 for the written area and 29 lines per page) closely resemble those of many aforementioned manuscripts. The results of the analysis of the watermarks also point in this case to its originating in the East before Constantinople's fall.⁴⁶ Moreover, the inclusion itself in the Barocci collection may suggest that this book was kept for a long time in Crete.⁴⁷

New evidence of the collaboration between Kallistos and *Anonymus* β-π finally comes from the leaves of another codex now belonging to the same collection and of proven Cretan origin, i.e. Barocci 76. This well known book, containing the so-called Konstantinos Laskaris' *Desideraten-Liste*,⁴⁸ is made up of numerous independent codicological units. In the first volume of *RGK* and in more recent contributions the work of scribes such as Michael Lygizos, Michael Apostoles (along with his collaborator *Anonymus* MA Stefec)⁴⁹ and Andreas Donos had already been signalled. We can add that three leaves (<fols 363r–365v>) of a unit which is now unfortunately incomplete are in the hand of the <*Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg> (see Fig. 2.10 and 2.11, lines 6–9); moreover, as seen in previous

⁴⁶ See *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 31).

⁴⁷ As is well known, Francesco Barocci (1537–1604) was born in Candia and spent a long period of his life in Crete, where he purchased many Greek manuscripts.

⁴⁸ See on this issue Martínez Manzano 1998, 55, 59.

⁴⁹ Identification in Stefec 2014, 197.

cases, <Andronikos Kallistos> is here responsible for the addition of initials and titles in light-red ink, along with some marginal notes (Fig. 2.10). Annotations to this section have been applied on the outer margins, probably at a later time, by Lygizos, who likewise copied the text of Synkellos in the Par. gr. 2557 (fols 1r–50r).⁵⁰

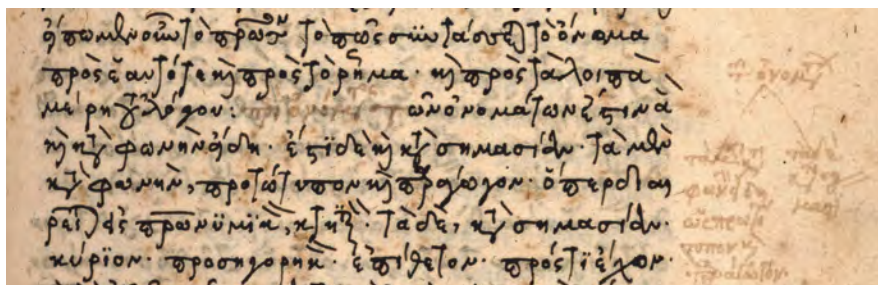


Fig. 2.10: Oxon. Barocci 76, fol. 364r; © Bodleian Library.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the hand who wrote the title of the work at the beginning of fol. 363r (Μιχαήλ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ συγγέλου [sic] τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τῶν ἱεροσολύμων μέθοδος etc.; see Fig. 2.11, lines 1–5) matches with that of the unknown scribe collaborating with Kallistos in the making of Barocci 63 and Par. Suppl. gr. 541.⁵¹

⁵⁰ From a philological point of view, what little remains of Michael Synkellos' text handed down by Barocci 76 reveals apparent similarities with that of Par. gr. 2557. Also the diagram τῶν ὀνομάτων supplemented by Kallistos in the outer margin of fol. 364r of Barocci 76 has been reproduced by Lygizos in the lower margin of fol. 2v of Par. gr. 2557.

⁵¹ One could gather in this small corpus also the writing of the first unit of Neap II.F.32, which bears the watermark *Fleur* 80 Harlfinger and which had been so far attributed to the hand of Kallistos. See Harlfinger 1974–1980, s.v. *Fleur*, *Tour*, *Monts* and *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 138 (Harlfinger). The identification with Kallistos, which is in this case not convincing, has been repeated in Gamillscheg 1978, 236 n. 45, Formentin 1995, 157 and in more recent contributions, such as Parenza 2014, 361.

The aforementioned Erlangensis A 4 is made up of six independent codicological units.⁵² Besides the drawing *Fleur* (unit I)⁵³ pointing to Crete, different watermarks are found within other sections copied by Kallistos (units II, III and V); while sharing a dating from the late 1440s until the early 1450s, they may however indicate a provenance from elsewhere. They are *Monts <dans un cercle>* 84 Harlfinger (mid-fifteenth century; unit II [= fols 72–79]) and *Monts* 52 Harlfinger (almost identical to 11656 Briquet [c. 1438–1453, variously located]; units III [= fols 80–102] and V [= fols 209–264]).

As has been demonstrated in recent times, the text of Aristotle's *Parva naturalia* contained in the third codicological unit of the Erlangensis (= fols 80–102) descends from a lost source which was still preserved in the territories of the Byzantine Empire before the fall of Constantinople and had no progeny in the frame of Italian humanism.⁵⁴ Likewise, the existence of a lost Byzantine source — maybe Constantinopolitan — shall be assumed with regard to the fifth unit (= fols 209–264) containing Plato's *Gorgias*, *Lysis*, *Menexenus* and *Clitophon*. For both *Lysis* and *Clitophon* a derivation from Vat. gr. 226 owned by Manuel Chrysoloras has already been traced back.⁵⁵ As for the *Gorgias*, the Erlangen manuscript turned out to be an apograph (in all likelihood indirect) of a Constantinopolitan source, i.e. Par. gr. 2110 (fourteenth century).⁵⁶ The text of *Menexenus* in the Erlangensis has not been collated.⁵⁷

52 Units IV and VI are more recent than the others and date to the 1460s; for details refer to the description *infra*, 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 4).

53 Within this unit (see e.g. at the *bifolium* 33/40) the drawing *Tour* 8 Harlfinger also appears, which is similar to Briquet 15908 (Udine, 1449). Akin to this is the watermark found at fols 75–90 of Par. Suppl. gr. 66 (which are in the hand of Kallistos too; identification in *RGK* II 25). These folios within the Paris manuscript have to be considered therefore as other witnesses to Andronikos' scribal activity in the Byzantine East. The text of the arithmetical problem by Isaak Argyros copied at fol. 90r bears textual proximity to that of Par. gr. 2107, Gud. gr. 40, and Vind. Suppl. gr. 46 (I owe this information to the courtesy of Fabio Acerbi).

54 See what has been newly pointed out about the Erlangensis (*siglum* E¹) in Primavesi 2018 and Primavesi, Rapp and Morison 2023. A younger offspring of this source for the text of Aristotle's *Sens.* and *Mem.* is the first unit of Berol. Phillipps 1507 (B⁶), most part of which was copied by Iohannes Arnes. For a detailed study of the Berlin manuscript see Isépy and Prapa 2018. For the scribal activity of Arnes, acting between Constantinople and Mystras, refer to Speranzi 2019 (with further bibliography).

55 For *Lysis* see Martinelli Tempesta 1997, 23–25; for *Clitophon* refer to Slings 1987, 40–41.

56 See Díaz de Cerio and Serrano 2001, 353–355. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the Parisinus must have been in the East, in Constantinople, where it was acquired by Francesco Filelfo during the 1420s (see Martinelli Tempesta and Speranzi 2018, 203, with previous bibliography).

57 State of the art is sketched by Tsitsiridis 1998, 92–94.

Other manuscripts sharing the same codicological features can be traced back to Kallistos' scholarly and scribal activity in the Byzantine East, maybe in Constantinople. This is the case, for instance, of Oxon. d'Orville 115, transmitting Eustathius' commentary on Dionysius Periegetes. According to Aubrey Diller,⁵⁸ this codex (*siglum* O), wholly in the hand of Kallistos, is a sibling of Scor. R.I.6 (*siglum* S), a manuscript copied by Michael Apostoles in the second half of the year 1453 during his captivity, as convincingly suggested by Teresa Martínez Manzano.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the Oxoniensis provides evidence to the paper water-marked *Monts* 52 Harlfinger, i.e. the same drawing found within units III and V of the aforementioned manuscript of Erlangen.

One of the most important manuscripts belonging to Andronikos' library, that is Vat. gr. 1314, cannot be excluded from this picture. This extensive miscellany entirely in Kallistos' hand⁶⁰ deserves a particular mention, since it is the only extant witness providing a date (12 March 1449) and an autographed mention of Andronikos' name and surname (see Fig. 2.13).⁶¹

⁵⁸ See Diller 1975, 181–207.

⁵⁹ See Martínez Manzano 2016a, 280–282 who draws attention to the subscription at fol. 206v: Διονυσίου Ἀλεξανδρέως οἰκουμένης περιηγήτης Μιχαῆλος Ἀπόστολης Βυζάντιος δορυάλωτος in which Apostoles 'alude a su origen constantinopolitano pero [...] menciona expresamente su condición de cautivo'. Interestingly, during the period of imprisonment between Constantinople and a certain settlement on the Black Sea, Apostoles was able to dedicate himself to the transcription of a manuscript. The conditions of detention, as prohibitive as they were, did not fully interrupt forms of intellectual activity, such as copying a book or taking care of private correspondence. We are aware of a letter (no. 4 in Stefec 2013a) sent by Apostoles to Iohannes Argypoulos, who was at that time in Constantinople. In the letter Michael gives information about his condition. For the identification of the addressee see Rollo 2014c, 328–329. Likewise, we can mention the case of Theodoros Agallianos and Georgios Scholarios. In one of his writings, Theodoros reports that he had an exchange of letters in the last months of 1453 with the future patriarch during the period of their imprisonment (Agallianos in Bursa, Scholarios in Edirne); see Blanchet 2008, 71–73.

⁶⁰ For a description, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 48).

⁶¹ Fol. 15v (lower margin).

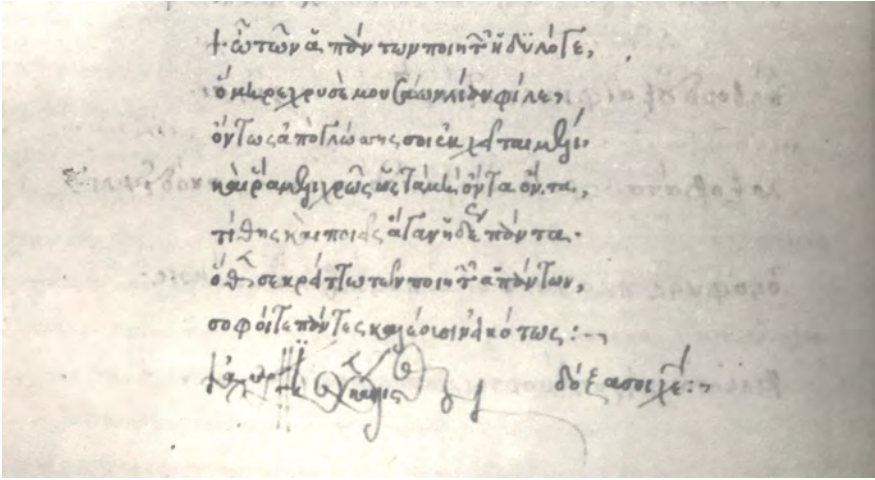


Fig. 2.13: Vat. gr. 1314, fol. 15v; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

The issue of the name has already been highlighted in the previous chapter.⁶² Contrary to general belief, the subscription was not meant to highlight the authorship of the transcription of the text (= Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*), but rather to sign the short poem composed by Andronikos himself in praise of Homer's poetry.⁶³ There is no need to dwell now on every single feature of Vat. gr. 1314, for it will be called into question on several occasions in the course of this work. Still, it is worth highlighting one feature distinguishing this manuscript as a piece of considerable value. Vat. gr. 1314, as well as other aforementioned books, bears throughout its quires the watermark *Enclume*, thus revealing a common origin to the manuscripts presented above in the erstwhile territories of the collapsing Byzantine Empire. The ancient sources of many of these late Byzantine manuscripts were lost by the time of the fall of Constantinople. Thus, the cultural impact of such ultimate offsprings brought to the West by Greek scholars is remarkable in its extent. This is the case with some texts transmitted in Vat. gr. 1314. With regard to the work of Cornutus (*De natura deorum*), for instance, the Vaticanus turned out to stem from a lost Byzantine source (*siglum* φ) and proved to be the ancestor

⁶² See *supra*, § 1.1.

⁶³ This entry has been known since the times of the pioneering repertoire of Greek copyists edited by Marie Vogel and Victor Gardthausen (see Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 30). In this case the definition of 'colophon' is nevertheless misleading.

of the entire manuscript tradition spreading later on throughout Italy in the fifteenth–sixteenth century.⁶⁴

In conclusion, we can list of the manuscripts which bear evidence to Kallistos' scribal activity in the Byzantine East:

- Bonon. 2638 (fols 92, 38–43, 99, 44–91)
- Cantabr. Univ. Library, Nn.III.18
- Cantabr. Emmanuel College, 30
- Erlangensis A 4 (fols 1–99, 209–264)
- Laur. Ashb. 1599 (unit II, original leaves of unit III)
- Ambr. A 185 sup. (fols 228–243)
- Ambr. L 35 sup. (fols 1–8)
- Mutin. α Q.5.20 (unit IV)
- Mutin. α T.9.2 (unit III)
- Mutin. α T.9.14 (with the exception of fols 1–7)
- Mutin. α U.9.10 (fols 2–25, 95–102, 191–215, restoration)
- Mutin. α U.9.18 (titles in red ink)
- Mutin. α U.9.22 (unit V)
- Mutin. α W.5.5 (see more details *infra*, § 6.1 [no. 28])
- Oxon. Barocci 63 (see more details *infra*, § 6.1 [no. 31])
- Oxon. Barocci 76 (titles in red ink)
- Oxon. d'Orville 115
- Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 (fols 107–114, 127–139, 147–149, 151–157, restoration)
- Par. Suppl. gr. 66 (fols 75–90)
- Par. Suppl. gr. 541 (but fols 136v–154v and 201v are not in Kallistos' hand)
- Vat. gr. 1314
- Vat. Ross. 1025 (but fols 19r–20v and 36v are not in Kallistos' hand)
- Marc. gr. Z. 374
- Vind. Suppl. gr. 23 (fols 1–40, restoration).

2.1.3 In Bologna at Bessarion's residence (1453–1455)

Historical, codicological, and philological arguments allow us to group together manuscripts (or parts of manuscripts), which were made by Kallistos, after his arrival in Italy, in Bologna at Bessarion's house in collaboration with copyists working in the Cardinal's circle. In this regard, a significant hint is the record of

⁶⁴ See Krafft 1975, 137–142, 252–318.

Bessarion's official title which is found in these books: Cardinal of Tusculum (*cardinalis Tusculanus*). Bessarion maintained this title between 1449 and 1463, when he also obtained the appointment of Latin patriarch of Constantinople, whereas from 1468 onwards he was to hold that of Bishop of Sabina (*episcopus Sabinorum*).⁶⁵

This kind of evidence, while generally valuable, must be treated with caution for the following reasons: firstly, Bessarion's *ex-libris* found on the guard leaves could have theoretically been added years after the production of a manuscript; secondly, in the case of a composite manuscript, with codicological units from various periods of time, the note would obviously refer to the moment in time when these units were grouped together to form a single volume.

This is the case, for instance, of Marc. gr. Z. 527, the so-called 'second volume' of Bessarion's own philosophical works, as recent studies have illustrated.⁶⁶ This manuscript bears the indication *episcopus Sabinorum*; however, it is made of units produced by 'more generations of copyists'⁶⁷ who worked together with Bessarion over time, and originated from different quires which lacked a binding for many years. The first codicological unit (= fols 1–16), where Kallistos' handwriting appears along with that of Emmanuel of Constantinople,⁶⁸ in all likelihood originated in Bologna at the time of their activity in the city.⁶⁹ It is worth mentioning that the manuscript also consists of a Latin codicological unit (= fols 176–199), containing the Latin version of Bessarion's *De natura et arte contra Georgium*

65 Other manuscripts copied by Kallistos for Bessarion and kept today at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana were not produced in the time span 1453–1455. This is the case, for instance, of Marc. gr. Z. 198, i.e. the final copy of the treatise *In calumniatorem Platonis*. A first *terminus post quem* for any manuscript containing this work is set at the year 1457, since the Cardinal had not even completed the first version of his treatise prior to that date. An additional hint to the fact that Marc. gr. Z. 198 does not belong to the period 1453–1455 is the title of Bessarion, who is recorded as 'Latin patriarch of Constantinople' (i.e. *post* 1463). Similarly, Marc. gr. Z. 238 (scholia to Aristotle's works, partly copied by Kallistos) refer to a later period, for Bessarion *ex libris* reads *episcopus Sabinorum*. For these manuscripts, see more *infra*, § 2.3.1.

66 See Speranzi 2016a, 50–52, 109–112, 133, 139–194 and Speranzi 2017a.

67 See Speranzi 2016a, 51–52.

68 For an updated profile of Emmanuel see Orlandi 2019b (with previous references). I report here some new findings about his scribal activity: <Neap. II.D.7>, <Urb. gr. 110> (fols 19r–141v), and <Vat. gr. 1018> (635v lin. 18–637r). All these manuscripts seem to be linked with the years of Emmanuel's 'Byzantine' activity, i.e. before his arrival in Italy.

69 For the manuscripts copied in Bologna by Emmanuel (known at that time as *Anonymus Ly Harlfinger*) see Martínez Manzano 2015a, 162–170.

Trapezuntium. It has never been observed that in these leaves we find marginal annotations and corrections in Latin in the hand of <Theodoros Gazes> (Fig. 2.14).⁷⁰

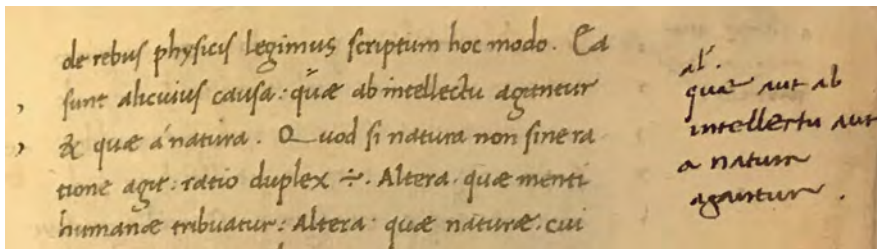


Fig. 2.14: Marc. gr. Z. 527, fol. 212r; © Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

Likewise, the examination of the composite manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 522 seems to indicate that its different parts did not originate at the same time at the same place. David Speranzi observed that, in contrast to units I–II, probably written in Rome by the monk Kosmas and Manuel Atrapes in the second half of the 1450s, the rest of the book dates back to previous years.⁷¹ Units III and IV, which are both in the hand of Kallistos, share the codicological features of unit V, work of the aforementioned Emmanuel (who was to reside in Bologna even after the departure of Bessarion). Units III–V, thus, had been manufactured there by the time of the Cardinal's legation.⁷²

The issue of Marc. gr. Z. 192 (Proclus, *Theol. Plat.*) is similar, although slightly more complicated to describe. As stated again by Speranzi, Kallistos (fols 1r–44v) did not work in this case in collaboration with other copyists.⁷³ His copying abruptly stopped at fol. 44v, shortly after the beginning of book II,⁷⁴ right in the middle of the fifth quire (fols 41–50). Georgios Tribizias continued the transcription of Proclus' text until fol. 70v, that is until the conclusion of the seventh quire. Quires 5–7 (fols 41–70, three *quiniones*) follow the same ruling scheme adopted by Kallistos: Sautel–Leroy 20D1, c. 170 × 90 mm, 27 lines. From fol. 71r onwards (until the end of the codicological unit, at fol. 264), the ruling scheme changes:

⁷⁰ For samples of Gazes' Latin writing, refer to Gionta 2004 (e.g. plate La), Orlandi 2015 (e.g. page 270, Fig. 2) and Orlandi 2020a.

⁷¹ See Speranzi 2017, 172 n. 124.

⁷² See Aleotti 2022, 40–43.

⁷³ See Speranzi 2016a, 63 n. 55.

⁷⁴ Chapter 2, just after the words ἐκφαίνει καὶ πόσοις.

the written surface is several centimetres wider on each side and the number of lines of text increases from 27 to 29. Three copyists worked on fols 71–264: Manuel Atrapés (71r–114r), the monk Gregorios (114v–144v), and Iohannes Plusiadenos (145r–264v).⁷⁵ It is likely that they collaborated in Rome from the second half of the 1450s onwards, as we lack any evidence concerning their activity as copyists at the time of Bessarion's legation in Bologna (1450–1455). Eleftherios Despotakis's research on the activity of Iohannes Plusiadenos confirms this hypothesis; he dated the copy of units II, III and IV by Plusiadenos to the years 1462–1463 and located them in Rome. It is hard to say whether Tribizias collaborated with Kallistos in Bologna or whether he continued the work in Rome, thus completing the three previously ruled quires. In conclusion, the most reasonable hypothesis about the making of this codex is that it began around 1453–1455 in Bologna — where Kallistos resided with Bessarion — and was continued in Rome between the second half of the 1450s and the first years of the 1460s.

Concerning the copy of Marc. gr. Z. 190 (Timaeus Locrus, *De natura mundi et animae*; Proclus, in *Plat. Timaeum*), we can briefly discuss some details about the frame of its making, building on the studies on the manuscript tradition available for both works.⁷⁶ With regard to the text of Timaeus, Marc. gr. Z. 190 (fols 1r–4v) has been recognised as a direct copy of another manuscript owned by Bessarion, that is Marc. gr. Z. 186 (fols 382r–386r of which are almost entirely in the hand of the Cardinal himself).⁷⁷ Though, the text of Marc. gr. Z. 190 bears significant traces of contamination from the codex Neap. III.D.28 (fourteenth century, *siglum* N).⁷⁸ Codex N turned out to be a direct antigraph of Laur. Ashb. 1599, a manuscript copied by Kallistos and belonging to his library.⁷⁹ Furthermore, with regard to the text of Proclus' commentary, the first two books copied by Kallistos in Marc. gr. Z. 190 also descend from N. In all likelihood, thus, Neap. III.D.28 (N) circulated in Bologna in circles with close ties to Bessarion: on the one hand, the Cardinal had

⁷⁵ The indication concerning the hands given by Mioni 1981, 304 is wrong and it has been corrected in Speranzi 2016a, 63 n. 55. The manuscript used as antigraph for the text of *Theologia*, both for the part written by Kallistos and by the others, is Monac. gr. 517, which contains corrections by Bessarion; see Saffrey and Westerink 1968, CXIX–CXXVIII.

⁷⁶ For Timaeus Locrus see Marg 1972; for Proclus, refer to Diehl 1903.

⁷⁷ See Mioni 1981, 299 and the observation in Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 305–306 (the scholar first noticed that fols 385v lin. 18–386r are a later addition by the hand of Alexios Keladenos).

⁷⁸ See Marg 1972, 39–41. For bibliography on the Neapolitanus, copied in 1314 by Iohannes Katarrios, see Formentin 2015, 159 and Menchelli 2010, 243–244.

⁷⁹ On this codex's inclusion in Kallistos' collection, see *infra*, § 3.4. The fact that both manuscripts (Marc. gr. Z. 190 and Laur. Ashb. 1599) are the work of the same copyist was not acknowledged by Marg.

these texts copied for his library; on the other, Kallistos enriched his collection with the text of *De natura mundi et animae*, by copying it in Laur. Ashb. 1599. Unfortunately, we do not know much more about the fifteenth-century history of the codex; we only know that it later ended up in Aulo Giano Parrasio's collection, Demetrios Chalkondyles's son-in-law, to whom the manuscript certainly belonged. This is proved now by the discovery of some *marginalia* in Neap. III.D.28 in the hand of <Demetrios Chalkondyles> himself (e.g. fols 25v [Fig. 2.15] and 26v).⁸⁰

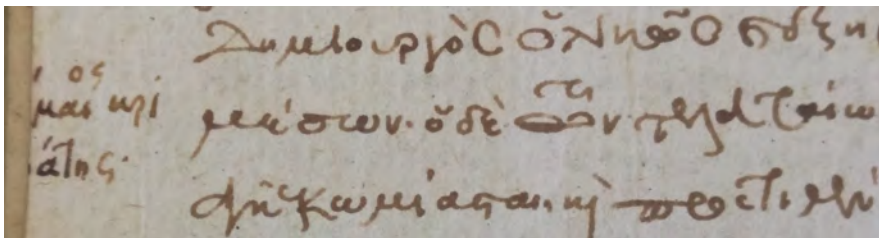


Fig. 2.15: Neap. III.D.28, fol. 25v; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

The aforementioned contamination of Timaeus' text in Marc. gr. Z. 190 due to the inclusion of readings from N may have been a deliberate work carried out by Kallistos on the Marcianus; accordingly, he might be the author of the slight changes to the scholia found exclusively in Marc. gr. Z. 190 and in Ashb. 1599.⁸¹

The interplay between the manuscripts of Bessarion's collection and that of Andronikos is shown by the case of the text of the *Apocalypse*. This was copied by Kallistos for the Cardinal in the last folios of Marc. gr. Z. 10. Annotations in Andronikos' hand to the text of the *Apocalypse* have recently been found in a fourteenth-century manuscript preserved in Vienna: it is Theol. gr. 163, which also contains the commentary of Andrew of Caesarea. It is useful to look at the stemma of the family *g* of the *Apocalypse* reconstructed several decades ago by Josef Schmid (Fig. 2.16):

⁸⁰ In addition, traces of a scholarly hand similar to Bessarion's have been found in this manuscript (see e.g. <fol. 85v>). Unfortunately, because of the trimming there are only a few visible *marginalia*, which are not sufficient to support this identification. Given the presence of the hand of Chalkondyles, who was to inherit Gazes' books, one wonders whether this manuscript belonged to Theodoros himself.

⁸¹ See on the subject Marg 1972, 64.

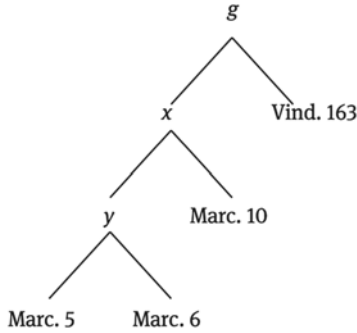


Fig. 2.16: *Stemma codicum* (Apocalypse, family g); © Schmid 1956, 293.

Schmid, who was at that time unaware of the identity of Andronikos, had pointed out that the corrector of the Vindobonensis annotated *in margine* the textual innovations found *in textu* in Marc. gr. Z. 10, Marc. gr. Z. 5 and Marc. gr. Z. 6. The analysis of the *marginalia* of the Vind. Theol. gr. 163 led Schmid to exclude the possibility that these innovations came from contamination with other families; they must therefore have been found in the text of the lost ancestor *x*. The identification of Andronikos as both the principal annotator of Vindobonensis⁸² and the copyist of Marc. gr. Z. 10 leads to establish a strong connection between these two manuscripts. This is why it would be worth re-examining Schmid's genealogical reconstruction to see what role Andronikos may have played in this process.

It is clear that not only Kallistos benefited from the circulation of codices within this environment, as Bessarion himself was to enlarge his collection to a certain extent, charging his professional scribes with the task of copying texts from Andronikos' library. We will see in more detail⁸³ in the next pages, for example, that Vat. gr. 1314 served as antigraph for Cornutus' *De natura deorum* and other brief texts for the making of Marc. gr. Z. 531, copied for Bessarion by Demetrios Xanthopoulos. From Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Nn.III.18 descends the Thucydides Marc. gr. Z. 364, copied in 1469 by Iohannes Plusiadenos.⁸⁴ From Comensis 1.3.19 descends (from the passage 20,28 onwards) the text of Philostratus' *Vitae sophistarum* copied in Marc. gr. Z. 392.⁸⁵ From the ancient codex of Mount Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων, 161 (composite, twelfth–fourteenth century) derives the text of

⁸² First identification in Hunger, Kresten and Hannick 1984, 252–253.

⁸³ See *infra*, § 2.2.1.

⁸⁴ Powell 1938b, 105–106. A description of Marc. gr. Z. 364 is in Mioni 1985a, 125.

⁸⁵ See Stefec 2010a, 76.

Hippolytus copied by Tribizias in Marc. gr. Z. 470.⁸⁶ From the manuscript Laur. 85.21 (twelfth century) stems Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle' *De anima* found in the second codicological unit of Marc. gr. Z. 413, which is likewise in the hand of Georgios Tribizias.⁸⁷ To these instances, already acknowledged by the modern scholarship, we may add in conclusion the case of Marc. gr. Z. 223,⁸⁸ to the making of which both Tribizias⁸⁹ (fols 4r–117v, 123v–170v) and Kallistos⁹⁰ (fols 118r–123r, 171r–228v) worked. From some partial collations, it has emerged that the text of Simplicius' commentary on *Categoriae* and of Philoponos' on *De anima* descends from two manuscripts owned by Andronikos, respectively Ambr. E 99 sup. (thirteenth century, displaying marginal annotations of Kallistos) and Vat. Ross. 1025 (in the hand of Kallistos himself).⁹¹

Here is the list of the manuscripts which bear evidence for Kallistos' scribal activity in Bologna at Bessarion's house:

- Marc. gr. Z. 10 (fols 382r–409r)
- Marc. gr. Z. 186 (fols 261r–274v)
- Marc. gr. Z. 190 (fols 1r–270v)
- Marc. gr. Z. 192 (fols 1r–44v)
- Marc. gr. Z. 223 (fols 118r–123r, 171r–228v)
- Marc. gr. Z. 337 (fols 130r lin. 21–31)
- Marc. gr. Z. 518 (fols 96r lin. 40–46, 96v lin. 1–2)
- Marc. gr. Z. 522 (fols 161r–210v)
- Marc. gr. Z. 527 (fols 1r–9v, 11r–14v, 16rv).

86 See Barrett 1964, 69. In all likelihood, also the rest of Aeschylus' tragedies handed down in the Marcianus derives from Ἰβήρων 161.

87 See Steel 2019, 411–413 (with previous references).

88 A description in Mioni 1981, 337, Liakou-Kropp 2002, 267–269; see also *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 54).

89 Identification in Mioni 1976, 286, 310.

90 Identification by Dieter Harlfinger *apud* Liakou-Kropp 2002, 268; though, the identification of Iohannes Rhosos as the author of some illuminations is wrong, as they are the work of <Georgios Tribizias> himself.

91 In this way, a codex has been composed that comprised two texts, Simplicius' and Philoponos', which have never been transmitted together in the manuscript tradition.

2.2 Between Padua, Ferrara, and Bologna (1455–1466)

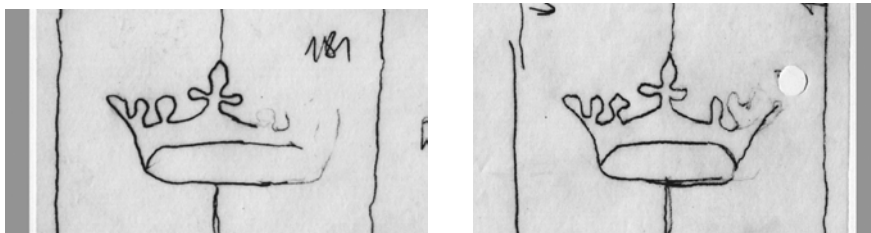
With regard to Kallistos' scribal activity in central and northernmost parts of Italy, between Padua, Ferrara, and Bologna (after the conclusion of Bessarion's legation), the difficulty in identifying with certainty the location of the books which served as antigraphs must be first highlighted.⁹² Moreover, uncertainty remains surrounding Andronikos' movements, especially for the years 1455–1459. Still, codicological, philological, and palaeographic evidence leads to the conclusion that some manuscripts (or sections of manuscripts) must have been written within this time span. To begin with, throughout several books copied by Andronikos we come across a drawing *Couronne* to which Ernst Gamillscheg⁹³ first drew attention. This watermark, which is missing in any modern inventory, characterizes the following manuscripts:⁹⁴ Ambr. H 52 sup.; Ambr. P 84 sup.; Mutin. α T.9.1; Mutin. α V.7.1 (first codicological unit); Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit II); Mutin. α Q.5.20 (with the exception of fols 128–165, which are older); Mutin. α T.9.2 (unit V); Mutin. α U.9.22 (units I–III); Laur. Ashb. 1144; Vat. Ott. gr. 355 (unit I); Mutin. α T.9.14 and Sinod. gr. 370 (in both cases, we refer to the first leaves used for the restoration). The most similar drawing available in Briquet's catalogue is the type *Couronne (à cinq fleurons)* no. 4879, located in Ferrara in 1458. However, two Latin codices share watermarks (see Figs. 2.17–2.18) definitely closer to that found in Kallistos' books; both artefacts were manufactured in central Italy, in the Po Valley, and are currently kept in Germany, in Eichstätt.⁹⁵

92 I give here an example. With regard to Sophocles' text (*Antigone*) handed down in Mutin. α T.9.2, Alexander Turyn suggested that the Mutinensis was a descendant of Par. gr. 2711. However, reasonable doubts have been raised: see Tessier 2015b, 181. Either way, the whereabouts of the Paris manuscript in the fifteenth century are still too unclear to draw definitive conclusions.

93 Gamillscheg 1978, 243. See also Tessier 2015a, XXVII–XXIX.

94 See in detail the correspondent catalogue entries *infra*, § 6.1.

95 These data and pictures come from the portal <<https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).



Figs 2.17–2.18: Cod. st. 7; Cod. st. 9; © Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt.

A significant — although not decisive — element to the location of this watermark comes from Ambr. H 52 sup. (Lysias). As anticipated in the previous chapter, this codex proved to have been copied from a book (i.e., Pal. gr. 88) owned by Palla Strozzi,⁹⁶ who resided in Padua for a long time. In addition, Par. gr. 2069 (Theophrastus) (see Plate 10) — which Einarson thought to be also copied from a lost book of Palla Strozzi's⁹⁷ — and Ambr. I 56 sup. (Aristotle's *Historia animalium*),⁹⁸ are both codicologically and palaeographically akin to Ambr. H 52 sup. Both of them bear evidence to a watermark located in Veneto, i.e. *Flèches* 6271 Briquet (Venezia, c. 1462).⁹⁹ It is perhaps significant that the same watermark can be found in manuscripts copied by scribes active in the Po Valley and in Veneto.¹⁰⁰

As we will see, however, it will be the study of the documentary sources along with the analysis of the philological derivations as well as the palaeographic evidence derived from the observation of some collaboration works between Kallistos and other copyists that will confirm case by case the dating and the location of these manuscripts in this time span.

⁹⁶ See Donadi 1976 and Donadi 2016, XXI.

⁹⁷ See Einarson 1976. The manuscript should correspond to the item no. 487 within the list of books donated to the convent of Santa Giustina. See now Cronier 2020, in part. 190–196.

⁹⁸ On the derivation of the Ambrosianus from a lost antigraph (*siglum* ξ) see Berger 2005, 155–158.

⁹⁹ See also the type 11 Harlfinger (c. 1464, copyist Michael Lygizos) in Harlfinger 1974–1980.

¹⁰⁰ See, for instance, the first codicological unit of Mutin. α T.9.2, in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos, which contains Phalaris' *Epistle*, or the first unit of Mutin. α U.9.3.

2.2.1 The collaboration with Demetrios Xanthopoulos between Padua and Ferrara

Definitely to be excluded from the batch of Kallistos' own books is the Vat. Pal. gr. 142, a composite manuscript containing five codicological units, which are grouped, in turn, in two blocks: the first comprises units I (= fols 2–81, Demosthenes) and II (= fols 82–133, Lycophron, Hesiod), dating to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and both copied by Demetrios Xanthopoulos;¹⁰¹ the second comprises units III (= fols 134–185, scholia on Theocr. *Id.*), IV (= fols 186–215, Marcianus) and V (= fols 216–271, geographical works), dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century. A detailed, almost exhaustive study by Didier Marcotte,¹⁰² deals with the codicological aspects and all the events relating to the history of the manuscript.

The sections that mainly affect our discussion are the first two, copied by Xanthopoulos. First of all, it has already been highlighted in previous studies on this manuscript that the text of the *Theogonia* found in the second codicological unit of the Palatinus descends from the Mutin. α T.9.14, i.e. a book from Andronikos' collection.¹⁰³ The presence of <Kallistos>' hand in the titles in the section devoted to Demosthenes (Fig. 2.19) has remained thus far unnoticed. This is at any rate a further indication of Andronikos' involvement in the making of these sections of the Palatinus.¹⁰⁴

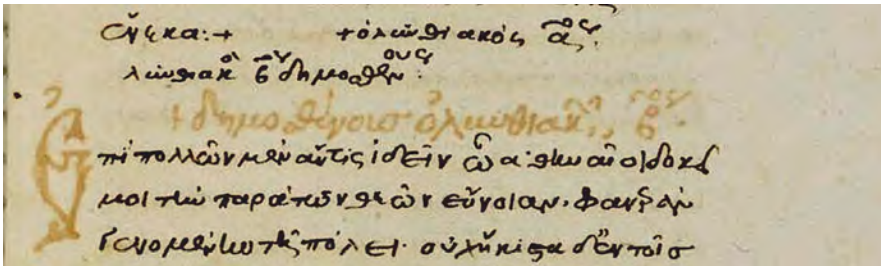


Fig. 2.19: Pal. gr. 142, fol. 7r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

¹⁰¹ The identification of the hand is by Stefec 2014, 183.

¹⁰² Marcotte 1985–1986.

¹⁰³ See Marcotte 1985–1986, 71.

¹⁰⁴ See fols 2r, 7r, 13v, and 20v (Δημοσθένους Ὀλυμπιακῶν α', β', γ'; Δημοσθένους περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου).

Corroborating evidence linking Kallistos to the copying task undertaken by Xanthopulos comes from the whole collation of the text of *Olynthiacae* and a partial collation of *De corona*: the Pal. gr. 142 turned out to be an apograph of Par. gr. 2998, a book belonging to Andronikos' own library and fully annotated by him.¹⁰⁵

The presence of Kallistos' hand both in the Palatinus and in the Parisinus and the fact that he was the owner of the Paris codex represent a first relevant hint of a direct apography of the first from the second; in this respect, it is possible to provide evidence taken from the direct comparison of the two manuscript. Here I will just report the case of chapters 312–313 of *De corona*. The clause which extends from τριηραρχικὸν τοῦ ἐμαυτὸν, corresponding exactly with a line of text in the codex Par. gr. 2998 (fol. 68r) was initially omitted by Xanthopulos in Pal. gr. 142 (fol. 75r), because of the accidental 'skipping' of an entire line not corresponding to a *saut du même au même*. However, the copyist may have immediately realised his mistake and recovered the omitted section in the margin.¹⁰⁶

At this point it is quite evident that Andronikos made two books of his own collection (the Demosthenes Par. gr. 2998 and the Hesiod Mutin. α.T.9.14) available to Xanthopulos for him to copy.¹⁰⁷ Whoever sponsored the making of Pal. gr.

105 Here are some results of my collations. *Olynthiacae*: 2,12 ἀπιστοῦσι πάντες] ἀπιστοῦσιν ἅπαντες Par Pal; 2,16 ποιήσωσιν] πορίσωσιν Par Pal; 2,20 post συγκρούψαι add. καὶ συσκιάσαι Par Pal; 2,26 τούτων ἐλπίζετε τῶν αὐτῶν] τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐλπίζετε Par Pal; 3,2 οὐ] οὐχὶ Par Pal; 3,2 τιμωρήσεται τις καὶ ὃν τρόπον] τρόπον τιμωρήσεται τις ἐκείνον Pal Par; 3,3 ποτέ] ποτὲ καὶ νῦν Par Pal. *De corona* (chapters 1–18; 61–70; 104–115; 311–316): 2 ἀκρόασσασθαι] ἀκροᾶσθαι Par Pal; 8 βίου om. Par Pal; 11 ante ἐξετάσω add. αὐτίκα Par Pal; 12 post βουλομένοις add. ἀκούειν Par Pal; 12 διδάσαι] τάττουσι Par Pal; 63 ἐκ πολλοῦ] ἐκ πολέμου Par Pal; 68 τολμήσαι] τολμήσειεν Par Pal; 107 ἀποστολέων] ἀποστόλων Par Pal; 111 περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων] περὶ γεγραμμένων Par Pal; 113 ἐξετασόντων] ἐξεταζομένων Par Pal; 314 νῦν ζῶντα] συζῶντα Par Pal. Par. gr. 2998 preserves only *Olynth.* 2,13–3,3; the leaves containing the previous parts are now lost. That Par. gr. 2998 belonged to Kallistos' collection has been confirmed by the discovery of Baldassar Migliavacca's notes in the codex; see for this Orlandi 2014b, 165, 186–187, and plate XV.

106 It should also be observed that Xanthopulos faithfully copies in the Palatinus almost all the *marginalia* of the Parisinus, including the variant readings. Some examples: 50 ἔχει] γρ. εἰρήσθαι in marg. Par Pal; 54 ἐλαφροβολίων] νοεβρίου in marg. Par Pal; 82 προὔξενει] γρ. προξένης in marg. Par Pal; 238 περὶ τῶν ἴσων] περὶ τῶν νήσων in marg. Par Pal.

107 In the study on the manuscript tradition of *Oration 54* (= *Contra Cononem*) codex Neap. II.E.11 (*siglum* Na) is presented, indeed, as a direct copy of Par. gr. 2998 (K); see McGay 2005. Since the Naples manuscript proved to be a work of the same scribe of Pal. gr. 142, i.e. Xanthopulos (identification in Stefec 2014, 183), it was worth verifying whether the dependence of the Naples manuscript on Par. gr. 2998 could apply also to other speeches by Demosthenes. By means of a sample collation of text of *Olynthiacae* and *De corona* the manuscript Neap. II.E.11 proved to be a *gemellus* to Pal. gr. 142: it is therefore likely that the two manuscripts were produced around the same period.

142 remains unknown at the moment; nonetheless, it is possible to say a few words regarding the circumstances of the copy. On the basis of different factors, I would be inclined to locate in Padua the production of this manuscript in the triennium 1459–1462 spent by Kallistos at Palla Strozzi's house. Indeed, the manuscript belonged to the intellectual Giovanni Calfurnio (1443–1503), professor of Greek and Latin rhetoric in Padua.¹⁰⁸ Secondly, as will be demonstrated in the following pages, a biographical fact on Demetrios Xanthopoulos confirm the Paduan genesis of the codex.

The activity of Xanthopoulos as a copyist in Italy¹⁰⁹ — evaluated in recent contributions by Stefano Martinelli Tempesta and David Speranzi¹¹⁰ — has been located so far to only three cities, Rome, Bologna, and Milan. On the one hand, the employment of Xanthopoulos as a professional scribe in Rome and Bologna at Bessarion's house in the first years of the 1450s is well documented; on the other hand, Demetrios' presence in Milan during the first months of the year 1454 has been reconstructed through the examination of some manuscripts and is witnessed, in addition, by a letter by Francesco Filelfo to Pietro Pierleoni written in June 1456.¹¹¹ For the following years, however, we lack adequate information about Xanthopoulos' movements in Italy.

In Filelfo's Greek-Latin epistolary I found a passage of a letter to Palla Strozzi, sent from Milan to Padua and dated 1 March 1458, which, although it does not explicitly name Xanthopoulos, can be associated with him:

Habeo praeterea tibi gratias atque ago maximas quod περι Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλέως morem mihi quamprimum gesseris. [...] Scripsisti praeterea Graecum esse apud te, eundem puto, qui τὸν Ἀρταξέρξου βίον ἐξέγραψε. Mihi graeco librario opus est. Quamobrem si vel istum, cum istinc te non invito abire instituerit, vel alium quempiam ire ad me curaveris, accipiam eum honesta condicione.¹¹²

So thank you and thank you very much for having fulfilled my request concerning the King Artaxerxes. [...] You also wrote me that a Greek lives at your place, the same I believe who copied the *Life of Artaxerxes*. I am in need of a Greek scribe. Therefore, if you would have him come to me, since he has decided to leave but not without your approval, or you make another one come here to me, I will welcome him by offering him suitable accommodation.

108 See Marcotte 1985–1986. On Calfurnio see Pellegrini 2003; new findings in Giacomelli 2020.

109 *RGK* I 98 = II 132 = III 166.

110 Martinelli Tempesta 2015a and Speranzi 2017, 156–162.

111 See Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 271 n. 1.

112 De Keyser 2015a, 705–706.

The copy of the *Vita Artaxerxi* mentioned in the letter is to be identified with the second codicological unit (= fols 64–76) of the Mutin. α T.8.3,¹¹³ entirely in the hand of Demetrios Xanthopoulos¹¹⁴ (Fig. 2.20).

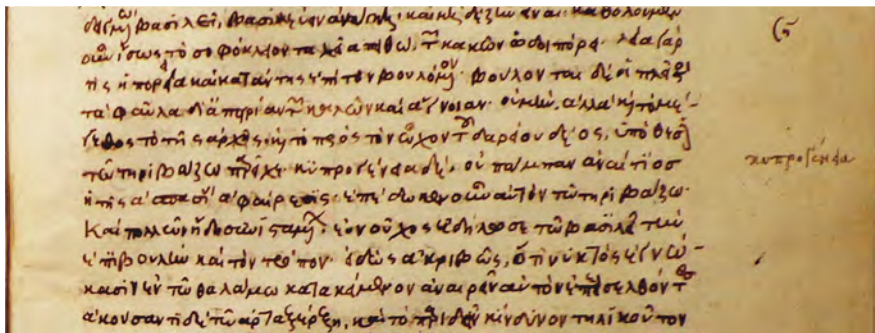


Fig. 2.20: Mutin. α T.8.3, fol. 75r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

In addition, some autograph annotations in the hand of Francesco Filelfo¹¹⁵ are found in the margins. Further confirmation of the identity between this manuscript and that mentioned in the letter comes from the studies of the textual transmission, as Mutin. α T.8.3 copied by Demetrios proves to be for Plutarch's text a direct apograph of the Urb. gr. 96, a book belonging to Palla Strozzi.¹¹⁶

By combining these data we therefore gain evidence for Xanthopoulos' presence in Padua by 1458. The fact that we do not know of any manuscripts copied by Demetrios for Filelfo in the following years leads us to believe that Demetrios remained in Veneto at Strozzi's residence and did not return to Filelfo.

In 1459, as said, Kallistos was to join Demetrios, coming from Bologna. An outcome of their collaboration in this period might be the manuscript Mutin. α P.5.19, which is in the hand of both Byzantine émigrés. Also Iohannes Rhosos, who was likewise engaged in the copying of some books in Veneto at the same

¹¹³ On the manuscript see Speranzi 2013a, 275–276 and Ferreri 2014, 529–531. The presence of Giorgio Valla's *ex libris* on fol. 61v points out the fact that the second codicological unit was added to the previous one at a later stage.

¹¹⁴ Identification in Harlfinger 1974, no. 43.

¹¹⁵ Identification in De Keyser and Speranzi 2011, 195.

¹¹⁶ The philological data can be read in Manfredini 2013, 22; for Palla Strozzi as the owner of the codex, see Sosower 1986, 150.

time, took part in the making of the Mutinensis by applying illuminations and decorative elements in red ink.

It is unclear for how long the two, Andronikos and Demetrios, remained simultaneously in Padua. At any rate, another city where Kallistos and Xanthopulos may have stayed together for some time, in the late 1450s, is Ferrara. In the previous chapter we presented new documentation bringing evidence to a stay of Andronikos in Ferrara from the second half of 1459 onwards.¹¹⁷ For Xanthopulos it is now possible to provide some palaeographic, philological, and codicological data which likewise point to his presence in Ferrara.

In two manuscripts already attributed to his hand, Vat. Reg. gr. 87 (Xenophon) and Leid. Voss. gr. F 38 (Euripides) I found traces of corrections and additions by the hand of another Byzantine scholar who was active in Ferrara in those years: this is <Demetrios Kastrenos> (Figs 2.21–2.22), formerly known under the name *Anonymus* ου-π Harlfinger.¹¹⁸ From a codicological point of view, it should also be noted that both manuscripts copied by Xanthopulos (and corrected by Kastrenos) are made of paper with a drawing *Basilic* similar to Briquet 2669 (c. 1459), which is a well known watermark, widely attested in the area between Mantua and Ferrara. As far as philological aspects are concerned, it will be to our point to emphasize the fact that Reg. gr. 87, rubricated by Battista Guarini, has already been identified as an apograph of Guelf. Aug. 2° 71.19, the latter being a famous book, owned by Guarino Veronese and for this reason located with certainty in Ferrara at least until Guarino's death in December 1460.¹¹⁹

117 Our *terminus post quem* is, as aforementioned, the epistle to Palla Strozzi of 28 April <1459>.

118 The discovery of the historical identity of the former *Anonymus* is by David Speranzi (see Speranzi 2019, 3–8). In 1458 Kastrenos was certainly still in Ferrara. In two letters, respectively dated 21 January and 1 March, Filelfo urged him to move to Milan (see De Keyser 2015a, 697–698 and 705); although the exact date of his move from Ferrara to Milan is unknown, it is established that in October 1462 he was teaching Greek in Milan. The palaeographic findings on Kastrenos have been enriched exponentially in recent years. I report here some new manuscripts: <Vat. gr. 1018> (fols 627rv, 628v lin. 10–31, 629v, 631v, 632v, 633v–633bisv); <Marc. gr. Z. 509> (fols 77r–79r); <Par. gr. 2761> (fols 2r–4r); <Vat. Pal. gr. 144> (fols 85r–92v = restoration); <Monac. gr. 159> (fols 157r–159v, 169r lin. 7–171r, 172rv, 173v–186v); <Par. gr. 1212>; <Neap. III.B.11>. With the exception of Par. gr. 1212 and Neap. III.B.11, in all cases the writing of Demetrios dates from the years of his Byzantine activity before his arrival in Italy.

119 See Bandini 2010, 441, where the possibility was already mentioned that the copyist of the Reginensis (i.e. Xanthopulos) worked in Ferrara.

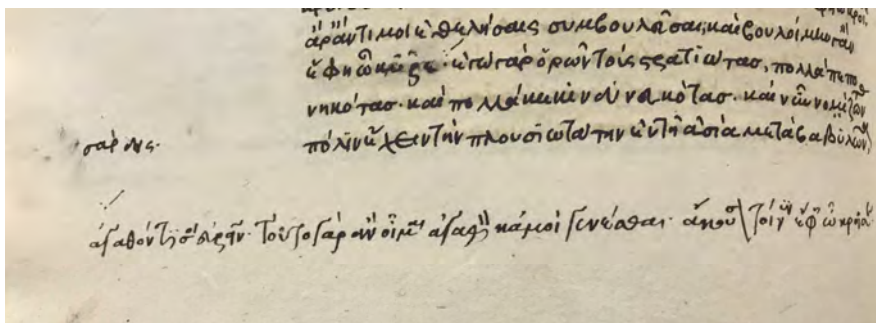


Fig. 2.21: Reg. gr. 87, fol. 114v; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

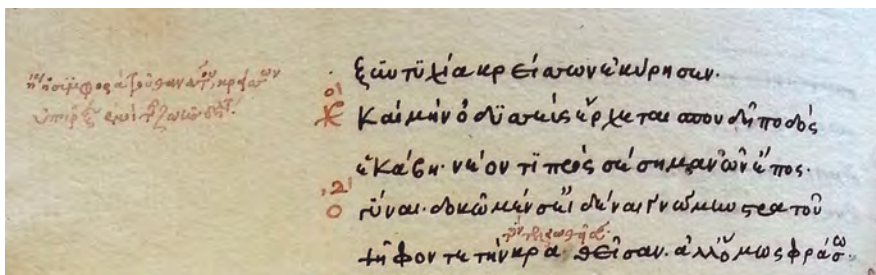


Fig. 2.22: Voss. gr. F 38, fol. 7v; © Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit.

A *gemellus* to Reg. gr. 87 descends from the same Wolfenbüttel manuscript owned by Guarino: this is the codex Berol. Phillipps 1627, which was copied entirely by Kastrenos on the same paper watermarked *Basilic* of which we spoke before.¹²⁰ We should therefore infer that it was in Ferrara that both manuscripts were manufactured, both the Reginensis copied by Xanthopulos and corrected by Kastrenos, and the Berolinesis realised by Kastrenos. We can also mention the presence on the aforementioned Euripides Voss. gr. F 38 of some marginal notes, which can be assigned to the hand of one of Guarino's pupils, <Michelangelo da Panigale> (Fig. 2.23).¹²¹

¹²⁰ Evidence pointing to a direct derivation of the Berlin manuscript from the Guelferbytanus owned by Guarino is gathered in Orlandi 2013, 196–207.

¹²¹ For details about Michelangelo's activity and some *specimina* of his Greek hand see also Martinelli Tempesta 2016b, 377–370. New data in Rollo 2020a, 132 n. 2.

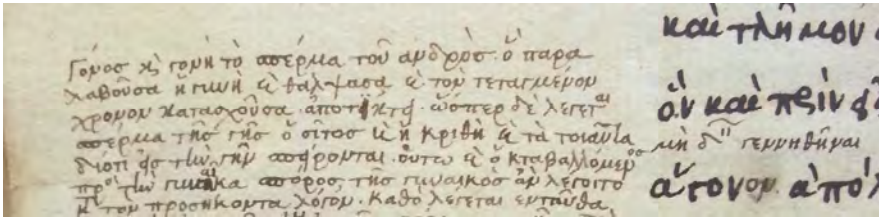


Fig. 2.23: Voss. gr. F 38, fol. 30v; © Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit.

Having concluded the excursus on the testimonies supporting Xanthopulos' activity in Ferrara, the possibility remains to be evaluated that he was in the city at the time of Andronikos' sojourn. In this regard, a peculiar coincidence of people, times and places characterizes the genesis of a special manuscript owned by Bessarion: Marc. gr. Z. 531. In the *pinax* the Cardinal himself highlighted the extraordinary nature of the texts collected in this book: τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον πολλὰ καὶ δυσεύρετα περιέχον ἔστιν ἐμοῦ Βησσαρίωνος καρδηνάλεως τοῦ τῶν Τούσκλων ('this book, which contains a large number of works not so easily found, belongs to me, Bessarion, Cardinal of Tusculum').¹²² Bessarion's statement actually fits with the rarity of some of the texts kept in Marc. gr. Z. 531, such as the extract *De cometis* by Iohannes Lydos or the *Aenigmata* of Eustathios Makrembolites. But the most interesting fact is that most of the texts transcribed by Xanthopulos in Marc. gr. Z. 531 are copies taken from two manuscripts owned by Andronikos: the Vat. gr. 1314 and the Oxon. d'Orville 115.¹²³ I summarize the data in the synoptic table below (Table 2.1).

¹²² We shall remember that this title generally represents a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the Marciani graeci; this applies from 1449 to 1463, when Bessarion began to sign himself as 'Latin Patriarch of Constantinople'.

¹²³ For Cornutus' *De natura deorum* see Krafft 1975, 166–170, 252–253, 282–283, 316, where the Vaticanus (*siglum* C) is recognized as the antigraph of the Marcianus (*siglum* Y). With regard to the *Aenigmata* of Eustathios Makrembolites, Treu 1893, 19–20 had already intuited the dependence of the Marcianus (*siglum* b) on the Vaticanus (*siglum* B). For the short extract *De cometis* by Iohannes Lydos and the *Commentarium* by Eustathios — excluded in the researchs by Diller 1975 — I carried out some sample collations, which corroborated this statement. The identification of Xanthopulos is found in Harlfinger 1974, no. 25 (thus correcting Krafft's attribution to Demetrios Triboles). A description of the Marcianus is in Mioni 1985a, 418–420.

Table 2.1: Kallistos and Xanthopoulos: The antigraphs of Marc. gr. Z. 531.

Manuscripts owned by Kallistos	Contents	Marc. gr. Z. 531 owned by Bessarion
Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 191r–209v)	Cornutus <i>De natura deorum</i>	fols 107r–123r
Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 209v–213r)	<Iohannes Lydos> <i>De cometis</i>	fols 123r–125r
Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 29v–32r)	Eustathios Makrembolites <i>Aenigmata</i>	fols 125v–128r
Oxon. d'Orville 115	Eustathios of Thessaloniki <i>Comm. in Dion. Perieg.</i>	fols 132r–215r

Hence, it is evident that at some time Kallistos made his books available for Xanthopoulos to produce copies on behalf of Bessarion. In view of the fact that there seems to have been no contact in the preceding years between Xanthopoulos and Kallistos (we shall consider that at the time of Andronikos' arrival in Bologna in 1453, Demetrios had already moved to Rome), the hypothesis emerges that a connection was established at the time of the stay of both Byzantine fellows in Ferrara in approximately the summer of 1459. A first confirmation comes from a new inspection of the watermarks of the Marcianus, which had been previously examined by Mioni: these are a drawing *Lettre N* (similar to the type Briquet 8442, thus pointing to a dating in the third quarter of the century) and, above all, a drawing *Basilic* very close to the aforementioned type Briquet 2669 (c. 1459), located between Mantua and Ferrara.¹²⁴

This reconstruction is further supported by a number of historical events and chronological coincidences associated with the life and movements of Bessarion himself.¹²⁵ As seen in the previous chapter, in his autograph letter Andronikos announced to Palla Strozzi on 28 April 1459 that, before moving to Padua, he would have waited for Bessarion's arrival in Bologna; the Cardinal was in fact travelling together with pope Pius II along the road to Mantua, where the Diet would have been held shortly thereafter. The solemn entry of the Pope and Bessarion in Bologna took place about ten days later, on 9 May, and their stay would

¹²⁴ See Mioni 1985a, 419–420, where a close relationship of this *Basilic* to the type Briquet 2665 (c. 1427) had been reported — by mistake I guess.

¹²⁵ In this respect, the *Vita* edited by Marino Zorzi (in Accendere and Privitera 2014, 39–57) can be useful consulted.

last until 16 May.¹²⁶ The next stop of Bessarion's journey was Ferrara, an obligatory waypoint for anyone who wanted to proceed from Bologna to Mantua (turning west) or Padua (turning east). A letter from Bessarion is preserved, sent from Ferrara four days later (i.e., on 20 May) to friar Iacopo de Marchia about the crusade that was to be organized against the Turks.¹²⁷ On 1 June, after his arrival in Mantua, Pius II inaugurated the congress; however, the council sessions would not start before 26 September, after the arrival of Francesco Sforza and the Venetian delegates. During the nearly four months of waiting in Mantua, Bessarion was engaged in the attempt to enrich his collection of Greek manuscripts: we know of a letter from 24 June sent from Mantua by the Cardinal to Nardo Palmieri, nephew of Giovanni Aurispa. The main topic of the letter is the Cardinal's wish to acquire some of the Greek books inherited by Palmieri from the beloved Aurispa, who had died a few weeks earlier.¹²⁸

In such a context, it therefore does not seem far-fetched to imagine that Bessarion — while attending the conciliar sessions or even before their official beginning — arranged with Kallistos, acting at that time between Padua and Ferrara, the copying of the rare texts which are now preserved in Marc. gr. Z. 531. The material executor of the transcription was to be Xanthopulos, who had already worked in the past as a scribe for Bessarion and — as shown above — was also residing in Ferrara in that period.

2.2.2 Copying and supervising copying activity at Palla's house: The origin of Marc. gr. Z. 611 and Barb. gr. 163

The Marcianus gr. 611,¹²⁹ containing Homer's *Odyssey*, has been investigated by Filippomaria Pontani and Martha Chinellato, who studied the *hypotheseis* compiled by the Kallistos.¹³⁰ The manuscript — which belonged in the modern age to the Venetian poet Giovanni Battista Recanati (1687–1735) — consists of two codicological units distinct but almost coeval¹³¹ and proves to be, for the first part, in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos (fols 1–45: Plut., *De vita et poesi Homeri*) and, for the second, in Kallistos' (fols 46–244: *Odyssey*). I believe it is quite unlikely that

¹²⁶ Perosa 1953, 4.

¹²⁷ Mohler 1942, 490–493 (epist. no. 39).

¹²⁸ Mohler 1942, 493–494 (epist. no. 40).

¹²⁹ See for a description Mioni 1985a, 537–538 and *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 59).

¹³⁰ See Pontani 2011, 371–386, in part. 380–381, and Chinellato 2018.

¹³¹ See Pontani 2011, 380.

this codex was part of Andronikos' library, since he already had a copy of the *Odyssey* in 'his' Mutin. α P.5.19, maybe made in Padua between 1459 and 1462, in collaboration with Demetrios Xanthopoulos and, again, the calligrapher Iohannes Rhosos.¹³² The palaeographic and codicological analysis point to a same dating also in the case of Marc. gr. Z. 611; a clear indication of this is the presence of the watermark *Flèches* similar to Briquet 6271 (Venice, c. 1462) and to the type no. 11 by Harlfinger (1464), this drawing being found in Kallistos' autographs located in Padua at the time of his stay with Palla Strozzi.¹³³ A partial collation of the text could further strengthen the bond between the two codices, which Allen — albeit without recognizing the identity of the copyists — had already gathered in the same family.¹³⁴

I owe to David Speranzi the reporting of so far undiscovered Andronikos' notes to the text of Ptolemy's *Geographia* preserved in <Vat. Barb. gr. 163> (see e.g. fols 5r, 8rv, 9v).¹³⁵ This codex is entirely in the hand of Iohannes Skutariotes,¹³⁶ who worked for Palla in the late 1450s and the early 1460s. Considering the outward appearance of the codex, the material used for its production (parchment), and the type of interventions applied by Kallistos, its belonging to his own collection can be excluded with absolute certainty. It looks very much like a work carried out on commission, but we do not unfortunately know for whom this book was made. We can assume that the operation took place in Palla's milieu, not only due to biographical data on the copyists, but also according to the indications coming from textual criticism studies. The Barberinianus had already been identified as a copy of one of Palla's famous books, that is, Urb. gr. 82.¹³⁷ There are a few slight corrections in the hand of Kallistos, which are the result of a revision of the text. On fol. 5r one finds, for instance, the addition of the term *μοίραξ* before *ἀπέχονταξ* (12,15 Müller) which had been omitted by Skutariotes. The same happens on fol. 9v where the words *ἄμα τῷ βασιλεῖ* (21,24 Müller), which are missing also in some other witnesses to the text, were reinstated by Kallistos. The different roles played by simple copyists, such as Iohannes, and those of copyist-

132 See for the location in Padua as discussed *infra*, in this chapter. Also for this codex, refer to Pontani 2011, 381–383.

133 See what is said *supra* and *infra* with regard to Ambr. I 56 sup., Par. gr. 2069, Mutin. α T.9.2 (unit I), and Mutin. α U.9.3 (unit I).

134 Both the Mutin. α P.5.19 (*siglum* Mo) and the Marc. gr. Z. 611 (*siglum* U4) indeed belong to family *d*; see Allen 1910, 8, 13, 17, 26–27.

135 The codex is available for consultation on line at <<http://digi.vatlib.it/>>.

136 Identification in *RGK* III 302.

137 See Cuntz 1923, 31.

philologists, such as Andronikos, can be clearly seen here, Skutariotes being in charge of the transcription, whereas Kallistos is responsible for revising the text.

2.2.3 The interaction with Hesaias of Cyprus and his book collection (1457–1462)

The first codicological unit of Mutin. α V.7.1 (= fols 1–56 and 58–59, in the hand of Kallistos), which contains the text of the *Harmonica* by Manuel Bryennios, can be dated to the years 1458–1462. A tentative *terminus post quem* is 25 March 1457, when a large part of the codex Vind. Phil. gr. 64, commissioned and owned by the monk Hesaias of Cyprus,¹³⁸ was completed; indeed, the Vindobonensis has recently been identified as the model of the Mutinensis copied by Andronikos.¹³⁹ A *terminus ante quem* for the latter is instead 27 May 1462, the date on which the bull was issued that decreed the subsidization on the island of Crete of twelve Uniate priests, the first on the list being Hesaias himself.¹⁴⁰ This data should be interpreted with caution, since we are informed of his return to Italy (namely, to Venice) one year later,¹⁴¹ at a time when Kallistos had already moved from Padua to Bologna. The presence in Mutin. α V.7.1 of some corrections and marginal annotations by <Iohannes Rhosos>¹⁴² may provide further indications. These interventions reveal, first of all, a different picture of the activity of this copyist, who, unusually, is engaged on this occasion in the role of reviser.¹⁴³ Bearing in mind (1) that Rhosos' activity in Veneto is well documented from March 1458 onwards¹⁴⁴ and (2) that he also appears in the above-mentioned list of 12 priests who were ordained in Crete, we might propose a dating within the years 1458–1462.

138 See Speranzi 2018, 197–200 (with previous references).

139 See Weddigen 2020, 394–395 (I hereby warmly thank Anne for providing me with this data before the publication of her PhD thesis). A close relationship between the Vindobonensis and the Mutinensis had previously been noticed in Jonker 1970, 44–46. We shall observe that Vind. Phil. gr. 64 already proved to be the antigraph of another manuscript copied by Kallistos: Vat. gr. 257 (Arist. *Metaphysics*); see Sicherl 1997, 109.

140 See Saffrey 1979.

141 See Speranzi 2018, 196–200 and Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 123–125.

142 See fols 13r, 16v, 26v, 39v, 43r, 49r, 52r and the decoration on fol. 43r.

143 The same work was carried out by <Rhosos> in the table of contents (fols 2r–3r) of Par. gr. 3011, a manuscript which likewise belonged to Andronikos' collection; see *infra*, § 3.2, 3.5.2 and 5.2.1.

144 See the colophon of Vat. Ott. gr. 22, made for Palla Strozzi by 20 March 1458.

We now turn to a codex in which marginal notes of Andronikos have already been identified and which may have likewise belonged to Hesaias: it is the Aristophanes Vat. Borg. gr. 12. In the *repertoria* a single annotation by the hand of Kallistos is mentioned with regard to fol. 10v; one should add to this another intervention on <fol. 11r>. ¹⁴⁵ But it is in the hand of <Hesaias> that many annotations appear with regularity throughout the codex (see an example in Fig. 2.24), leading to the conclusion that he was also the owner of the book. ¹⁴⁶

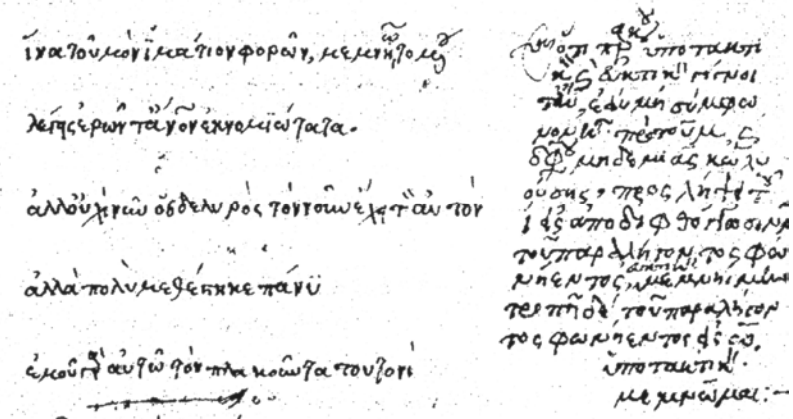


Fig. 2.24: Borg. gr. 12, fol. 42r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

¹⁴⁵ In the lower margin of fol. 10v, with regard to the form εἰσθ' of *Plutus* 231, Hesaias initially wrote: ἰω.ἰέω.ἴημι.εἴω. Kallistos added on his own: ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴω ἀχρήστου ὁ παρακείμενος εἶα καὶ διαλύσει εἶα. καὶ τροπή τοῦ εἰς ἡ ἴα, μένοντος καὶ τοῦ ἰ προσγεγραμμένου. ὁ ὑπερσυντέλικος ἦεν ἀχρηστος, ἦεις, ἦει καὶ μετὰ τῶν προθέσεων παρήειν ἀντὶ τοῦ παρήλθον, εἰσήειν ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰσηλθον, περίηειν ἀντὶ τοῦ περιήλθον. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴημι ἀχρήστου ἰέναι ἀπαρέμφατον εὐχρηστον, ἴεμαι δὲ ἐπὶ παθητικοῦ ἐνεργητικὴν σημασίαν ἔχον. Similar indications are found in Pseudo-Zonaras (s.v. ἀπήμεν 257, 4 T: ἀπήμεν. ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴω, τὸ πορεύομαι, ὁ μέσος παρακείμενος εἶα, καὶ τροπή τοῦ εἰς ἡ ἴα, τὸ πληθυντικὸν ἦαμεν καὶ κατὰ συγκοπὴν ἦμεν. οἶον. προῆμεν τῆ βουλή); see also Chantry 1996, 66. At fol. 11r, with regard to the form τύχω (vv. 237 and 242), Kallistos commented: τυγχάνω. εἰ μὲν σημαίνει τὸ εἰμί, μέλλοντα εὐχρηστον οὐκ ἔχει, ὃ γε μὴν δεῦτερος ἀόριστος ἔτυχον εὐχρηστος καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τούτου, καὶ παρακείμενος τετύχηκα εὐχρηστος καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τούτου. εἰ δὲ σημαίνει τὸ ἀπολαμβάνω, τότε καὶ μέλλοντα ἔχει εὐχρηστον τεύξομαι.

¹⁴⁶ I recently found the hand of <Hesaias> in other manuscripts. Marginal annotations are in Laur. 69.15, Par. gr. 1859, and Neap. III.B.9. Fols 329r–331v of Par. gr. 1295 are entirely in his hand and transmit his autograph (!) pamphlet *De processione Spiritus Sancti* (= PG 158, cols 971–976), a work connected with Nikolaos Sklengias' longer treatise dealing with the same subject.

2.2.4 The genesis of Par. gr. 2038 (unit I) and that of its offsprings

For this period we shall mention the first unit of Par. gr. 2038. This codex containing Aristotle's works is entirely in the hand of Andronikos. It is a very well known manuscript, since it has long been acknowledged as the model of the Aldine edition. With regard to the text of the *Poetics* handed down in the final part of the volume (fols 109v–130r), a vehement debate has been going on for decades concerning the origin of some peculiar readings, which have often been particularly appreciated by the editors. They hold two positions: some believe that these readings stem from an ancient (and now lost) witness, whereas others contend that they are the result of Kallistos' own conjectural activity. This issue will be discussed more in detail at a later time.¹⁴⁷ Be that as it may, we approach here the examination of the first part of the volume.

The codicological status of Par. gr. 2038 should be emphasized once and for all as a non-homogeneous composite manuscript. It consists of two parts: the first one pertains to fols 1–112, in which the three books of the *Rhetorica* (1r–75r) and the pseudo-Aristotelian work *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (76r–109v) have been transcribed; the watermark appearing in these quires is a drawing *Monts* without a specific counterpoint in the repertoires. At a later time, Kallistos began transcribing on the remaining blank folios (109–112) of the original last *quaternio* the text of the *Poetics*; he then added two more quires (= fols 113–130, namely 18 folios organized into a *quaternio* and a *quinio*) that were necessary to complete the copy. The traces of this chronological discontinuity are evident: from a palaeographic point of view it is clear that the writing of the text copied from the middle of fol. 109v onwards significantly differs from that of all the preceding quires (see Plates 11–12); moreover, as far as the material analysis of the watermarks is concerned, the 'new' quires bear a drawing *Huchet* very similar to type 25 Harlfinger (Rome, 1471).

Within the first codicological unit, to which Iohannes Rhosos himself contributed with illuminations, titles, and initials in red ink,¹⁴⁸ the text of the *Rhetorica* (fols 1r–75r) was copied by Kallistos from Cantabr. Ff.V.8;¹⁴⁹ this is a book that was to end up in the collection of Antonio Seripando through the legacy of Aulo

¹⁴⁷ See *infra*, § 5.4.2.

¹⁴⁸ Identification in Gamillscheg 1978, 234 n. 32. Hereby a detailed description of Rhosos' contribution to the manuscript: fol. 1r (initial + title + book-number identifier); fol. 17r (initial); fol. 27v (initial + title + book-number identifier); fol. 55r (initial + title + book-number identifier); fol. 76r (initial + illumination); fol. 77v (initial).

¹⁴⁹ Kassel 1971, 32–36. A description in *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 103–104 (this has now been put online, with additions and corrections, at <<https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften>>).

Giano Parrasio and that shows marginal annotations in the hand of Demetrios Chalkondyles.¹⁵⁰ Judging by the history and the series of owners of the *Cantabrigensis*, it is possible that this book originally belonged to Theodoros Gazes: this would explain its presence in Rome at a later time (between the end of the 1460s and the beginning of the 1470s), when it was at the disposal of Iohannes Rhosos for the copying of the Laur. 31.14.¹⁵¹ Likewise, the text of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (fols 76r–109v of Par. gr. 2038) descends from Neap. II.E.2,¹⁵² which was to belong to Seripando (through Parrasio) and in which annotations in the hand of Chalkondyles have been identified.¹⁵³ This book may have belonged, at least theoretically, to Gazes.¹⁵⁴

The dating and the whereabouts of the first unit of Par. gr. 2038 remain, on several levels, problematic. A dating by the end of the 1450s seems very likely for several reasons, primarily of textual nature. For the text of *Rhet. ad Alex.* the Paris manuscript is supposed to be the model of that copied by the monk Gregorios in fols 65r–110r of Marc. gr. Z. 215:¹⁵⁵ as these leaves are found within a codicological unit that features the collaboration between Gregorios and Demetrios Triboles, their genesis has recently been referred to the early 1460s.¹⁵⁶ A further (compelling and at the same time thorny) *terminus ante quem* might be given by Marc. gr. Z. 200, the famous volume collecting Aristotle's *opera omnia* which was completed in Rome by Iohannes Rhosos for Bessarion in July 1457: for the text of the *Rhetorica* the Marcianus is said to bear traces of contamination deriving indirectly from Par. gr. 2038.¹⁵⁷ However, at least two issues should be highlighted, which make this chronological indication unreliable for the time being: 1. the contribution of the readings of Parisinus to the *constitutio textus* of Marc. gr. Z. 200 has not been fully clarified;¹⁵⁸ 2. there are no indications that Andronikos was

150 Identification in *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 103.

151 The 'Roman' origin of this Laurentianus is also confirmed by the presence of the watermark *Arbalète Briquet 746 = 21 Harlfinger* (Rome 1471); on this drawing see more *infra*, § 2.3.1.

152 Chiron 2000, 30–31, 66.

153 Identification in Rollo 2020a, 205–206 n. 1.

154 I hereby present a new discovery of the Greek writing of Gazes in a manuscript which may have belonged to him. It is the *pinax* on <fol. 215r> of Par. gr. 1984 (Stobaeus); on the manuscript see Speranzi 2010c and Bianchi 2022.

155 Chiron 2000, 28, 66.

156 Speranzi 2017, 169–174, 195–197.

157 Kassel 1971, 45–51.

158 For the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, this has been discussed, but not confirmed by Chiron 2000, 28, 66.

in Rome in the years 1455–1457 (recent findings have shown instead that in that lapse of time Kallistos was elsewhere).¹⁵⁹

For the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, two manuscripts showing similarities to each other proved to be apographs of Andronikos' Par. gr. 2038. Both in Lond. Harley 6322 (fols 267r–304v, within the second codicological unit [= fols 75–304]) and in Urb. gr. 47 (fols 1r–34v, within the first unit [fols 1–36]), the copyist of the text of *Rhet. ad Alex.* is the Cretan Michael Lygizos.¹⁶⁰ In addition, in the London manuscript (a homogeneous composite), the first unit is in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos, who is also responsible for the illuminations in the first unit of Urb. gr. 47. As for Rhosos, thanks to the numerous subscriptions he made on the manuscripts copied by him, we can trace his movements and follow most of his career as a scribe; we know therefore that he resided continuously (with the exception of the years 1462–1464) in Italy and that he was active between the end of the sixth and the first half of the seventh decade of the century in Padua and Bologna, where Andronikos also resided. What we know about the biography of Lygizos, however, would seem to complicate the picture; in fact, we know that his activity mostly took place on the island of Crete,¹⁶¹ and a movement of Andronikos or his manuscript to Crete in the late 1450s or early 1460s is not conceivable.

To eliminate any remaining doubts, there are other findings of a codicological and textual nature. In the second codicological unit of the Harleianus a watermark *Couronne* has been found,¹⁶² which is similar to the type Briquet 4879 (Ferrara, 1458) and, above all, which matches that of the coeval aforementioned manuscripts in the hand of Andronikos made in Padua, Bologna, and Ferrara. In addition, the London manuscript has long been acknowledged for the writings of Demosthenes and Aeschines (transcribed along with Aristotle's works in the same codicological unit) as a direct copy of Par. gr. 2998,¹⁶³ which is another book owned by Andronikos.¹⁶⁴ This is confirmed also by the presence in Par. gr. 2998 of some marginal annotations (see e.g. fols 118v–119r, 133r, 136r) to be ascribed to the hand of <Michael Lygizos>. A picture emerges therefore whereby it is possible to hypothesize the presence of Lygizos in Italy between the last years of the 1450s and the first half of the 1460s and his activity (carried out together with Rhosos).¹⁶⁵

159 See *supra*, § 1.3.3.

160 Chiron 2000, 25, 33, 66

161 RGK I 282 = II 386 = III 465; PLP 15194.

162 *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 437–441.

163 The derivation had already been shown by Drerup 1902, 297. See Mondrain 2014, 205–206.

164 Identification in Orlandi 2014b, 165, 186–187, plate XV; see more *supra*, § 2.2.1.

165 It is significant in this regard that on fol. 305r of the Harleianus a Greek-Latin glossary has been transcribed from a Western hand; and this glossary refers to the works contained in the

2.2.5 Tracing the sources: The fate of three books of Isaak Argyros in the fifteenth century

According to an insight by Ernst Gamillscheg,¹⁶⁶ later embodied in important studies by Andrea Tessier,¹⁶⁷ two manuscripts in particular should be referred to for the activity of Andronikos as a teacher: it is Mutin. α Q.5.20 and Mutin. α U.9.22. They are well known to scholars thanks to the studies of Alexander Turyn, Ole Langwitz Smith and those who have dealt with the transmission of ancient exegetical knowledge.¹⁶⁸ These books are common in that they represent *recueils* containing exclusively scholastic material on the text of the three tragedians as well as to Aristophanes', Theocritus', Homer's, Plato's, and Pindar's.

As Filippomaria Pontani has conveniently remarked,¹⁶⁹ different sets of scholia refer to different codicological units. In this regard, the codicological analysis undertaken here in combination with the results of textual criticism studies has already shown that some of these units are, for instance, older than others. For the first section of the scholia to the *Odyssey* as transcribed in Mutin. α U.9.22 (fols 113r–157r lin. 21), the possibility of its making at a time before Andronikos' arrival in Italy has been mentioned;¹⁷⁰ and the same may apply to the Platonic and Pindaric units of Mutin. α Q.5.20. However, the units containing scholia to the tragedians, as well as to Aristophanes and Theocritus, were definitely arranged in Italy; they all feature the watermark *Couronne* discussed in the previous pages.

Textual criticism studies have made it possible to trace the potential anti-graphs from which Kallistos derived these valuable scholia. As far as metrical scholia to Euripides are concerned, the only other manuscript transmitting materials resembling those found in Mutin. α U.9.22 (unit I) is the Parmensis 154. Be-

volume, namely Demosthenes' *De corona*. The Greek words are extracted in order of occurrence, without any alphabetical sorting. It is a common practice found also elsewhere; see Rollo 2011, 198–199. It is not surprising that Kallistos, who stood as an interpreter to Demosthenes' speeches and was at that time engaged as a teacher of Greek language, made one of his books available for further copying. Finally, I point out that the handwriting of this anonymous Western pupil, who was probably the owner of the book (see the annotation in his hand throughout the codex, e.g. at fol. 1v), bears similarities with that of Demetrios Kastrenos.

166 Gamillscheg 1978, 242.

167 See first Tessier 2000, 351–360 and more insights Tessier 2015b, 172–181; see also the critical edition by Tessier 2015a.

168 For bibliographical references to both Mutin. α Q.5.20 and Mutin. α U.9.22 see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entries nos 17 and 25).

169 Pontani 2011, 371–372.

170 See *supra*, § 2.1.1.1.

cause of some minor differences in the organisation of the materials, the Parmensis has been considered by some scholars as a twin of the Mutinensis;¹⁷¹ however, there are those, like Tessier,¹⁷² who believe that the Mutinensis is actually a copy of the Parmensis and that these differences can be explained as a personal adaptation by Kallistos. In the case of the *Prolegomena* to the Comedians and the metrical scholia to Aristophanes, the research of W. J. W. Koster¹⁷³ clarified the direct dependence of the Mutinensis (units II–III) on Par. gr. 2821. Although it is not directly related to the debate on manuscripts only provided with scholia (‘manoscritti “a soli scoli”’, in the words of Tessier), we may here lastly remember that the text of Theocritus’ *Idyllia* handed down from Par. gr. 2758 represents the basis of the so-called *recensio Parisina*, from which in turn descends a group of manuscripts (the so-called *genus Vallianum*) somehow linked to Kallistos.¹⁷⁴

The reason for mentioning Par. gr. 2758 is explained by the fact that a special link exists between these three manuscripts, the Parm. 154, Par. gr. 2821, and Par. gr. 2758. In fact, they are *disiecta membra* of a codex that was once unitary. This is the well known collection of poetic texts that was once the property of the Byzantine scholar Isaak Argyros, who copied almost all of the texts contained in these three volumes.¹⁷⁵ From a cultural-historical point of view, the reciprocal relationship of these three manuscripts indirectly provides further evidence supporting the derivation of the texts we have been discussing from the antigraphs already identified in textual criticism studies. In other words, this enhances the plausibility that it is exactly these three pieces (and not any of their apographs or siblings) to which Andronikos had access. Given that it does not seem reasonable that Andronikos viewed the materials included in these three different manuscripts through different routes, we shall infer that Kallistos had access to these volumes when the three pieces were still together. One asks at this point how,

171 This is the opinion of Schartau 1981, 238–239 and Günther 1995, 133 ff.

172 See Tessier 2015a, XIII–XIV n. 5.

173 See Koster 1974, LXI–LXII and Koster 1975, XXXIV–XXXVI. With regard to the rearranged text of the *Prolegomena* already attributed to the so-called *Anonymus Cramerii*, Koster went so far as to say: ‘Quaerenti, quisnam fuerit Anonymus Cramerii, respondere possum eum illum esse, qui codicis praestantissimi utriusque partis huius opusculi [...], sc. Estensis α U.9.22 [...], scriba fuit’ (page XXXIV). In other words, Koster attributed to Andronikos – though without naming him explicitly – the responsibility for the reworking of Tzetzes’ materials. Something similar can be observed in the case of the so-called *Anecdoton Estense* for which see Orlandi 2014a, 170–171.

174 See Gallavotti 1993, 334–336. We will examine this topic in more detail in a specific section of the work; see *infra*, § 5.3.1.

175 For Argyros and his intellectual activity, I refer to the monograph by Gioffreda 2020, where all of the previous bibliography is found. A detailed description of the three manuscripts is found therein at pages 199–210.

where, and when Kallistos might have had access to the texts from Argyros' collection (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Argyros' and Kallistos' collections: models and copies.

Manuscripts of Isaak Argyros	Contents	Manuscripts of Andronikos Kallistos
Parmensis 154	<i>scholia</i> to Euripides	Mutin. α U.9.22 (unit I)
Par. gr. 2821	<i>Prolegomena de comoedia</i> <i>scholia metrica</i> to Aristophanes	Mutin. α U.9.22 (unit II) Mutin. α U.9.22 (unit III)
Par. gr. 2758	Theocritus	< <i>Theocriti codex deperditus</i> >

Of the fifteenth-century history of Argyros' manuscript we know nothing, except that Parm. 154 + Par. gr. 2821 + Par. gr. 2758 ended up in the hands of Niccolò Michelozzi (1444–1526), Lorenzo de' Medici's secretary.¹⁷⁶ The presence of Michelozzi's *ex libris* instantly establishes a link between the manuscript and Florence, something that could also match what we know of Andronikos' biographical vicissitudes. The connection of the manuscripts with the city of Florence is strengthened if we further consider that on the leaves of two out of the three present parts traces of a hand similar to that of Demetrios Chalkondyles, hitherto unnoticed, can be found.¹⁷⁷ This identification helps us on the one hand in chronologically defining the presence of the manuscript in Renaissance Italy, but — more importantly — it offers us a further point of connection between the manuscript itself and Kallistos. Demetrios and Andronikos kept in touch during the years of their stay in Italy and the one would have succeeded the other in the 1470s to the chair of lecturer in Florence.

¹⁷⁶ For a biographical account, see Viti 2010.

¹⁷⁷ In the case of Par. gr. 2821 see the annotations at fols 13r, 35v, 39v, 74v, 79r, 86r. Within Par. gr. 2758, in this hand similar to Chalkondyles' are at least the *marginalia* at fols 46v, 68r, whereas I have not found any in the Parmensis. For the transfer of books which passed through the hands of Chalkondyles himself and the brothers Niccolò and Bernardo Michelozzi, see most recently Orlandi 2021b, 183–185 (with further bibliography). We shall hereby add a further element of connection between Chalkondyles and Michelozzi. In a book owned by Niccolò, i.e. Par. gr. 2683, I found some notes (see e.g. fol. 70r) applied in the margins by an anonymous hand which has already been linked to the *Umkreis* of Chalkondyles: it is the copyist identified by David Speranzi in the second codicological unit of Laur. 74.12 (= fols 45r–62v) and in Ambr. Trotti 182; see Speranzi 2011, 118. As far as annotations in different hands are concerned, see e.g. fols 119v, 129r, 167v, 220v.

Strictly speaking, one can now envisage two possibilities: 1. Kallistos himself may have been in possession of the manuscript for a long time and made use of it over the years, before leaving it in Florence on his departure; 2. Chalkondyles himself or one of his pupils may have been the owner of the manuscript and made it available to Andronikos (around the years 1457–1466, as indicated by the *Couronne* watermark found in Kallistos' copies) to enable him to draw useful teaching materials from it. Whatever the case may be, Argyros' manuscript was in Florence between 1471 and 1483, when Angelo Poliziano — who, one must remember, was first a pupil of Kallistos and then of Chalkondyles — used it to copy the scholia to the Euripides' Byzantine triad in his famous notebook Par. gr. 3069.¹⁷⁸

2.2.6 Laying out materials for teaching and studying

The *mise en page* of five manuscripts, which are all copied on paper watermarked *Couronne*, can be traced back for several reasons to Kallistos' scholarly activity in these years. They present recurring features, to which it is important to turn our attention here. In addition to the fact that the same paper has been used for their production, these manuscripts display a 29-lines Leroy-Sautel 20D1 ruling scheme; of these 29 lines, however, only 15 are alternatively employed for writing the main text. The aim is to create in this way a suitable space for the addition of interlinear annotations, glosses, and commentary notes. If one considers the teaching activity constantly undertaken by Andronikos during these years, it is likely that manuscripts of this kind originated from within a school environment. Some of these books were copied by Kallistos for himself and were part of his private collection until they were sold: they are the Mutin. α T.9.2 (unit V) (Soph., *Antigone*) (see Plate 13), the Laur. Ashb. 1144 (Pindar, Lycophron) (Fig. 2.25) and the Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit II) (Musaeus) (Fig. 2.26).

178 For bibliographical references about the scholia see Pontani 2011, 373 n. 867, 395–402. For the Par. gr. 3069 refer to Silvano 2010 and Daneloni 2011.

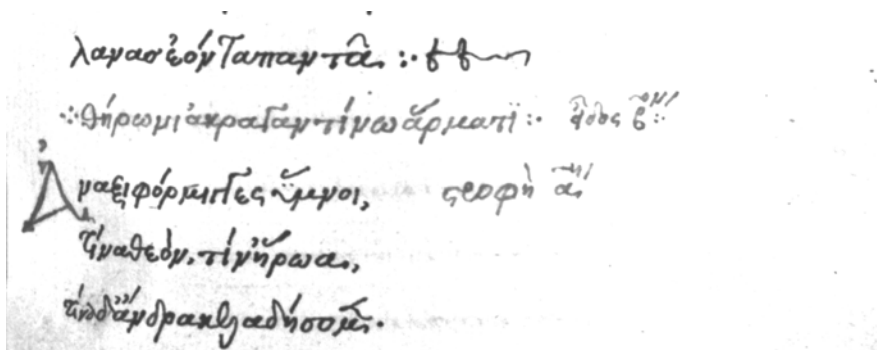


Fig. 2.25: Laur. Ashb. 1144, fol. 7r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

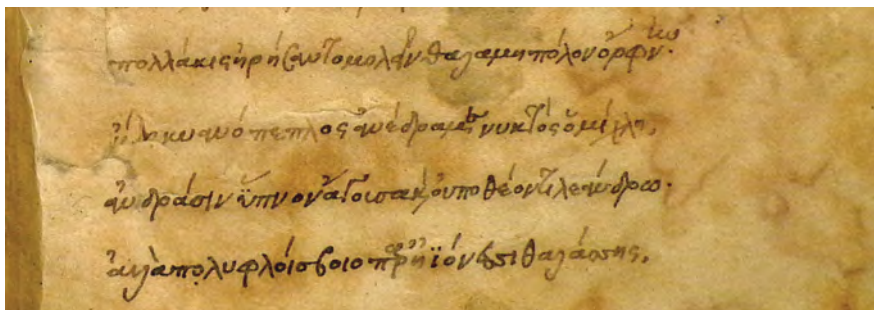


Fig. 2.26: Mutin. α Q.5.21, fol. 68r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

Other samples, which never belonged to the collection of Kallistos, may have been copies produced by the master for his students: these are Ott. gr. 355 (unit I) (Aristophanes, *Plutus*) and, above all, Ambr. P. 84 sup. (Theocritus, *Idyllia*) (see Figs 2.27–2.28), of which we will have the opportunity to speak in more detail elsewhere.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ See *infra*, § 5.3.1.

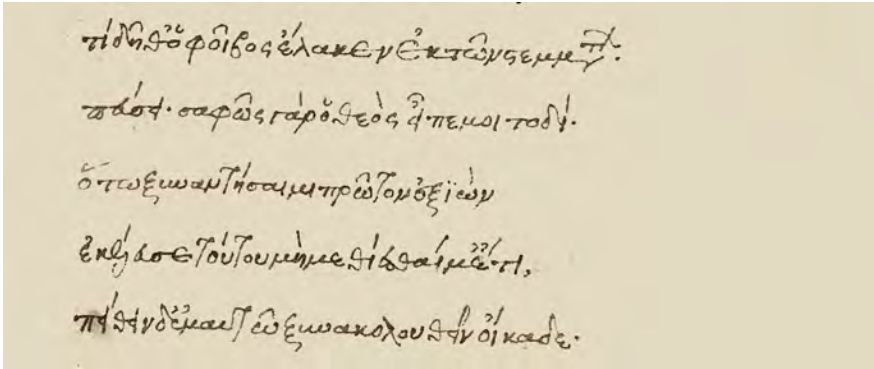


Fig. 2.27: Ott. gr. 355, fol. 2r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

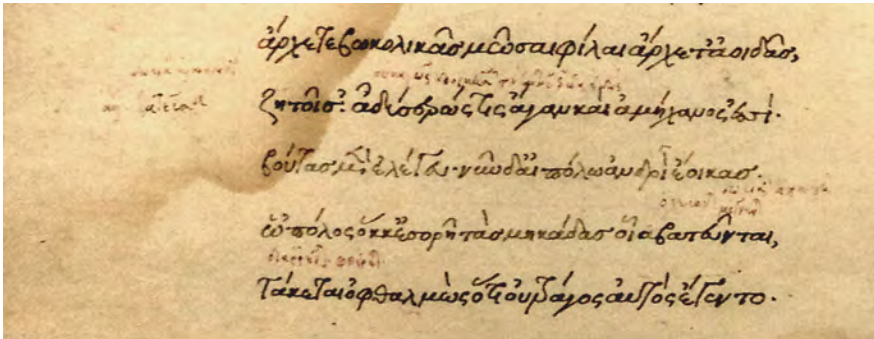


Fig. 2.28: Ambr. P. 84 sup., fol. 3v; © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

While waiting for a further analysis, we can give a list of books copied between Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua, which refer to this decade (1456–1466):

- Comensis 1.3.19
- Laur. Ashb. 1144
- Laur. Ashb. 1599 (units I + restoration of unit III)
- Ambr. H 52 sup. (unit I)
- Ambr. I 56 sup. (with the exception of fols 242–II')
- Ambr. P 84 sup.
- Mutin. α P.5.19
- Mutin. α P.6.13 (unit II)

Mutin. α Q.5.20 (units I–III, V–VI)
 Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit II)
 Mutin. α T.9.1
 Mutin. α T.9.2 (fols 68–98, 132–177)
 Mutin. α T.9.14 (restoration)
 Mutin. α U.5.1 (fols 1–201)
 Mutin. α V.7.1 (fols 1–56, 58–59)
 Par. gr. 2038 (unit I)
 Par. gr. 2046 (fols 126–131)
 Par. gr. 2069
 Par. gr. 3011 (restoration)
 Salm. 230 (red titles)
 Ott. gr. 355 (unit I)
 Marc. gr. Z. 611 (unit II).

2.3 Working as a scribe, acting as a scholar: Rome and Florence (1466–1474)

2.3.1 In Rome at Bessarion's house (1466–1471)

It is possible to identify a group of manuscripts which have been copied with certainty in Rome, as Andronikos transcribed for Bessarion classical and medieval Greek texts in the years 1466–1471; this activity, which he undertook together with other scribes of Bessarion's milieu (like Georgios Alexandros Chomatas, Georgios Tzangaropoulos and Iohannes Plusiadenos), was part of the Cardinal's effort to avoid their loss after Constantinople's fall.

Marc. gr. Z. 198 is likely not to have been realised before 1466, i.e. at the time of Kallistos' settlement in Rome at Bessarion's house. The name of the Cardinal within the *ex libris* is followed by the title of 'Latin patriarch of Constantinople' (= *post* 1463).¹⁸⁰ Kallistos was appointed with the task of writing down the final copy of Bessarion's own philosophical works: *In calumniatorem Platonis* (namely the third edition of the Greek text in four books),¹⁸¹ *Correctio interpretationis Georgii Trapezuntii in libros Platonis de legibus* and *De natura et arte*.¹⁸² Consider

¹⁸⁰ See Mioni 1981, 310.

¹⁸¹ The work is edited in Mohler 1927.

¹⁸² The work has recently been republished in Mariev, Marchetto and Luchner 2015.

that Andronikos had already corrected an earlier version of the text copied down by Bessarion himself in the manuscript Scor. Σ.III.1.¹⁸³

One traces back to the same period the manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 238 (Michael of Ephesos' commentary on *Parva naturalia* and on Aristotle's treatises on animals)¹⁸⁴ (see Plate 14): fols 62r–124r are in Andronikos' hand,¹⁸⁵ in this case testifying a collaboration with Georgios Alexandros Chomatias (fols 2r–61v)¹⁸⁶ and the so-called *Anonymus Δ-T* Harlfinger (fols 124v–227v).¹⁸⁷ A chronological indication for the making of this manuscript is found in the codex itself. For in *ex libris* at fol. 1v Bessarion's name is accompanied by the title *episcopus Sabinorum*, which, as said, he obtained in October 1468.

While analysing the manuscripts of Bessarion's library now kept at the Marciana, I found another trace of Kallistos' study activity in Rome, gone unnoticed so far. In the Marc. gr. Z. 226, a very ancient parchment codex containing Simplicius' commentary on *Physics*,¹⁸⁸ a single marginal annotation at <fol. 290v> — as can be seen in the *specimen* (Plate 15) — is without doubt in his own hand. This

183 See Martínez Manzano 2018, 379–380 and plate 8.

184 See Mioni 1981. Some partial collations which I carried out on Michael of Ephesos' text confirmed the proximity between the text of Marc. gr. Z. 238 and that of Marc. gr. Z. 237 (last quarter of thirteenth century), which was already hypothesized more than a century ago by Wendland 1903, IX. It is noticeable, however, that the text of Marc. gr. Z. 238 bears significant similarities with that of Par. gr. 2066, a manuscript copied in the same years by Kallistos himself, whose antigraph has been not identified. It seems thus to be a case of deliberate contamination, similar to what we have seen before (see *supra*, § 2.1.3) with regard to the text of Timaeus in Marc. gr. Z. 190. This issue should be further examined in the future through more collations, in order to definitely overcome the assessment of Hayduck 1904, XIII, according to which Marc. gr. Z. 238 is a mere apograph of Marc. gr. Z. 237. Furthermore, I gathered more pieces of evidence concerning the proximity between the text of Par. gr. 2066 (Par) and that of the first printed edition by Aldo Manuzio (Ald). I attach below some significant instances: 15,11 ἐν πίνακι] ἐν τῷ πίνακι Par Ald; 15,23 καὶ ὅτι] ὅτι Par Ald; 16,7 ἐγγραφὲν] ἐγγραφεῖσαν Par Ald; 16,13 post νόημα add. μόνον Par Ald; 17,18 ἐξ αἰσθήσεως] ἐξώθεν Par Ald; 18,1 ὁρῶν om. Par Ald; 20,28 ἀναλαμβάνει] λαμβάνει Par Ald; 21,9 τοῦ ἐχομένου] τῷ ἐχομένῳ Par Ald; 21,17 δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτὸ] ἡμᾶς αὐτὸ δύνασθαι Par Ald; 21,25 τῆς ἀναμνήσεως διὰ τούτων] διὰ τούτων τῆς ἀναμνήσεως Par Ald; 22,17 ante συμβεβηκός add. καὶ Par Ald; 22,18 δὲ] γὰρ Par Ald; 22,26 εἶ τι] εἶ γε Par Ald; 23,9 φαμέν] ἔφαμεν Par Ald.

185 Identification in Mioni 1976, 298.

186 Identification in Harlfinger 1974, no. 57.

187 Identification in Harlfinger 1974, no. 59. Mioni 1981, 351 mistakenly refers in this case to Iohannes Plusiadenos. In the manuscript Berol. Phillipps 1585, I found one annotation in the hand of the <*Anonymus Δ-T*> at fol. 118r: this finding helps corroborate the hypothesis of the transit of the Berolinensis from Florence to Rome postulated by Speranzi 2018, 226.

188 For a description refer to Mioni 1981, 339–340.

notabile (σημείωσαι | περὶ αὐτοκινήτου) simply points to the subject of discussion of these lines.¹⁸⁹ The presence of Andronikos' hand in this codex does not indicate at all that he was ever the owner; unlike what happened with Diodorus Marc. gr. Z. 374, it is much easier to imagine in this case that Andronikos had temporary access to a volume owned by Bessarion for mere consultation. It is worth recalling that Kallistos had already explored text of Simplicius' commentary: while living in Padua, between 1457 and 1462 he had consulted Par. gr. 1908 owned by Palla Strozzi, and he had probably extracted from this very book some of his arguments for his reply to Michael Apostoles (the *Defensio Theodori Gazae*).¹⁹⁰ It is not surprising then that he intended to consult after some time (in Rome in the second half of the 1460s, judging also from the *ductus* of the note) even this ancient witness, property of Cardinal Bessarion.

It has already been noted above that the exchange of books between Kallistos and Bessarion was mutual and that some of the manuscripts in Andronikos' collection served as models for the making of books intended to enrich Bessarion's library. During the years of Kallistos' Roman sojourn, the Marc. gr. Z. 480 was set up.¹⁹¹ This sumptuous, large-format parchment codex represents a kind of poetic collection, gathering mainly authors of the Hellenistic period (e.g. Oppian, Theocritus, Dionysius Periegetes, Nicander, Apollonius Rhodius; the exception is Hesiod). Marc. gr. Z. 480 is a clean copy, which is only apparently of little importance; in fact it represents the outcome of a philological undertaking carried out in the late 1460s at Bessarion's house from different models. For many of the aforementioned authors, the text — which is of good quality and already known to the editors — in some cases goes back to more than one model. The scribe entrusted with the task of the final transcription of the collection was Georgios Tribizias. In at least three cases the readings given in the texts that have been copied here go back to Andronikos' manuscripts: Theocritus,¹⁹² the scholia to Aratus,¹⁹³ and the

189 διὸ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἄτοπον ἀπηγάγετο τὸν λόγον τὸ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔν ὄν καὶ ἄτομον τῷ εἶδει δυνάμει ἅμα καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ ἔσσεσθαι καὶ οὐπω ὄν καὶ ἤδη ὄν, ὡς εἴ γέ τις διηρημένην λαμβάνοι τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ δυνάμει καὶ τὸ ἐνεργείᾳ, οὐκέτι ἄτοπον ἔσται τὸ τὸ αὐτὸ δυνάμει εἶναι καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ (Simpl. in *Arist. Phys.*, ed. Diels 1895, 1250,10–15).

190 See *infra*, Appendix 1.

191 A description in Mioni 1985a, 272–276.

192 See more *infra*, § 5.3.1.

193 See Martin 1974, IX–XII.

Argonautica Orphica.¹⁹⁴ I summarize below (see Table 2.3) the data concerning Andronikos' books in a table.¹⁹⁵

Table 2.3: Bessarion's manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 480 and its models.

Manuscripts owned by Kallistos	Contents	Marc. gr. Z. 480 owned by Bessarion
< <i>Theocriti codex deperditus</i> >	Theocritus, <i>Idyllia</i>	fols 105v–128r
Mutin. α T.9.14, fols 1r–53r	Aratus, <i>Phaenomena</i> (<i>scholia</i>)	fols 172r–197v
Mutin. α T.9.2, fols 99r–130r	<i>Argonautica Orphica</i>	fols 401r–416v

Recent studies have shown that during his stay in Rome Kallistos worked at times as a copyist not only for Bessarion, but also for other prominent personalities: among these is Nicholas of Kotor (c. 1427–1480), bishop of Modruš.¹⁹⁶ Two parchment codices, included in the library of the prelate and containing Aristotle's works, are wholly in the hand of Andronikos: Vat. gr. 249 (*Physica*) and Vat. gr. 257 (*Metaphysica*).¹⁹⁷ A copy of Theodoros Gazes' *Grammar*, Vat. gr. 13, in the hand of Georgios Hermonymos and Demetrios Triboles, was given to the bishop of Modruš.¹⁹⁸ This book had been fully annotated and revised by Kallistos. For this reason, one may suspect that this was initially his private copy, but there

¹⁹⁴ As shown by Vian 1979, 29–31, Mutin. α T.9.2 served — along with the Vat. gr. 1691 (which belonged to Bessarion) — as a model to Marc. gr. Z. 480.

¹⁹⁵ As noted in Mioni's catalogue, another important model to the Marc. gr. Z. 480 was the manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 464, a book in the hand of Demetrios Triklinios which was already included in Bessarion's library.

¹⁹⁶ For the relationship between Kallistos and the bishop, see Rollo 2006a, 366–377. Part of Nicholas' library ended up in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome and hence in the Biblioteca Angelica. The most valuable codices, however, entered the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in 1481. On Nicholas see Floramo 2012 and Špoljarić 2018 (with further bibliography).

¹⁹⁷ In both cases the identification of the copyist is found in Harlfinger 1971, 413.

¹⁹⁸ A recent description of the codex is in Kalatzi 2009, 304–305. It is one of the numerous copies of Gazes' *Grammatica* — all graphically and codicologically similar to each other — manufactured by Georgios Hermonymos during his 'Italian' years, between Venice and Rome, in collaboration with other copyists and scholars from Bessarion's milieu. Also by his hand is the manuscript Lond. Add. 18492 (identification in *RGK* I 61), as well as Norimb. Cent. V App. 49a, copied for Regiomontanus (identification by Dieter Harlfinger), Neap. II.D.9 (Stefec 2014, 179–180), and Ott. gr. 331 (I anticipated this identification in Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 229).

is no certainty at the moment as to whether the book belonged to the collection.¹⁹⁹ In the case of Vat. lat. 1532, a book realised for Nicholas by the scribe Giovanni da Itri, Andronikos was commissioned to add some *graeca* in the Latin text of Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, as discovered some years ago by Antonio Rollo.²⁰⁰

An analogous work was carried out by Kallistos in a witness to Suetonius' *Vitae Caesarum*: it is Vat. Chis. H.V.159. Again Rollo²⁰¹ identified the addition of the Greek passages within this book as a work accomplished by Andronikos. In this case, however, we cannot establish who commissioned the work, where it was carried out (probably in Rome, because of the similarities between the *ductus* of Chis. H.V.159 and the aforementioned Vat. lat. 1532 as well as other samples discussed so far) and why it was not completed. For the transcription of the Greek additions stops at *Tib.* 21, with the quotation from *Il.* 10,246–247.

Another manuscript of Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum* extensively annotated by Kallistos is Berol. lat. fol. 850.²⁰² I recently discovered a third exemplar of the same work at the National Library of Berlin with a single intervention by <Andronikos> at *Nero* 39,2 (Ἐκατηβελέτης): it is the codex lat. fol. 199 (fol. 143v; see Fig. 2.29).

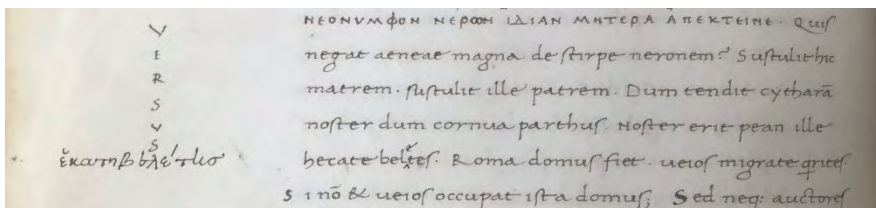


Fig. 2.29: Berol. lat. fol. 199, fol. 143v; © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

199 See on this issue Rollo 2006a. Another copy of Gazes' grammar, Ott. gr. 52, realised a few years earlier (in the first half of the 1460s) by Iohannes Rhosos, had also been likewise corrected in a few instances by Kallistos. The identification of the marginal annotation in Kallistos' hand on fol. 37v of the Ottobonianus is registered in *RGK* III 31 (some corrections to this record are in Rollo 2006a, 376); the interventions on <fol. 7v, 15v> are also Andronikos' work.

200 Rollo 2006a, 370. I correct hereby a reference by Botley 2019, 191 n. 83 which mistakenly ascribed to Kallistos another manuscript of Gellius (= Barb. lat. 123), thus misunderstanding the indication by Rollo. A description of Vat. lat. 1532 is found in Nogara 1912, 49–50; concerning the copyist of the Latin text, Giovanni da Itri, see Caldelli 2006, 26, 45, 115. For a comprehensive study of the *graeca* of the *Noctes Atticae* by Gellius refer to Martinelli Tempesta 2016b.

201 Rollo 2006a, 377–380.

202 See Rollo 2020a, 129–130, 144, 148, 159, 189.

While awaiting the finding of Latin books that belonged with certainty to Kallistos' personal library, it is without doubt remarkable that as many as three copies of the same Latin work annotated by him have come to light.

An important witness of Theodoros Gazes' *Grammar* is Neap. II.D.9. It was part of the sixteenth-century book collection of Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470–1521) and, thence, of Antonio Seripando's (1486–1531). The Neapolitanus appears not to have previously belonged to Kallistos'.²⁰³ However, it is a valuable record of the interaction between Kallistos and members of Bessarion's circle, in Rome and/or at a distance. It is almost entirely in the hand of Georgios Hermonymos,²⁰⁴ with the exception of fols 101v lin. 11–102v lin. 3 and fol. 104v lin. 1–19, which I ascribe here, for the first time, to <Georgios Tribizias> (see Fig. 2.30).

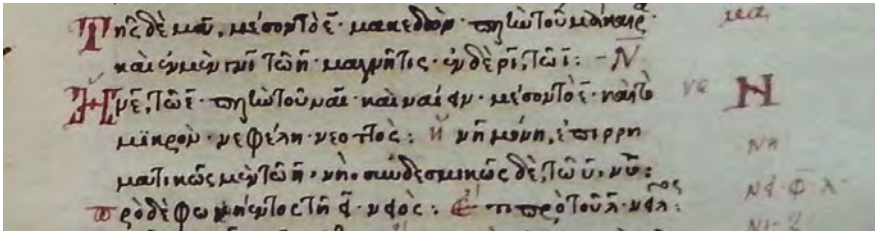


Fig. 2.30: Neap. II.D.9, fol. 102r; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

In terms of palaeographic expertise the most important issue, however, does not concern the copyists responsible for the transcription, but rather all the hitherto neglected hands that abundantly annotated the manuscript. First, we can ascribe with certainty some marginal and interlinear notes to the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos> himself. They appear at fols 3v, 10r, 11v, 12v, 14r, 15rv, 18v (see Fig. 2.31).

203 A brief description is in Formentin 1995, 13. As reported in the catalogue, one finds, in addition to Seripando's, another *ex libris* in guard-leaves of the codex: at fol. IIr one reads Γουρελλη δεραπτα | Γουρελλου | κτήμα Γουρελλίου του 'Ράττου. This person could be identified with a certain Gregoro (= Gregorello → Gorello/Gurello) Della Ratta de Castello 'homo doctissimo in greco et latino' mentioned by Francesco Filelfo in a letter to Francesco Sforza dated 9 October 1459, preserved at the Archivio di Stato Milano, Autografi 127, s.v. 'Filelfo', c. 9. This letter has never been associated with the Naples manuscript so far.

204 Identification by Stefec 2014, 180; see also Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 249.

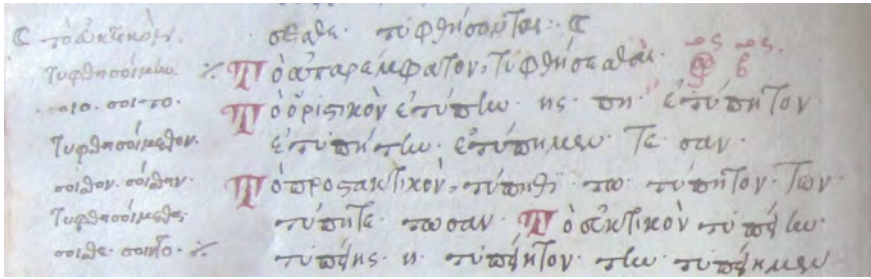


Fig. 2.31: Neap. II.D.9, fol. 11v; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

As can be seen in the picture, these are in almost all cases additions to passages accidentally omitted by Hermonymos rather than corrections intended to improve the text by conjecture.

Some other *marginalia* should instead be referred to the hand of another member of Bessarion's *Gelehrtenkreis*: <Alexios Keladenos>.²⁰⁵ These notes are found at fols <1rv, 2r, 5rv, 6v, 8rv> (see Fig. 2.32).

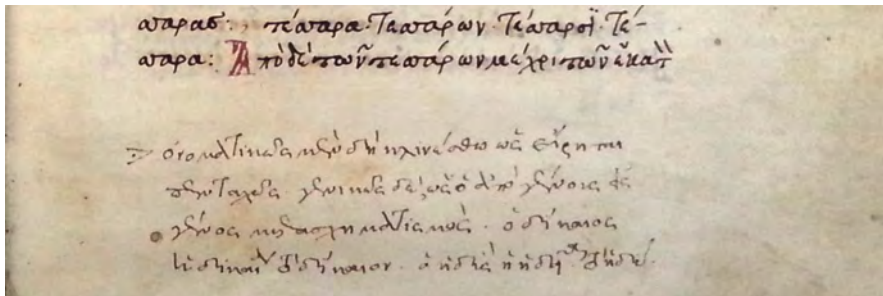


Fig. 2.32: Neap. II.D.9, fol. 5r; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

²⁰⁵ For significant *specimina* of the hand of Keladenos (formerly known as *Anonymus δ-καὶ Harlfinger*), see Harlfinger 1974, nos 62–63 and Speranzi 2011. For the career of Keladenos refer now to Speranzi 2015a (with further bibliography).

In the marginal sections of the leaves, one comes across the writing of a third hand, whose identity is still unknown. It is the so-called <Anonymus 14 Harlfinger>.²⁰⁶ A few years ago, David Speranzi²⁰⁷ recognized his hand in some manuscript kept today in Florence at the Biblioteca Riccardiana; all these books are in some way connected to Demetrios Chalkondyles and Theodoros Gazes and date from the the third quarter of the fifteenth century. As far as Neap. II.D.9 is concerned, one can ascribe to his hand the interventions at <fol. 4v, 7v, 8v, 11r and 13v> (see Fig. 2.33).

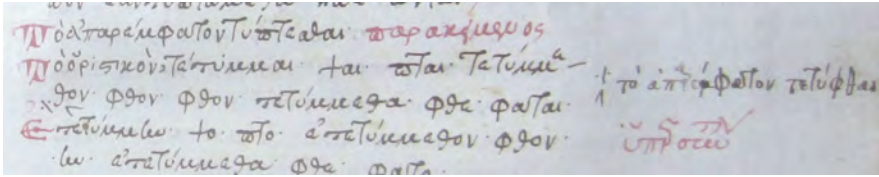


Fig. 2.33: Neap. II.D.9, fol. 11r; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

Last but not least, in the margins of Neap. II.D.9 appear autograph notes by the author of the work himself, <Theodoros Gazes> (see Fig. 2.34).²⁰⁸

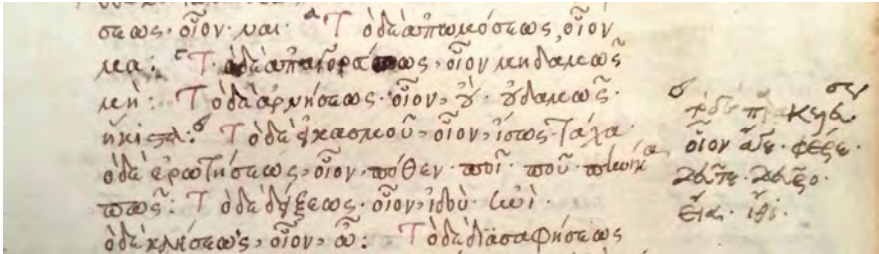


Fig. 2.34: Neap. II.D.9, fol. 18r ; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

The corrections of Gazes are located at fol. 4v, 8r and 18r. The most interesting intervention is the last one found on fol. 18r, i.e. in the final part of book I of the

²⁰⁶ Harlfinger 1971, 418.

²⁰⁷ See Speranzi 2010a, 197–198 and Speranzi 2012, 348–349.

²⁰⁸ For a comparison refer to the *specimina* published in Speranzi 2010a, Speranzi 2012, Orlandi 2015, and Orlandi 2020b.

Grammar, within the section devoted to adverbs (ἐπιρρήματα). With regard to the adverbs indicating command/prescription (παρακέλευσις), the text of Gazes' annotation reads as follows: τὸ δὲ παρακελεύσεως, ὅιον ἄγε· φέρε· δεῦτε· δεῦρο· εἶα· ἦθι. This clause is missing in most of the manuscripts of the *Grammar* as well as in the printed edition by Aldo (1495).²⁰⁹ One wonders whether Gazes inserted this correction at a later stage, i.e. when his work had already been widely read, studied, and reproduced in multiple copies in the Italian humanistic circles. In this sense, the discovery of Gazes' annotations in the Naples manuscript undoubtedly represents a turning point for a more in-depth study of the history of the composition and transmission of the text.

A last piece of information about the writings found in the Naples manuscript concerns one of its possible owners. In the front guard-leaves is an annotation in the hand of <Harmonios of Athens> (see Fig. 2.35).

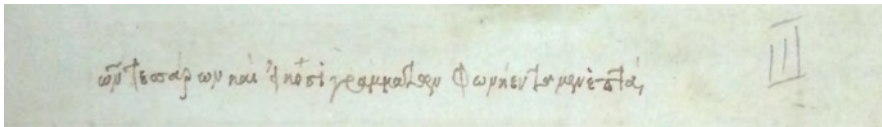


Fig. 2.35: Neap. II.D.9, fol. IIIr; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

Concerning him²¹⁰ we know that he took over some manuscripts previously belonging to Theodoros Gazes, who — as we have seen — appears here among the annotators of his own work.

As suggested by the analysis of the watermarks²¹¹ and the biographical information on the activity of the aforementioned scribes and annotators, the place of

209 *ISTC* ig00110000. While preparing a more detailed study on the issue, I checked so far about 60 manuscript copies of the *Grammar*. Traces of Gazes' editorial corrections related to those ones inserted in Neap. II.D.9 are only found in a few witnesses, e.g. Ott. gr. 331, Reg. gr. 148, Barb. gr. 89, Par. gr. 2583, and Barb. gr. 35 (the latter bearing other annotations/interventions in the hand of Gazes, as anticipated in Speranzi 2017, 147 n. 33 and Orlandi 2021b, 181 n. 5). Some general issues concerning dating and whereabouts of the work had previously been discussed in Botley 2010, 14–25

210 *PLP* 91091. For new findings see Martínez Manzano 2019b, 199–208 (with previous bibliographical references) and Orlandi 2020a, 239–240.

211 Two drawings are found: 1. *Huchet* similar to the types Briquet 7834 (Rome, 1470) and 25 Harlfinger (Rome, Jan./Febr. 1471, copyist Iohannes Rhosos); 2. *Chapeau* similar to the types 3387 Briquet (c. 1465) and 12 Harlfinger (Venice, 1471, copyist Iohannes Rhosos). See also Formentin 1995, 13.

making of Neap. II.D.9 might have been Rome some time in the 1460s. However, precisely because of the presence — between the text (Hermonymos and Tribizias)²¹² and the marginal annotations (Kallistos, Keladenos, the so-called *Anonymus* 14, and Gazes)²¹³ — of so many personalities who had contact with Bessarion, caution is called for. Indeed, we cannot exclude the possibility that the correction of the manuscript did take place at different times and places.²¹⁴

A small, yet significant piece of evidence of the circulation of manuscripts amongst members of the Cardinal's circle is represented by the discovery of a diagram in the hand of <Andronikos> in the upper margin of fol. 109v of Ott. gr. 181 (Fig. 2.36).

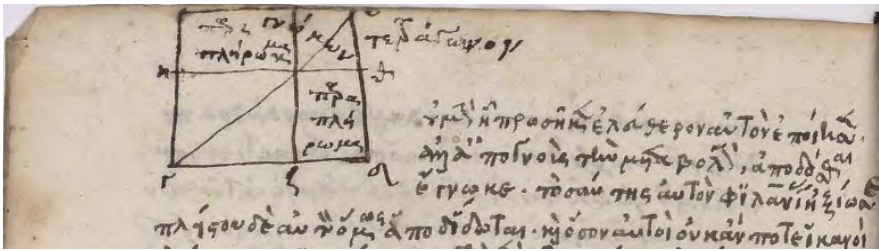


Fig. 2.36: Ott. gr. 181, fol. 109v; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

The Ottobonianus is a book entirely copied by the Moreote copyist and learned man Demetrios Raul Kabakes, whose activity in Rome in the third quarter of the fifteenth century is well documented.²¹⁵

David Speranzi recently demonstrated that the first codicological unit (fols II, 1–44) of Laur. 74.12 also originated in Rome, at Bessarion's 'court', in the

212 For the activity of Georgios Hermonymos refer to Martinelli Tempesta 2020a. For Tribizias see Speranzi 2016a.

213 All corrections are concentrated in some twenty folios, i.e. those in which the first book of the *Grammar* was copied. In the remaining three books, there is no trace of corrections by any of these scholars: one therefore gets the impression of watching Bessarion's entourage at work to 'finish' the first book of the *Grammar* (as if the text of the other three did not require further revisions). This fact might not be accidental; possible reasons must be sought in the future amidst the very folds of the textual history of Gazes' work.

214 I shall examine again this manuscript at a future date in order to provide a more precise dating and location.

215 For the activity of Kabakes refer to Bacchelli 2007. When in Rome, Kabakes may have had access to the manuscript collection of Kallistos: Kabakes' copy of ps.-Hesiod's *Scutum*, Vat. gr. 2237, turned out to be an apograph of Andronikos' Mutin. α T.9.14; see Corrales Pérez 1994, 130.

second half of 1460s.²¹⁶ The section where Kallistos' hand has been found (fols 35–44; see a *specimen* in Plate 16) contains excerpts from works by Galen, Aristotle, Xenophon, Porphyry, along with a brief essay *De platonico communi usu mulierum*, which has been tentatively attributed to Kallistos by Anna Pontani.²¹⁷ As said, the first codicological unit (fols 3–44) of Laur. 74.12 is certainly of Roman origin. In these leaves there is the mark *Huchet 25 Harlfinger*, which that German scholar catalogued starting from two codices undersigned in Rome by Iohannes Rhosos between January and February 1971.²¹⁸ The discovery of the same watermark in other codices in Kallistos' collection, together with other data of a palaeographic, philological, and historical-cultural nature, allows us to date them to these years (1466–1471) with a high degree of probability.

A first example is given by Vind. Hist. gr. 78 (Fig. 2.37) (Plethon's excerpts from classical historical works; Themistius' paraphrase to Aristotle's *Parva naturalia*).

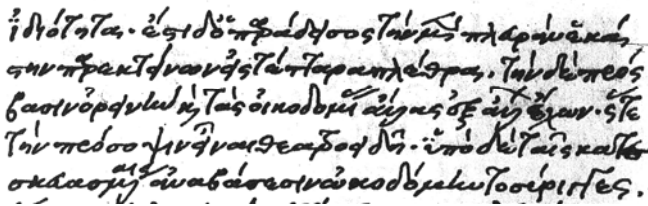


Fig. 2.37: Vind. Hist. gr. 78, fol. 7r; © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Plethon's excerpts copied by Kallistos in the Vindobonensis correspond in order and content to those in Marc. gr. Z. 406 owned by Bessarion, from which they seem to descend.²¹⁹ The Vindobonensis is a codex made up of three coeval codicological units (I = fols 1–67bis; II = fols 68–96bis; III = fols 97–106) containing, respectively, Plethonian excerpts to historians, Themistius' commentary on some

²¹⁶ See Speranzi 2011, 118–119, who also identified within this book the hands of Theodoros Gazes, Manuel Atrapes, Alexios Keladenos, and Bessarion. One of the watermarks which Speranzi found in these leaves (= *Huchet 25 Harlfinger*) turned out to be absolutely decisive in order to ascribe to this Roman period other codices copied by Kallistos (see *infra*, in this chapter).

²¹⁷ See Pontani 1989, 139–142.

²¹⁸ This drawing (registered in Harlfinger 1974–1980) is also comparable to the type 7834 Briquet (Rome, 1470).

²¹⁹ See Maltese 1989.

Parva naturalia, and excerpts from Aelian.²²⁰ The quires' numeration begins with *iota*, clearly suggesting that the first nine quires are now missing. A still readable index at fol. IIIr gives us some insights into their content: there originally were letters from Bessarion and Plethon about the four Aristotelic causes and other pamphlets by Plethon, namely those of *Contra Scholarii in defensionem Aristotelis*, *De differentiis*, and *De virtutibus*. The index also suggests that the codex did not end with the excerpts from Aelian, but also initially included some (unspecified) 'platonica ζητήματα ἀκέφαλα' and the pseudo-Aristotelic treatise *De lineis insecabilibus*.

For Michael of Ephesos' text, copied by Kallistos in Par. gr. 2066 (Plate 17), a proximity with Marc. gr. Z. 238, made around 1468, has already been suggested;²²¹ the discovery of the watermark *Huchet 25 Harlfinger* in the Paris manuscript contributes now to further confirm the hypothesis of its 'Roman' origin.

I came across the same drawing in two further manuscripts currently kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which are palaeographically consistent with the aforementioned. I shall recall first the second codicological unit of Par. gr. 2038 (= fols 113–130).²²² As anticipated, on fols 109v–130r Andronikos accomplished the copy of the text of Aristotle's *Poetics*. For the transcription he made use of some blank leaves left from the former last quire of the manuscript (i.e. fols 109v–112v, watermarked *Monts*), thus adding fols 113–130 (watermarked *Huchet 25 Harlfinger*) in order to complete the copying work.

In Par. gr. 2346 (Euclid),²²³ copied by Kallistos (Plate 18) in collaboration with Michael Lygizos and Georgios Tribizias, the watermark *Huchet 25* is accompanied by a drawing *Arbalète*, which matches with the type 746 Briquet (Rome, 1469) and is very similar to the type 21 Harlfinger (Rome, 12 Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos).

An 'external' extra-codicological indication regarding the whereabouts of this drawing *Arbalète* comes from Mutin. α V.7.17.²²⁴ The first codicological unit (= fols 2–51) contains a selection of Plutarch's *Moralia* in the hand of Georgios Tzangaropoulos²²⁵ directly copied from a codex available in Rome, in Bessarion's

220 For information on the Plethonian *excerpta* to the historians, see Maltese 1984; the text is edited in Maltese 1989.

221 See *supra*, in this chapter.

222 About the textual features of this manuscript see *infra*, § 5.4.2.

223 Studied by Rollo 2014b.

224 For a description of the codex, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 27).

225 Identification by Dieter Harlfinger in Gamillscheg 1978, 238.

collection: Marc. gr. Z. 511.²²⁶ The second codicological unit (= fols 52–73), transmitting some *Problemata* attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias and Cassius Iatrosophista, bears equally decisive evidence. The text of the Pseudo-Alexander transcribed in these leaves by Kallistos is close to that found in other books circulating in Bessarion's Roman 'academy':²²⁷ the Oxon. New College 233 — recently attributed to Theodoros Gazes' collection²²⁸ — and Leid. Voss. Misc. 16.²²⁹

The sum of this codicological and philological data thus allows us with almost absolute certainty to locate in Rome manuscripts presenting the same shape of *Arbalète*.²³⁰ In this regard, we have to mention other two manuscripts: it is Sinod. gr. 267 and Par. gr. 1878 (see Plate 19). In the Paris codex the drawing *Arbalète* appears in combination with another watermark located in Rome in those same years (that is *Chapeau* 12 Harlfinger);²³¹ this book contains Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.²³² The other half of the commentary (books V–XIII) — today attributed to Michael of Ephesos and no longer to Alexander of Aphrodisias — was copied by Kallistos in a separate volume, now Par. gr. 1879, bearing identical palaeographic and codicological features, with regard to size, *mise en page* and watermarks:²³³ the *Arbalète* does not appear, but the drawing *Chapeau* is clearly visible.²³⁴

The text of Xenophon's *Hiero*, copied by Kallistos in the fourth (the last) codicological unit (= fols 104r–111r) of the Mutin. α V.7.17 (Plate 21) shows readings which imply the consultation of Laur. Conv. soppr. 112.²³⁵ This manuscript, once belonging to the library of Antonio Corbinelli (1376/77–1425), had been kept at the Badia Fiorentina since about the middle of the fifteenth century.²³⁶ One would therefore be inclined to think that Andronikos had access to the manuscript only from September 1471, that is, from the beginning of his stay in Florence. However,

226 See Gärtner 1974, XXIV.

227 See Kapetanaki 2006, 82–84.

228 See Speranzi 2012, 336, 349–350.

229 Both of them have been copied by the so-called *Anonymus* 24 Harlfinger; see Harlfinger 1971, 419.

230 See also the case of Vat. lat. 1542 presented in Orlandi 2020a.

231 See Harlfinger 1974–1980, s.v.

232 The text was first edited in Hayduck 1891. More details on Par. gr. 1878 are found in Golitsis 2016, 61–62 and in the new critical edition by Golitsis 2022 (see in part. LV–XCI, CIX–CX).

233 See Orlandi 2014b, 167.

234 See for instance fols 5/6, 45/46, 64/65. For a description of both Paris manuscripts, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entries nos 34 and 35).

235 See Bandini and Dorion 2021, CCV. On Laur. Conv. soppr. 112 refer also to Rollo 2004a and Orlandi 2013, 195, 199, 202, 206.

236 For Corbinelli and his library refer to Rollo 2004a.

material evidence coming from the analysis of the manuscript forces reconsideration of the possibility that the copying of the fourth unit of the Mutinensis also took place at the time of Andronikos' Roman sojourn. For we found in these leaves the same paper watermarked *Arbalète* and *Chapeau* presented in the previous cases. Moreover, one of the main sources used by Kallistos for the text of Xenophon's minor works is the aforementioned Marc. gr. Z. 511, belonging to Bessarion's collection.²³⁷ In a very recent paper, Ciro Giacomelli has shown that manuscripts kept in Florence (also, but not exclusively, at the Badia) were at any rate accessible to Bessarion and/or members of his entourage for the purpose of making copies (all produced between the 1450s and the 1460s).²³⁸ This circumstance allows us to hypothesize that it was indeed during the years of his Roman sojourn, which he spent in the house of Bessarion at Church of the Holy Apostles, that Andronikos was able to temporarily consult the manuscripts preserved at monastic institutions in the city of Florence. As will be seen later, the access to these collections was to become easier for Kallistos once he settled permanently in the city and formed an established habit.

In conclusion, the manuscripts copied by Kallistos which can be traced back to his stay in Rome (between 1466 and 1471) are the following:

Mutin. α V.7.17 (units II–IV)

Sinod. gr. 267

Par. gr. 1878

Par. gr. 1879

Par. gr. 2038 (unit II)

Par. gr. 2066

Par. gr. 2346

Vat. gr. 249

Vat. gr. 257

Marc. gr. Z. 198

Marc. gr. Z. 238

Vind. Hist. gr. 78.

2.3.2 Enriching the collection in Florence (1471–1474)

Cross-referencing of historical, codicological, and philological data allows us to group together a set of manuscripts, which turned out to be copies of books kept

²³⁷ For more details, see *infra*, § 5.3.2.

²³⁸ See Manfredini 1994, 41–42 and Giacomelli 2021a, 108–111.

at different libraries in Renaissance Florence. In most cases it has been possible to link to the years 1471–1474 manuscripts sharing the same palaeographic and codicological features. To mention one particular instance, as with cases from earlier periods, one watermark stands out as the leitmotif of an homogeneous group of manuscripts made at the same time and place. In some other cases, the use of the results of textual criticism studies has likewise been decisive. Interestingly, Andronikos made use of his stay in Florence by carefully exploring the collections of monastic institutions to enrich his own collection. Therefore, we begin the survey from the manuscripts that happened to be apographs of books preserved at Florentine cultural institutions.

2.3.2.1 Aristotle's commentators at the library of the Badia Fiorentina

At least one book included in Andronikos' collection turned out to be an apograph of a manuscript kept at the Badia. By means of some partial collations, the text of the anonymous commentary on Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* transcribed by Kallistos in the first codicological unit of Mutin. α Q.5.21 (= fols 1–60) (see Plate 22) happens to be a copy of Laur. 71.32 (fourteenth century).²³⁹ Furthermore, the material analysis of the Mutinesis has brought to light the watermark akin to the type *Chapaeu* Briquet 3387 (Venice/Florence, c. 1464–1476). This drawing is typical — for instance — of some autographs by Iohannes Skutariotes, whose activity in Florence is well documented.²⁴⁰

2.3.2.2 Copying manuscripts from Niccoli's book collection at the Convent of San Marco

As with the manuscripts kept at the Badia Fiorentina, it is evident that Kallistos had access at the Convent of San Marco to some books previously owned by Niccolò Niccoli. The first two manuscripts to be presented are Mutin. α T.8.13 (Apollonius Rhodius) and its *pendant* Mutin. α P.6.13 (scholia to Apoll. Rhod.)²⁴¹ (see Plates 23–24). Both of them were fully copied by Kallistos on paper watermarked *Chapeau* in a drawing almost identical to the type Briquet 3387 (c. 1464–1476). In addition, some folios of Mutin α P.6.13 are evidence to the drawing *Échelle* similar

²³⁹ The text of the *Paraphrasis in Sophisticos Elenchos* is edited in Hayduck 1884; Hayduck, though, did not collate the Mutinensis.

²⁴⁰ See for instance Mutin. α T.8.20 and Haun. GkS 1570,4°, copied by Skutariotes and annotated (most likely in Florence) by Kallistos. Particular attention to this drawing had already been given by Gamillscheg 1978, 243. For the scribal activity of Skutariotes refer now to Martinelli Tempesta 2012.

²⁴¹ The codex belongs to the so-called *recensio Parisina*; see Wendel 1932, 11.

to the type Briquet 5910 (Florence, 1473–1474) which we will discuss further below. With regard to these manuscripts, a cultural-historical link with the city of Florence is already suggested by their contents. For Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* had not been lectured on by Kallistos in the frame of his former teaching activity in other cities and seems, therefore, to have been interpreted for the first time in Florence during the early 1470s.²⁴² As far as the text and the scholia of *Argonautics* are concerned, a more detailed evaluation about the manuscript sources of Kallistos' copies (i.e. Mutin. α T.8.13 and P.6.13) is needed. According to Gianvito Resta, some variants found in the Latin translation of the *Argonautics* prepared in Florence at the school of Kallistos can be explained by looking at the text transmitted by Laur. 32.9, a *codex vetustissimus* dating from the tenth century and kept at the Convent of San Marco.²⁴³

I found traces of a watermark similar to the aforementioned drawing *Chapeau* 3387 Briquet also in Par. gr. 2715 (Plate 25). This manuscript is well known to scholars of Aristophanes' text, as it contains a number of good readings of unknown origin. The authorship of these readings is now unanimously assigned to Kallistos.²⁴⁴ The manuscript is in fact a *mise au net* of a proper edition of the comedies carried out during the time spent in Florence.²⁴⁵ The text largely descends from that of Laur. 31.15, another book preserved at San Marco.

Typologically akin are two manuscripts, which are evidence for the collaboration between Andronikos and another scribe: Alphonsos Dursos of Athens. Together with him, Kallistos 'completed' the text contained in the second unit of Mutin. α V.7.1 (= fols 57, 60–86, 105–144).²⁴⁶ This manuscript originally did not include the musical treatises by Aristides Quintilianus and Bacchius, the pseudo-Herodotean *Vita Homeri* and the writings by the Emperor Julian: these texts, in

242 See *supra*, § 1.6.

243 See more *infra*, § 5.5.

244 See Wilson 2007, 12–13. On the codex see also Sicherl 1997, 125, 137–151.

245 The need to fix a text may have been induced by teaching activity. As appropriately mentioned by Wilson 2007, 12, the use of Aristophanes' *Plutus* as a university text is attested by the *recollectae* handed down in the manuscript Laur. 66.31, the contents of which represent the programme of instruction given by Kallistos at Florence (see more *infra*, § 4.2, 5.3.1, and 5.4). An apograph of Par. gr. 2715 is Laur. 31.16 (see Dunbar 1995, 23–24), copied by Iohannes Skutariotes, whose activity in Florence is well known. Perhaps it is not insignificant that the main annotator of Laur. 31.16 is a Western reader (still anonymous), whom I have found to be the copyist of Par. gr. 2834, i.e. of a manuscript that can be traced back to Kallistos' study and teaching of Theocritus (see more *infra*, § 5.3.1).

246 Andronikos' and Alphonsos' interventions complete the text of Manuel Bryennios' *Harmonica*, which Kallistos had started to copy years before from another antigraph (probably Neap. III.C.1; see on this Cortesi 2000, 408). For Alphonsos as a scribe refer to RGK I 9 = II 16 = III 20.

fact, were copied later from Salmanticensis 2748, a book once owned by Niccolò Niccoli, kept in Florence at San Marco's.²⁴⁷ It should not be surprising, then, to find in the leaves of Mutin. α V.7.1 traces of the watermark *Chapeau* 3387.²⁴⁸

The collaboration between Andronikos and Alphonsos is a feature shared with another manuscript, Demosthenes ex-Dresd. Da 11, which is currently kept in Moscow at the RGADA²⁴⁹ (see Plate 26). In this codex, Kallistos began and continued the copying work up to fol. 39v lin. 15, whereas Alphonsos is responsible for fols 39v lin. 16–58r. We are well informed about Alphonsos' activity in Florence in the mid-1470s. For he accomplished within the milieu of Kallistos the copying of Vat. gr. 2201, which bears a *subscriptio* at fol. 51r (Florence, March 1473).²⁵⁰ As already observed, the whole codicological unit in the hand of Alphonsos was corrected by Kallistos by means of numerous marginal annotations.²⁵¹

2.3.2.3 Of some other manuscripts copied in Florence

Due to the presence of the drawing similar to the aforementioned *Chapeau* 3387 and *Échelle* 5910 Briquet already found in Mutin. α P.6.13, a production in Florence in the early 1470s is likely also for two books completed/restored by Kallistos: parts of Mutin. α U.5.1 (*Iliad*, quire no. 7 [= fols 49–56] + unit II [= fols 202–398]); the supplemented section of the fourteenth-century manuscript Par. gr. 2046 (Alex. Aphr. *In Arist. Meteor.*, fols 97–173). In the case of Par. gr. 2046 (Fig. 2.38), the antigraph employed by Kallistos for the restoration has not yet been identified.²⁵²

²⁴⁷ See on this Martínez Manzano 2006 and Martínez Manzano 2015a, 148–156. The original text of the Salmanticensis had a large omission in Bacchius' text which corresponds to that of the Mutinensis before the latter's restoration by an anonymous scribe (responsible for fols 80v–86r, 87r–104v). Gamillscheg, 1978, 240–242 came across this scribe in some annotations to the last leaf (fol. 200rv) of Mutin. α P.5.19. I found other traces of his activity in <Mutin. α V.7.13> and <Mutin. α T.9.11> (fols 57r–66v), two manuscripts which belonged to Giorgio Valla (and thence to Alberto Pio). For the history of the text of *Vita Homeri*, finally, refer to Vasiloudi 2013, 42–45.

²⁴⁸ See e.g. fols 71/72 and 126/129.

²⁴⁹ See *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 30). For the identification of the hand of Alphonsos as well as for further details, see also Orlandi 2014b, 147–150, 163–164, 187, 189 and plate XIc.

²⁵⁰ New insights into this manuscript (partly copied by an anonymous pupil of Kallistos) are in Orlandi 2020c, 464–471, 476, 432–433.

²⁵¹ Concerning the scribal activity of Alphonsos, we shall remark that there is no evidence suggesting that he was a pupil of Andronikos Kallistos, as observed in Harlfinger 1974, 33.

²⁵² I attach here a piece of evidence showing *indirectly* that Kallistos' restoration most probably took place in Florence and not in Rome. Had Andronikos completed the text in Rome between 1466 and 1471, he would have used one of the manuscripts owned by Bessarion containing the same work, i.e. Marc. gr. Z. 230. However, this is not the case, as I verified by means of some

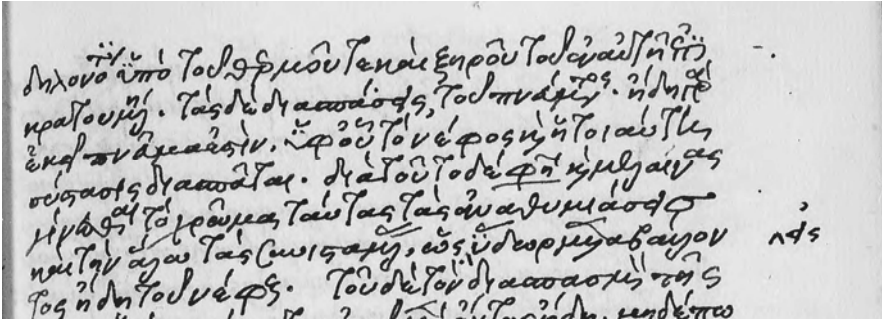


Fig. 2.38: Par. gr. 2046, fol. 112r; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Eventually, a link to Florence will be suggested also in the case of the fourth codicological unit of Par. gr. 1644 (= fols 38–I'; see Plate 27), transmitting Galen's *Ars medica*.²⁵³ The hypothesis of a dating to the years 1471–1474 and a location in Florence comes again from the analysis of the watermarks. For one finds in these quires the same drawing *Monts* discovered in Par. gr. 2715 and in the Moscow manuscript RGADA, Φ 1607 Matthaei 15 (copied, as we have seen, in collaboration with Alphonsos Dursos). In addition, philological evidence supports the hypothesis: the text of Galen's *Ars medica* copied by Andronikos in Par. gr. 1644 descends from a lost antigraph, which proved to be a *gemellus* to Vat. Reg. gr. 154. The Reginensis was copied by Iohannes Skutariotes, whose activity as a copyist in Florence is widely documented.²⁵⁴ It must therefore be inferred that the common source was in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Below is a list of the manuscripts (or sections of manuscripts) copied in Florence. From the palaeographic analysis of all these pieces emerges a confirmation

partial collations: 123,26 διὰ τὸ κατόπιν ὠθοῦν πνεῦμα] διὰ τοῦ κατόπιν ὠθούντος πνεύματος Marc διὰ τὸ κατόπιν ὠθοῦν πνεῦμα Par; 123,28 καὶ τὸν περὶ Ἀχάϊαν] καὶ τὸν περὶ Ἀχάϊαν Marc κατὰ τὴν Ἀχάϊαν Par; 123,28 ἅμα καὶ] ἅμα καὶ Marc ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι καὶ Par; 123,30 νότος] νότου Marc νότος Par; 123,31 τουτέστι om. Marc habet Par.

253 The identification of Andronikos' hand is in *RGK* II 25.

254 For the stemmatic proximity between the Parisinus and the Reginensis see Boudon-Millot 2002, 225–229, 270 (the reference to the 'Palatinus Suec. gr. 154' at page 225 is a *lapsus*). Concerning Iohannes Skutariotes' activity as a copyist, see *RGK* I 183 = II 242 = III 302 and the more recent contribution by Martinelli Tempesta 2012. The suggestion made in Boudon-Millot 2002, 226, according to which Kallistos copied fols 38–59 before 1461, does not seem plausible.

of the historical reconstruction here proposed, for Kallistos' *ductus* in these samples, as well as all the characteristics related to the writing (hatching, inclination, etc.), are absolutely homogeneous.²⁵⁵

Mutin. α P.6.13 (unit I = fols 1–143)

Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit I = fols 1–60)

Mutin. α T.8.13

Mutin. α U.5.1 (unit II = fols 49–56, 202–398)

Mutin. α V.7.1 (part of unit II = fols 57, 60–86, 105–144)

Mosq. RGADA, Φ 1607 Matthaëi 15 (ex-Dresd. Da 11)

Par. gr. 1644 (unit IV = fols 38–I')

Par. gr. 2046 (unit II = fols 97–173 [with the exception of fols 126–131])

Par. gr. 2715.

2.4 Andronikos' writing

2.4.1 The Greek writing: Evidence for a diachronic change

The study of a handwriting and its movements in a synchronic and diachronic sense can hardly be separated from certain chronological references. Indeed, it is such references that ordinarily form the basis of any palaeographic discussion. In the case of Andronikos Kallistos, the field of inquiry is unfortunately characterized by the fact that only three extant pieces of evidence are provided with a date and/or a subscription:

1. fol. 15v of Vat. gr. 1314 (see above, Fig. 2.13), bearing a subscription by Kallistos applied in the year 1449;
2. the 'header' of the quires (now part of Laur. 60.16) sent by mail to Gaspare Zacchi in 1457;
3. the letter sent to Palla Strozzi, in April 1459 (see Plate 9), today preserved in Forlì.

The work of locating and dating Andronikos' autographs through the combination of extra-graphic factors (historical, codicological, and philological) has therefore been of crucial relevance. In this regard, we may recall here some other relevant manuscripts which, despite not being dated, will serve as reliable *termini post/ante quem*:

²⁵⁵ See *infra*, § 2.4.1.3.

4. the Greek passages added to the manuscript Par. lat. 17542, a book copied by May 1457 at Strozzi's residence;²⁵⁶
5. the text of the colophon at the foot of the manuscript Par. gr. 1908 (see *supra*, § 1.2.1, Fig. 1.1), copied from Palla Strozzi's last will by May 1462;
6. the section of the Mutin. α V.7.17 (see Plate 20), in which Andronikos copied Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum* (= fols 74–103). This must have been made after 29 April 1464, given that by that date — as we read in a letter by Francesco Filelfo — Kallistos declares not to yet possess a manuscript with such a text;²⁵⁷
7. the corrections made in the margins of the incunable of Bessarions' *In calumniatorem Platonis* that appeared at the printing house of Giovanni Andrea Bussi.²⁵⁸ In this case, it is the date of appearance of the printed work (i.e. 1469) that counts as *terminus post quem*;
8. fols 60r–61r of the Mutin. α V.7.1 (see Plate 28) in which Kallistos began to transcribe the text of Aristides Quintilianus' work (later entrusting Alphonsos Dursos with the continuation of the task) from an antigraph kept at that time in Florence at the Convent of San Marco (= Salm. 2748, once property of Niccolò Niccoli);²⁵⁹
9. the epigrams written by Kallistos for the death of Albiera degli Albizi and copied by him in the Turin manuscript (see Plate 29); in this case, the death of Albiera (i.e. 1473) obviously applies as a *terminus post quem*.

The examination of these manuscripts enables us to settle on three different timespans: 1. the first half of the 1450s, spent between the Byzantine East and Bologna; 2. the 1450s and 1460s, between Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua; 3. 1466–1475, i.e. the last decade spent in Italy between Rome, Florence, and Milan. Each of these three chronological frameworks has its own characteristics, in fact reflecting different phases of Andronikos' graphic activity. For ease of reading, in the following pages they will be referred to as Period 'A' (from before 1453 until 1455), 'B' (1455–1466), and 'C' (1466–1475).

256 See *supra*, § 1.3.3.

257 See De Keyser 2015a, 1012.

258 *ISTC* ib00518000. A reproduction in Speranzi 2018, 195.

259 See *supra*, § 2.3.2.2.

2.4.1.1 Period A (until c. 1455)

As anticipated, Vat. gr. 1314 belongs to the batch of books copied by Andronikos before his arrival in Italy. The recurrence within this group of the same watermarks, together with the dependence on sources located in the Byzantine East before the fall of Constantinople have confirmed this as a matter of fact.²⁶⁰ In this regard, we can recall here the case of Par. Suppl. gr. 541 (Plate 1), which, remarkably, still retains the original Byzantine binding.²⁶¹ Of some of these manuscripts I attach full-page *specimina* in the section hosting the Plates (see nos 1–8). It shall be convenient, however, to also give here below some other partial reproductions (Figs 2.39–2.40), in order to examine more closely some graphic phenomena.

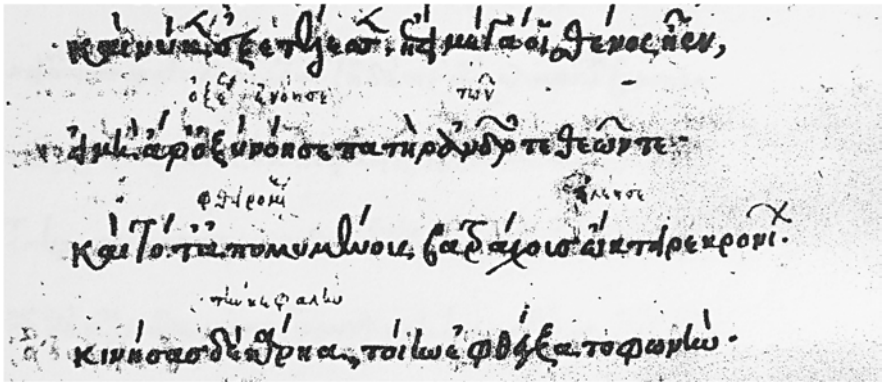


Fig. 2.39: Vat. gr. 1314, fol. 14r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

²⁶⁰ See *supra*, § 2.1.

²⁶¹ See *supra*, § 1.2.2.

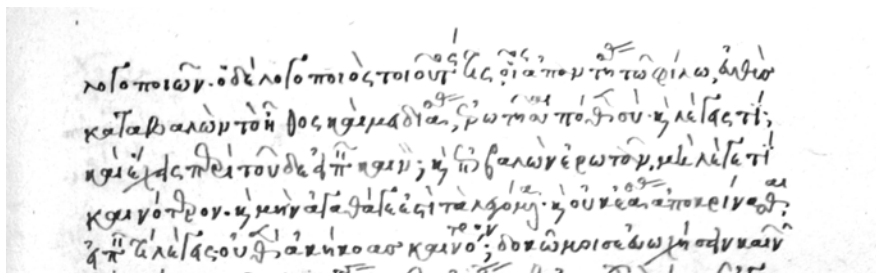
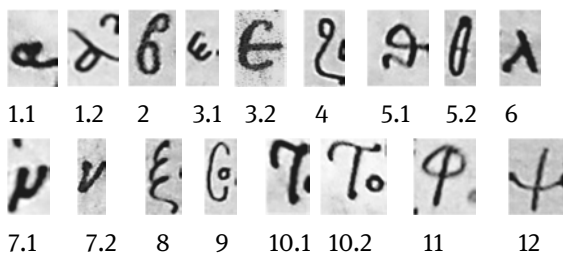


Fig. 2.40: Mutin. α U.9.10, fol. 210r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

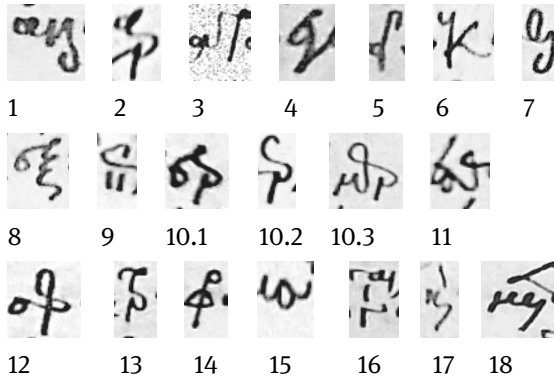
What is most important to point out is the fact that, from a structural point of view, all the peculiar traits of Kallistos' writing are already present at this early stage (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Andronikos' Greek writing: Basic forms.



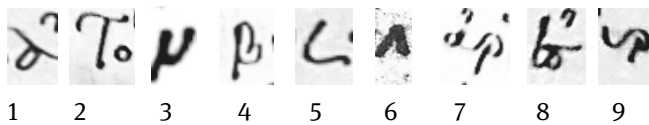
As for the layout of the individual letters, we will thus observe the following: two shapes for *alpha*, minuscule (1.1) and uncial (1.2); bilobular *beta* (2); two forms of *epsilon*, tilted-up on the left and hatched without raising the pen from the sheet (3.1), or traced in two times and provided with an arm (3.2); again, two shapes for *theta*, open and provided with a wavy tail in the lower section (5.1), or closed (5.2); two types of *ny*, the ancient variant, 'cup-shaped' (7.1), and the modern one (7.2); two types of *Fahnen-Tau*,²⁶² hatched without raising the pen from the sheet, thus producing a bow at the top (10.1), or hatched in two times (10.2), thus being made of two strokes perpendicular to each other; *psi* in form of a chalice (12).

²⁶² *Tau* 'a drappo' in the definition given by Speranzi 2016b, 62.

Table 2.5: Andronikos' Greek writing: Ligatures and abbreviations.

As for the ligatures and the abbreviations (see above, Table 2.5), I would draw attention to the following phenomena: the combination *alpha* + double *lambda*, very cursive, in which the lower part of the lambda is hatched completely beneath the line and bears a hook (1); *alpha-rho* with *alpha* in the line spacing (2); *epsilon-iota* connected with the circumflex accent, very characteristic (5); *epsilon-kappa*, where the letter *epsilon* is *en crochet*; a substantial polymorphism for the combination *epsilon-rho* (see 10.1–10.3); the sequence *epsilon-sigma-theta*, in which the letters share the horizontal stroke originating from the arm of the *epsilon*, thus shaping the upper part of the *sigma* and finally going down to form the first section of the *theta* (11); the combination *phi-rho*, in which the two letters share a single stem (14); finally, $\gamma\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (16), $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (17), and $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ - (18).

The characteristic traits of Kallistos' autographs dated back to these years (Table 2.6) are, after all, those already put into relief a few decades ago by Ernst Gamillscheg,²⁶³ at the time of the controversy over the supposed existence of the *Anonymus Mutinensis*.

Table 2.6: Andronikos' Greek writing: Characteristics of the early samples.

²⁶³ See Gamillscheg 1983.

Some of these traits become increasingly rare over the years. This is the case with the uncial *alpha* (1) and the 'cup-shaped' *ny* (3). Some others tend to disappear completely, like the *tau* hatched with two movements of the hand (2), the non-bilobular *beta* (4), the open sigma (5), the *lambda* hatched without raising the pen from the sheet (6), as well as a few ligatures (see 7–9).

Comparing the appearance of this writing with that of later manuscripts transcribed in Italy, one immediately gets the impression of a low accuracy and a certain lack of interest towards a calligraphic rendering. A substantial coarseness in the hatching of the individual letters contributes much to corroborate this first impression. In this regard the absence of a stable reference for the inclination is strongly remarkable. The writing is only slightly oriented to the right, and it is not uncommon to find single letters (or groups of letters gathered in ligature) tilted-up in the opposite direction (see e.g. *delta* and *epsilon*). The *ductus* is definitely 'richtungslos'.²⁶⁴ By this early stage of his scribal activity between Byzantium and Italy (i.e. in Bologna, at Bessarion's residence), Andronikos already adopts with remarkable regularity a *mise en page* consisting of 29 lines of text for small-sized *in-quarto* folded manuscripts and 37 lines for large-sized *in quarto* and *in-folio* ones. These codicological 'habits' would also characterise the manuscripts produced in Italy at later stages of his career.

Eventually, I ascribe to this period the following manuscripts or sections of manuscripts: Bonon. 2638 (titles in red ink); Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Nn III 18; Cantabr. Emm. Coll. 30; Erlangensis A 4 (fols 1–99, 209–264); Laur. 58.1 (marg.); Laur. 72.20 (restoration); Laur. Ashb. 1599 (fols 105–112); Ambr. A 185 sup. (fols 228–243); Ambr. E 99 sup. (marg.); Ambr. L 35 sup. (fols 1–8); Mutin. α Q.5.20 (fols 128–165); Mutin. α T.9.2 (fols 68–98); Mutin. α T.9.14 (with the exception of fols 1–7); Mutin. α W.5.5 (see details *infra*, § 6.1); Oxon. Barocci 63 (see details *infra*, § 6.1); Barocci 76 (titles in red ink); Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 (fols 107–114, 127–139; 147–149, 151–157); Par. Suppl. gr. 66 (fols 75–90); Par. Suppl. gr. 541 (with the exception of fols 136–154 and 201v); Par. Mazarine 4453 (marg.); Vat. Ross. 1025 (with the exception of fols 19–20 and 36v); Vat. gr. 1314; Marc. gr. Z. 10 (fols 382–409); Marc. gr. Z. 186 (fols 261–274); Marc. gr. Z. 190 (fols 1–266); Marc. gr. Z. 192 (fols 1–44); Marc. gr. Z. 223 (fols 118–123, 171–228); Marc. gr. Z. 337 (fols 130r lin. 21–31); Marc. gr. Z. 374 (with the exception of fols 128r and 166v); Marc. gr. Z. 518 (fols 96r lin. 40–46 and 96v lin. 1–2); Marc. gr. Z. 522 (161–210); Marc. gr. Z. 527 (fols 1–9, 11–14, 16); Vind. Suppl. gr. 23 (1–40); Vind. Theol. gr. 163 (marg.).

²⁶⁴ The definition is by Herbert Hunger; see Gamillscheg 1983, 335.

2.4.1.2 Period B (1455–1466)

It is not easy to say *what* exactly determined the progressive increase in the rate of elegance and calligraphy of Andronikos' writing. Indeed, the autographs from the middle years of his stay in Italy (1455–1466, between Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua) all show a much higher degree of formal accuracy. Some examples of this kind are found below at Figs 2.41–2.42; for other full-page reproductions refer to Plates 9–11 and 13.

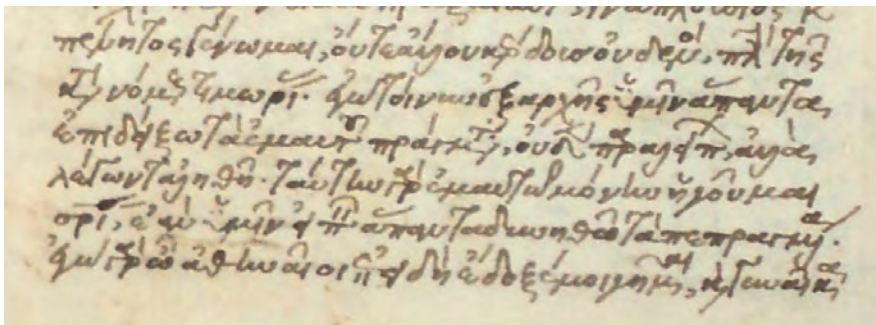


Fig. 2.41: Ambr. H 52 sup., fol. 46v; © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

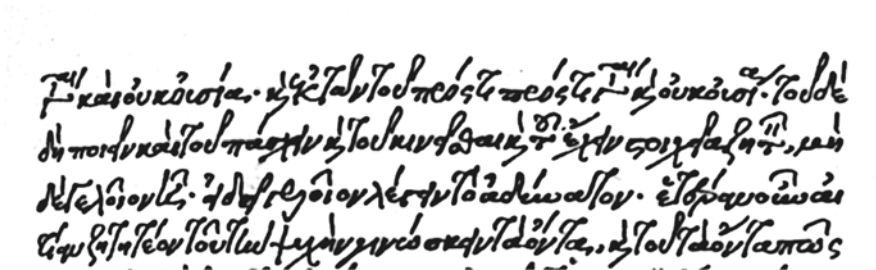


Fig. 2.42: Laur. Ashb. 1599, fol. 27r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

A first explanation could be that the more intense copying practised as his main activity in the years immediately following the fall of Constantinople inevitably led him to improve calligraphic skills: these were the years he spent from 1453 to 1455 in Bologna with Bessarion. The need to find a source of livelihood forced

Kallistos to take up — perhaps for the first time in his life²⁶⁵ — the occupation of full-time scribe. During his stay in Italy, Andronikos was to continue to copy manuscripts for third parties (again for Bessarion and, for example, for Nicholas of Kotor),²⁶⁶ but only occasionally, and certainly not with the frequency shown by the manuscripts realised for Bessarion in the years 1453–1455. As far as we are concerned, after Bessarion's departure from Bologna, Andronikos decided to devote himself to teaching. In this context, his scribal activity henceforth reflects both the scholarly needs of an erudite personality, as Kallistos undoubtedly was, as well as those of a teacher.

From the point of view of the palaeographic analysis, there are actually no 'structural' changes in these manuscripts referred to as the period 'B'. There is a general 'refining' of the forms and a dismissal of those which appeared patently less calligraphic. The elegant *Fahnen-Tau* replaces the one hatched by two strokes, thus marking the production of a bow in the upper section more evidently; the hook originating from the horizontal stroke descends and heads towards the stem. This form of *tau* is certainly one of those that makes Kallistos' writing instantly recognisable. The *alpha* is more often drawn in minuscule form. The ratio of the occurrence of the 'sharp-pointed' modern *ny* and the ancient 'cup-shaped' one is balanced. The frequency of the occurrence of the open *theta* (provided with a slight wavy tail in the first stroke) increases. The asymmetry of the two bows of the bilobular *beta* is reduced. The *lambda* hatched without lifting the pen from the sheet disappears. The most noticeable and eye-catching feature of these autographs compared to the previous ones is the substantial increase of the inclination to the right, which affects all letters (except *epsilon*, lying on the left, and *xi*, unless in ligature, as in the combination -εξ-).

I collect in this period 'B' (1456–1466) the following manuscripts or sections of manuscripts: Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων, 161 (restoration of fols 144–146); Berol. gr. qu. 73 (fols 1r–23r); Berol. lat. fol. 199 (*graeca*); Berol. lat. fol. 850 (*graeca*); Comensis 1.3.9 (fols 150–206); Cremon. 130 (restoration of fols 1–9, 56–57, 62–64); Scor. Σ.III.1 (marg.); Laur. 60.16 (fols 92–97); Laur. Ashb. 1144; Forlì, Autografo Coll. Pincastelli; Lips. gr. 33 (marg. and restoration of fol. 33); Lips. gr. 34 (restoration of fols 34 and 39); Ambr. H 52 sup. (fols 1–136); Ambr. I 56 sup. (fols 1–242); Ambr. P 84 sup.; Mutin. α P.5.19 (fols 2r–43r); Mutin. α Q.5.20 (with the exception of fols 128–165); Mutin. α Q.5.21 (fols 61–68r lin. 11); Mutin. α T.9.1; Mutin. α T.9.2 (fols 132–177); Mutin. α T.9.14 (fols 1–7); Mutin. α U.5.1 (fols 1–201); Mutin. α U.9.22; Mutin. α V.7.1

²⁶⁵ As a matter of fact, we have no information or evidence of copies commissioned to Kallistos while living in the Byzantine East.

²⁶⁶ See *supra*, § 1.5. and 2.3.1.

(fols 1–56 and 59); Sinod. gr. 370 (fols 2–4); Neap. II.D.9 (marg.); Par. gr. 1811 (marg.); Par. gr. 1852 (marg.); Par. gr. 1890 (restoration); Par. gr. 1908 (colophon); Par. gr. 2038 (fols 1r–109v lin. 14); Par. gr. 2046 (fols 126–131); Par. gr. 2069; Par. gr. 2998 (marg.); Par. gr. 3011 (restoration and fols 1–4, 263–334); Par. Suppl. gr. 255 (marg.); Par. lat. 17542 (*graeca*); Perus. H 19 (titles); Salm. 230 (titles); Barb. gr. 161 (restoration of fol. 26); Barb. gr. 163 (marg.); Borg. gr. 12 (marg. fols 10v–11r); Chis. H.V.159 (*graeca*); Ott. gr. 52 (marg.); Ott. gr. 355 (fols 1–12); Pal. gr. 142 (titles); Urb. gr. 151 (marg.); Vat. gr. 13 (marg.); Vat. gr. 1324 (marg. and restoration); Vat. gr. 1950 (marg.); Marc. gr. Z. 611 (fols 46–243); Marc. gr. VII 5 (marg. fols 122v, 125r, 154v, 157rv).

2.4.1.3 Period C (1466–1475)

The manuscripts which can be dated with certainty to the period 1466–1475 on the basis of extra-paleaographic factors do not actually show any eye-catching palaeographic peculiarities, either with regard to the form of individual letters or to the ligatures.

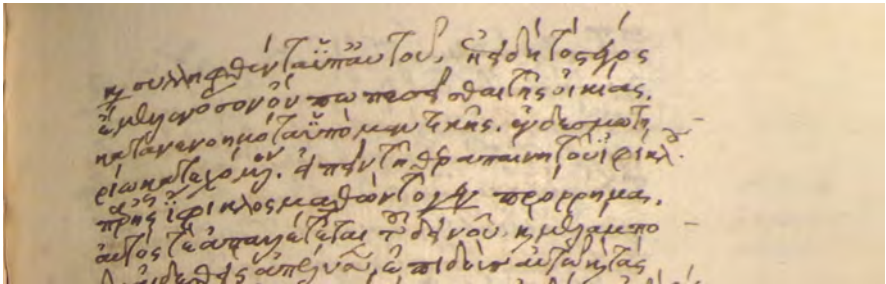


Fig. 2.43: Mutin. α P.6.13, fol. 7r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

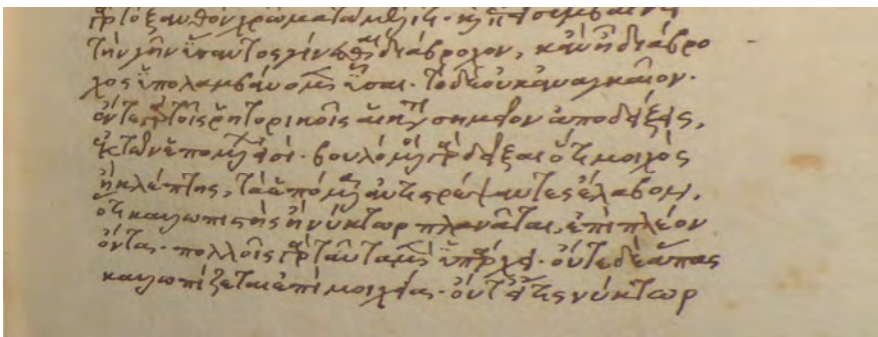
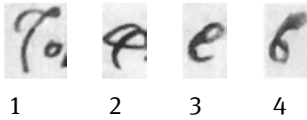


Fig. 2.44: Mutin. α Q.5.21, fol. 12r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

However, two features deserve a brief mention. One notes the general adoption of an enlarged body for the letters, possibly due to the use of a thicker quill (see above Figs 2.43–2.44; full-page reproductions are at Plates 12, 14–30). In addition, the slope to the right is even more pronounced than in the 'B'-period-manuscripts. This produces a slight distortion of the shape of the letters and the consequent curving of the vertical strokes. See below (Table 2.7) the case of letters such as *tau* (1), *phi* (2), *rho* (3), and *beta* (4).

Table 2.7: Andronikos' Greek writing: Characteristics of the late samples.



Finally, I collect in this period 'C' (1466–1475) the following samples: Haun. GkS 1570,4° (marg.); Laur. 32.46 (marg.); Laur. 66.31 (annotation at fol. 180v); Laur. 74.12 (fols 35r–39r, 43r–44v); Laur. 85.21 (restoration); Flor. Magliab. B.2.35 (marg.); Lond. Burney 109 (marg.); Mutin. α P.6.13; Mutin. α Q.5.20 (fols 179r–180r); Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit I); Mutin. α T.8.13; Mutin. α U.5.1 (fols 202–398); Mutin. α V.7.1 (fols 57, 60–86 and 105–144); Mutin. α W.2.1 (restoration); Sinod. gr. 267; ex-Dresd. Da 11 (fols 1r–39v lin. 10); Monac. gr. 332 (marg.); Par. gr. 1878 (fols 25, 27–162); Par. gr. 1879; Par. gr. 2038 (fols 112–132); Par. gr. 2046 (fols 97–173, with the exception of fols 126–131); Par. gr. 2066; Par. gr. 2346; Par. gr. 2715; Par. gr. 2772 (marg.); Torino, Acc. delle Scienze, NN.V.7 (fol. 50rv); Ott. gr. 181 (marg.); Vat. gr. 249; Vat. gr. 257; Vat. gr. 593 (*ex libris* for Bessarion); Vat. gr. 2189 (marg.); Vat. gr. 2201 (marg.); Vat. gr. 2207 (marg.); Vat. lat. 1532 (*graeca*); Marc. gr. Z. 198; Marc. gr. Z. 226 (marg.); Marc. gr. Z. 238; Vind. Hist. gr. 78.

2.4.2 The Latin writing: *Specimina* and remarks

In this brief paragraph I propose only to give an account of all the evidence known to me of Andronikos Kallistos' Latin hand. They can be listed in a chronological order as follows: 1. some notes in the upper margin of the Mutin. α Q.5.20 (within a codicological unit dating from the period before Kallistos' arrival in Italy) displaying a low proficiency in Latin script (Fig. 2.45); 2. the heading of a letter sent around 1457 to Gaspare Zacchi which can be read between the leaves

of the Laur. 60.16 (not reproduced below);²⁶⁷ 3. the heading of the letter to Palla Strozzi, of which I have verified the authenticity in a recent contribution (Fig. 2.46);²⁶⁸ 4. the statement in the footnote to Palla Strozzi's testament (Fig. 2.47);²⁶⁹ 5. some Greek-Latin *marginalia* added to Gellius Vat. lat. 1532, first identified by Antonio Rollo (Fig. 2.48);²⁷⁰ 6. the lexical annotation $\theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ *sepelio* placed at the bottom of the epigram for the tomb of Midas (= *Anth. Pal.* 7,153) copied by Andronikos on fol. 180v of Laur. 66.31, a notebook belonging to an anonymous student of Kallistos (Fig. 2.49).²⁷¹

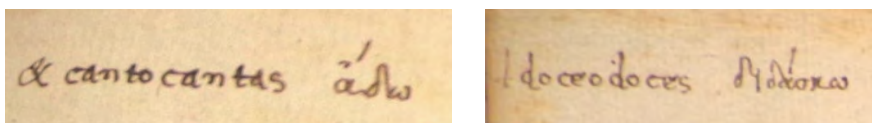


Fig. 2.45: Mutin. α Q.5.20, fols 137rv; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

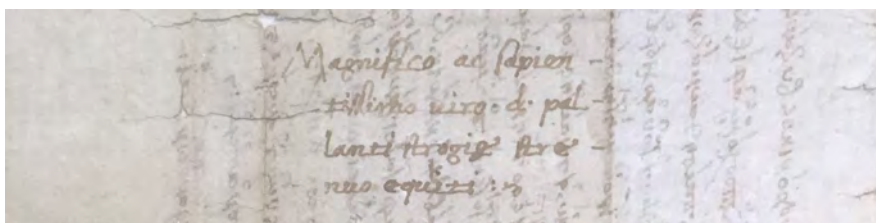


Fig. 2.46: Raccolte Piancastelli, Sez. Autografi Secc. XII–XVIII, *ad vocem* Andronico Bisanzio, verso; © Biblioteca comunale di Forlì.

²⁶⁷ See Speranzi 2016a, 62.

²⁶⁸ See Orlandi 2014a, 166; the hypothesis was formulated by Perosa 1953 and Rollo 2006a, 373.

²⁶⁹ For this document, see Gentile 1992, 299–300. See also *supra*, § 1.1 and *infra*, § 5.4.1.

²⁷⁰ Rollo 2006a, 372–373.

²⁷¹ The note aims at explaining the meaning of the perfect $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\iota$ that occurs in the text of the epigram (verse 4); see Orlandi 2014a.

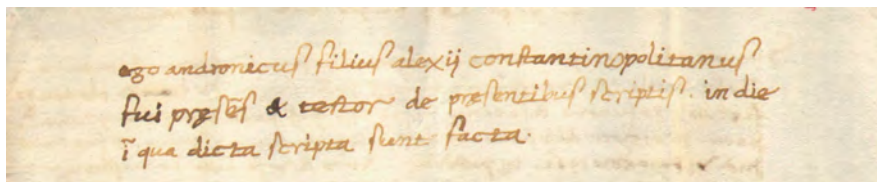


Fig. 2.47: Archivio Bentivoglio, Sezione Patrimoniale, busta 6, fasc. 35, carta 2; © Ferrara, Archivio di Stato.

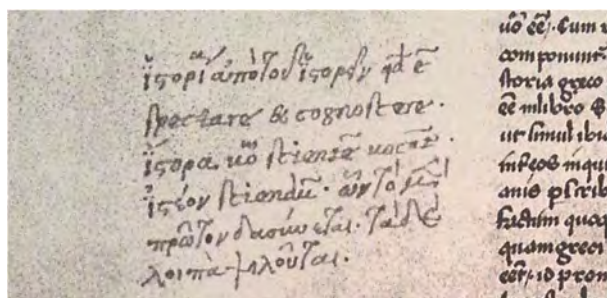


Fig. 2.48: Vat. lat. 1532, fol. 49v; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

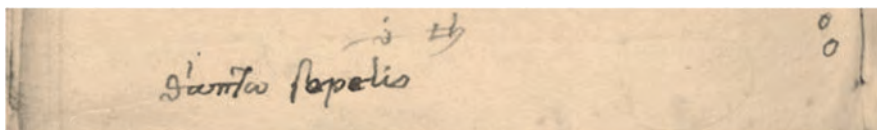


Fig. 2.49: Laur. 66.31, fol. 180v; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

Despite the highly limited number of samples, it is possible to highlight some peculiar traits: letter *e* with protruding middle stroke and tilted up; letter *g* shaped like the number '8', with bows rather small in size; the ligature for *et*, overmodulated; wavy *tituli* for the abbreviations of nasals. In certain details one gets the impression of the 'interference' of the Greek writing.²⁷² Besides a general tendency to tilt up the vertical strokes to the right, in this regard I would draw the attention to two other details: 1. the upper section of letters *s* and *f*, which display a very

²⁷² With regard to Latin writing of Byzantine scholars, whose Greek writing is likewise well-known, see also the case of Alexios Keladenos, recently discussed in Speranzi 2015a, and Georgios Hermonymos, presented in Orlandi 2022a.

pronounced arch (see some examples in the words *Andronicus*, *filius* or in *sepelio*), similar to that found in the characteristic ligature by Kallistos *epsilon-iota* + circumflex accent (εῖ); 2. the sequence of letters *-li-* in the word *constantinopolitanus*, which recalls the shape of the Greek letter *eta* (η).

3 The Fate of Andronikos' Books

The circumstances of the sale of Andronikos' manuscript collection, which took place — as anticipated — in Milan in 1476, largely influenced the fate of these books in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Before analysing this, and hence the routes of the dispersal, it is worth briefly outlining the framework of the development of the collection.

3.1 Collecting manuscripts

A first nucleus includes manuscripts dating from the early thirteenth to the fourteenth century: Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 (thirteenth century); Ambr. E 99 sup. (thirteenth century); Laur. 72.20 (thirteenth–fourteenth century); Par. Mazarine 4453 (thirteenth–fourteenth century); Mutin. α U.9.10 (fourteenth century); Vind. Theol. gr. 163 (fourteenth century). In these books, Kallistos' writing can be found either in marginal annotations or in leaves employed for the restoration of missing portions of text. Since the *ductus* of these samples is homogeneous and convincingly comparable to that of the manuscripts Andronikos copied with certainty while in the Byzantine East,¹ the conclusion must be that he purchased them there before he went to Italy. A confirmation of the palaeographic hints comes from the analysis of the watermarks found on the leaves inserted by Kallistos while restoring these old manuscripts; the drawings all refer to a period preceding Constantinople's fall. However, they were not the only 'old pieces' in Kallistos' collection. We must not forget the presence of other valuable books, such as the Mutin. α W.2.1 (twelfth century), *codex unicus* for Olympiodorus' commentary on Aristotle's logical treatises, the composite manuscript Athos 'Ιβήρων 161 (twelfth–fourteenth century),² the most important witness to the scholia on Aeschylus' tragedies, or Par. gr. 2998 (thirteenth century), copied by the patriarch Gregorios of Cyprus and once belonging to him.³ Unfortunately, we have no proof

1 See for this *supra*, § 2.1 and 2.4.1.1.

2 The presence of this codex in Crete in the mid-fifteenth century has been proved by Tselikas 2004, 369–376. See also Franchi 2019, 331–333.

3 There are actually some more books, dating from thirteenth to fourteenth century and belonging with certainty to Andronikos' collection. Below a list: Ambr. D 78 inf. (thirteenth century); Mutin. α P.5.20 (thirteenth–fourteenth century); Lips. gr. 34+33 (fourteenth century); Sinod. gr. 370 (fourteenth century); Par. gr. 3011 (fols 5–262) (fourteenth century); Ambr. H 52 sup. (fols 137–184) (fourteenth century); Laur. Ashb. 1599 (fols 153–175) (fourteenth century). For other books dating up until the fourteenth century, simply annotated or restored by Kallistos, there is no clear evidence regarding their inclusion within the collection, so that it is difficult to take a

that Andronikos purchased them while living in the East. Furthermore, in these manuscripts, the handwriting of Andronikos (in the margins as well as in the replaced leaves) more closely resembles the samples which are typical of his 'Italian' years. Lacking further data, both hypotheses are valid: 1. they may have been bought in the Byzantine East before 1453 and restored afterwards in Italy; 2. they may have been purchased and restored in Italy after 1453.

A second group includes all manuscripts referable to his proper 'Byzantine' activity. In the previous chapter we have seen that some of them were completed in Crete, others probably in Constantinople. One of the most interesting aspects is that these books are often the offspring of lost antigraphs. As it happens, the respective copy made by Kallistos of minor authors (e.g. Cornutus) to enrich his own library served, once it reached Italy, as the ancestor of a traditional branch that would otherwise have been lost. Upon arriving in Italy, Andronikos was welcomed by Bessarion in Bologna; his integration into the cardinal's environment was facilitated, as is well known, by Theodoros Gazes. In the first years of his stay in Italy, however, Kallistos was unable to greatly enrich his library precisely because of his temporary engagement as a copyist.

With the beginning of his teaching career and, above all, thanks to his contact with Palla Strozzi and the latter's library, the chances for Andronikos to further expand his personal library assets increased greatly. The long-term acquaintance with Strozzi's household and the contacts with other Italian and Byzantine intellectuals connected with the learned circles established in Padua, Bologna, and Ferrara during the second half of the 1450s and the first half of the 1460s ensured that Kallistos was able to consult a greater number of books, from which he made copies for himself. Moreover, many of the manuscripts that came out of his quill in these years are linked to his teaching activity and represent — as will be seen in more detail in other parts of the discussion — true 'editions' of classical authors (e.g. Theocritus). A rearrangement of materials that had remained unbound for some time might also be dated to this phase.⁴

stance: this is the case with Laur. 85.21, Par. gr. 1811, Berol. Hamilton 270, Cremon. 130 discussed in the course of the chapter. The following manuscripts were not part of Andronikos' library: Ricc. 46 and Par. gr. 2772 (owned by an anonymous pupil of Kallistos); Barb. gr. 161 (bearing annotations by Ciriaco d'Ancona); Par. Suppl. gr. 255; Urb. gr. 151 and Vat. gr. 1324 (having belonged to Palla Strozzi); Vat. gr. 1950; Marc. gr. Z. 226 and Vat. gr. 593 (owned by Bessarion).

⁴ An apparent sign of this readjustment — after which various codicological units ended up being tied together — is the characteristic 'double' quire numeration (Greek letters + Arabic numerals), which went on to supplement (and replace) the previous ones. This numeration is found in the following manuscripts: Comensis 1.3.19; Laur. Ashb. 1144 and 1599; Ambr. H 52 sup. and I 56

A fourth important timespan with reference to the enrichment of the collection is the (relatively quiet) period spent in Rome with Bessarion. The making of a number of manuscripts in Andronikos' collection, many of them concerning Aristotelian subjects, dates back to these years.

Finally, the last period in which Kallistos could augment his book collection was during his stay in Florence (1471–1474). We have seen in the previous pages the extent to which Andronikos was able to take advantage of the book collections of the city's monastic institutions, such as those at the Badia Fiorentina and the Convent of San Marco. The result of this favourable circumstances was the production of a number of manuscripts suited to his study and teaching needs.

3.2 Before the dispersal: The sale in Milan

As presented by Giuseppe Cammelli,⁵ details concerning the sale of the collection in Milan emerge from a letter sent in November 1476 by Giovanni Francesco Della Torre,⁶ *magister* of ordinary revenue of the Milan dukedom from 1466 on, to Lorenzo 'il Magnifico', Lord of Florence, who wished to gather further information about it. Here follows the text of the letter, written in vernacular Italian:⁷

(*verso*)

Magnifico ac generoso viro domino Laurentio de Medicis maiori meo hon(orand)o et cetera
Florentie
Reddentur fideliter

(*recto*)

Magnifice ac generose vir maior hon(orande). Andrea Petrini v(ost)ro mi ha facto una grandissima instantia ch'io volesse per mie littere significare a v(ost)ra M(agnificentia) come era passata questa cossa di libri de Andronico greccho. Dico adunque sì per satifsare ala reche-
sta de dicto Andrea, come per la verità, che volendosse partire de qui Andronico et delibe-
rando de andare cum uno signore dela Morea che stava qui, et non havendo il modo de
possersi levare, praticò con m(agistr)o Bonacorso pisano, homo molto doctissimo, de ven-
derli tuti li libri suoi. Et dicto m(agistr)o Bonacorso non havendo il modo da per sì ad exbor-

sup.; Mutin. α P.5.19, α P.6.13, α Q.5.20, α T.8.13, α T.9.2, α U.9.22, α V.7.1; Oxon. Bodl. d'Orville 115; Par. gr. 1878, 1879, 2038, 2046, 2066, Suppl. gr. 66; Vind. Hist. gr. 78; Lips. gr. 33 and 34.

⁵ See Cammelli 1942, 206–207.

⁶ A biographical account on Della Torre is found in Petrucci 1989.

⁷ Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza 33, doc. 933. Other documents signed by Della Torre and kept in the same archive are a letter dated 1456, sent from Ferrara (filza 9 doc. 196), and another letter to Lorenzo dated 1474 (filza 30, doc. 980).

sare tanta summa, tractò questa cossa cum mi, come cum quello che haveva intima familiarità, et che sapeva me delectava de questi studii; et tandem venissemo a questa conclusione, che nui liberamente compravamo questi suoi libri tuti, che erano capsete sei, per ducati dusento d'oro largi, di quali io ne pagai du(cati) centocinquanta et m(agistr)o Bonaccorso cinquanta; et li libri pigliai io et sono presso mi, et li ho molto cari, non tanto per lo precio, che valeno puocho più, ma perché sono molto corretti et emendati come quelli che sono scripti da homo doctissimo per una bona parte. Et questa è la verità, la qual scrivo volentieri sì per satisfare ad Andrea Petrini, mio singulare amico, sì per<c>hé v(ost)ra M(agnificentia) intenda come è passata questa cossa per soa satisfacione, cum certificarla che in questi studii me ne sono delectato et delecto quanto zentil homo de questo paese, et la mia bibliotheca è cussì ben fornita come puochissime siano in Lombardia. Et a v(ost)ra M(agnificentia) me ricomando que valeat feliciter. M(edio)l(an)i X No(vem)bris 1476.

Ioannes Franciscus de la Turre
ex magistris intratarum ducalium

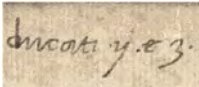
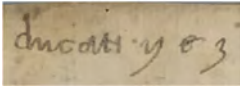
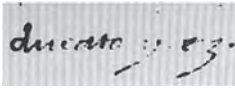
The letter informs us that the books belonging to 'Andronico greccho' at first caught the attention of Bonaccorso Pisano.⁸ A learned man ('homo molto doctissimo') and esteemed editor of classical texts in Milan in the 1480s, Bonaccorso did not possess a sufficient amount of money to acquire the whole collection, which had been appraised at two hundred ducats. Therefore, he asked Giovanni Francesco Della Torre to purchase them for him. The six boxes ('capsete') containing Andronikos' precious books ('libri [...] molto corretti et emendati') enriched Della Torre's collection, one of the most equipped in the Lombard territory ('cussì ben fornita come puochissime siano in Lombardia').

Non-systematic approaches to the extant manuscripts coming from Andronikos' collection have so far failed to furnish clear, tangible trace of the sale's circumstances. The scrutiny of Kallistos' autographs, instead, brought to light two interesting elements, which undoubtedly link some manuscripts to the purchase by Della Torre in Milan in 1476.

The first element consists of an indication of price: 'ducati 2 e 3 <soldi>' (see Table 3.1). Work of the same hand, this record appears in an identical formulation in three manuscripts: Laur. Ashb. 1144 (fol. VIII^r) (= a), Mutin. α U.9.10 (fol. 215v) (= b) and Vat. gr. 1314 (fol. 280v) (= c).

⁸ See for him the entry by Ballistreri 1969.

Table 3.1: Selling price.

a	b	c
		

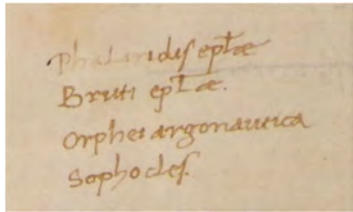
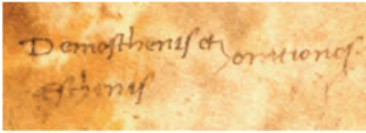
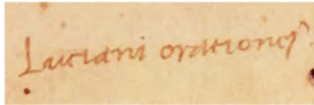
The reference to the currency, the *ducato*, is an indication that the sale was carried out in Milan. It is plausible that this detail originally appeared also in other manuscripts, most likely on the flyleaves, which in most cases have been lost. Moreover, since the Laurentianus, the Mutinensis, and the Vaticanus are three codicologically different volumes⁹ (none of them presenting a particularly refined manufacture), we can suppose that a quote of 2 ‘ducato’ and 3 ‘soldi’ had been given to every book of Andronikos’ collection as an average price. If this hypothesis is correct, then, since the final price of the whole collection amounted to 200 ducats, Andronikos’ library might have included, at the time of the sale in March 1476, around 85 volumes.¹⁰

The second element is an indication of the books’ contents (see Table 3.2), which occurs in more than one codex. We find it in four pieces: Mutin. α T.9.2 (fol. 1r); Sinod. gr. 267 (1r); Ambr. H 52 sup. (IIr); Par. gr. 3011 (Iir).

⁹ The Laurentianus is a paper manuscript of about 180 fols, entirely copied by Andronikos; it presents a text (Pindar’s *Odes*) elegantly copied in clear handwriting, a neat *mise en page* ordered across only 15 written lines out of 29 ruled ones. On the contrary, the Vaticanus is a manuscript copied for Kallistos’ own study, also on paper (about 280 fols), miscellaneous, provided with 29 lines of text, abounding with interlinear and marginal annotations, corrections, and deletions. Lastly, the Mutinensis is a fourteenth-century codex (145 fols), restored by Kallistos in more than one section.

¹⁰ Cases of depreciation and/or hyper-valuation of some manuscripts must be taken into account. However, as explicitly stated by the buyer, Gian Francesco Della Torre, the books were sold at a fair price with regard to their real worth.

Table 3.2: Indication of contents.

	Sinod. gr. 267	
	Par. gr. 3011	Ambr. H 52 sup.

A comparison of these *specimina* shows that both elements, the respective indication of price and contents, are the work of the same hand. The presence of these signs is of great importance for the investigation of the fate of the collection, as they have been found on manuscripts, which were to end up later on in different libraries having been dispersed independently of one another. This suggests, therefore, that these records refer to a time-frame when Andronikos' books had been sold all together. In this regard, the most obvious and plausible hypothesis is that they have to be traced back to the sale completed in Milan, whose main protagonists were, as mentioned, Giovanni Francesco Della Torre and Bonaccorso da Pisa.¹¹

Decisive proof comes again from a piece of palaeographic evidence. The Latin writing of these notes is actually that of <Bonaccorso>, which is known from some autograph records, such as a letter¹² sent to Lorenzo on 2 October 1478 (Fig. 3.1).

¹¹ We shall thus correct Petrucci's (1989) claim: 'Si può inoltre osservare che molti codici scritti da Andronico Callisto, che però possono non essere quelli che furono da lui venduti al Della Torre, sono finiti nella Biblioteca Estense, dopo aver appartenuto a Giorgio Valla e quindi ad Alberto Pio da Carpi'. [We can thus note that many codices written by Andronikos Kallistos, which were not among those sold by him to Della Torre, ended up in the Biblioteca Estense, after having belonged to Giorgio Valla and hence to Alberto Pio da Carpi].

¹² Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza 36, doc. 1090.

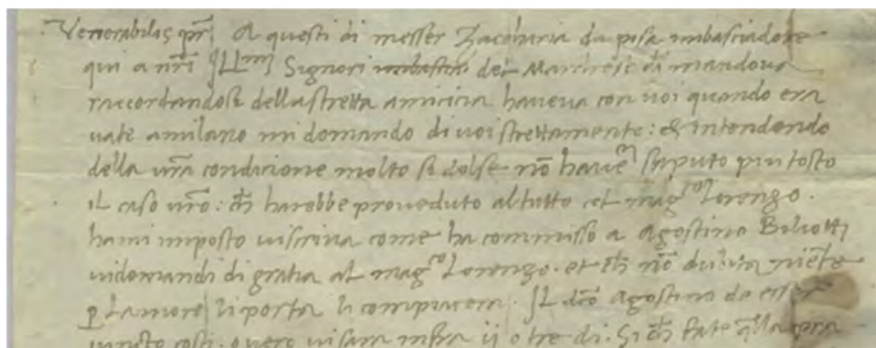


Fig. 3.1: Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza 36, doc. 1090, recto; © Firenze, Archivio di Stato.

In addition, autoptical inspection of the manuscripts revealed the recurrence of Greek and Latin marginal annotations (mostly *notabilia*) attributable to the hand of a Western reader. This reader's handwriting is minute and bears few ligatures. It can be found in the manuscripts Mutin. α P.5.19, α P.6.13, α Q.5.20, α T.8.13, α T.9.1, α U.9.22, Lips. gr. 34 and gr. 33. As will be seen below, in (almost) all cases these books can be traced along the same route of dispersal and ended up in Giorgio Valla's collection. This cannot be incidental and seems to indicate that this reader had access to only part of Kallistos' collection.

Upon comparison with the repertoires, a similarity with the Greek writing of Giovanni Crastone might be proposed. The only subscribed manuscript so far attributed to his hand is Placent. 6 (last codicological unit, erroneously dated to the year 1437; Fig. 3.2). We can attach below for comparison the handwriting of the annotator found in the Kallistos' books (Fig. 3.3) and that of Crastone (Fig. 3.2):

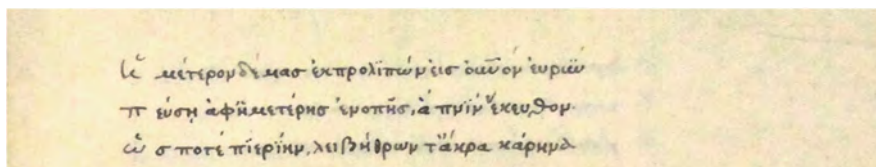


Fig. 3.2: Placent. 6, fol. 103r; © Biblioteca Comunale 'Passerini Landi'.

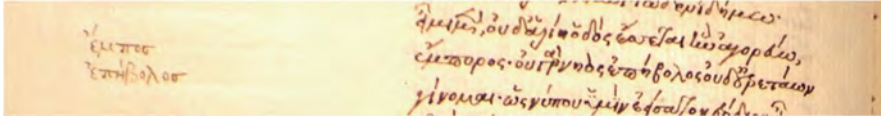


Fig. 3.3: Mutin. α P.5.19, fol. 14v; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

It must be borne in mind that the Piacenza manuscript, owing to its watermarks, is datable to the mid-fifteenth century, whereas in the case of the annotations found in Modena manuscripts one must envision a dating following the sale of the collection, i.e. *post* 1476. Moreover, the graphic sample made available by the Modena manuscripts is limited to a few isolated words in the margins; this prevents us from gaining an overview of the whole page. Pending further verification, let us leave the proposal only as a hypothesis for now. I point out that, from a cultural-historical point of view, this scenario would be plausible. For Giovanni Crastone collaborated with Bonaccorso da Pisa — i.e., the one who purchased Kallistos' books — on many cultural projects. Above all, we should mention the launch of typographic production of books in Greek that took place in those years in Milan. Under Crastone's and Bonaccorso's editorship was published, e.g., the famous *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (Milan, *ante* 1478), released for printing and provided with Bonaccorso Pisano's introductory letter to Gian Francesco Della Torre, and the *editio princeps* of Theocritus' *Idylls*, which — as will be seen below¹³ — is based on a *recensio* prepared by Andronikos Kallistos.

3.3 The Valla-Pio-Modena branch

In strictly numerical terms, the main nucleus of Andronikos' library consists of a group of codices, which came to enrich the collection of a learned man from Piacenza, Giorgio Valla (1447–1500).¹⁴ Valla's *ex-libris* regularly appears, in fact, on 22 manuscripts copied (and/or simply annotated) by Kallistos:

- Mutin. α P.5.19 [Homer]
- Mutin. α P.5.20 [miscellany]
- Mutin. α P.6.13 [scholia to Apollonius Rhodius]

¹³ See *infra*, § 5.3.1.

¹⁴ Due to a lack of recent studies on the development of Giorgio Valla's Greek and Latin collection, the contributions by Heiberg 1896 and Heiberg 1898 remain fundamental. More recent data are available in Avezzi 1989–1990, Rollo 2014a and Rollo 2014b. Di Pietro Lombardi 2004 and Raschieri 2013 do not provide much further information.

- Mutin. α Q.5.20 [scholia]
 Mutin. α Q.5.21 [miscellany]
 Mutin. α T.8.3 [miscellany]
 Mutin. α T.8.13 [Apollonius Rhodius]
 Mutin. α T.8.20 [Iohannes Aktuarios]
 Mutin. α T.9.1 [Aristotle]
 Mutin. α T.9.2 [miscellany]
 Mutin. α T.9.14 [Aratus, Pindar, Lycophron]
 Mutin. α U.5.1 [Homer]
 Mutin. α U.9.3 [miscellany]
 Mutin. α U.9.10 [miscellany]
 Mutin. α U.9.18 [Nemesius of Emesa]
 Mutin. α U.9.22 [scholia]
 Mutin. α V.7.1 [miscellany]
 Mutin. α V.7.17 [miscellany, Xenophon]
 Mutin. α W.2.1 [Olympiodorus, Porphyry]
 Mutin. α W.5.5 [miscellany]
 Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 [Nikephoros Blemmydes]
 Vat. gr. 1314 [miscellany]

It is yet unknown when and under which conditions Andronikos' books were bought by Giorgio Valla, whether he purchased them directly from Gian Francesco Della Torre or whether there had been other owners in-between the last decades of the fifteenth century. Thanks to pieces of information gathered from the manuscripts themselves and from textual criticism studies, we can sketch an outline of the 'sojourn' of Kallistos' books in Valla's library in Venice, until the latter's death and the consequent sale of his books (1500).

First of all, Mutin. α N.7.17, a volume containing Pindar's *Odes*, with the exception of the *Olympians*, offers a reliable *terminus ante quem* of Valla's acquisition. Iohannes Rhosos completed the copying of this manuscript on 5 December 1485 for Lorenzo Loredan,¹⁵ Giorgio Valla's pupil; and Jean Irigoin¹⁶ identified its antigraph as Mutin. α T.9.14, which was included in Kallistos' collection. This may thus suggest that in 1485 Andronikos' manuscripts were already in Venice at Valla's residence.

Further information about the presence of Kallistos' books in the Laguna between 1490–1492 come from the memoirs of Angelo Poliziano and Ianos Laskaris,

¹⁵ On Lorenzo Loredan and his collection of Greek manuscripts refer to Vendruscolo 1995.

¹⁶ Irigoin 1952, 386–387.

two of the most culturally relevant figures of the last quarter of the fifteenth century; at the time they were both involved in the search for rare texts for their protector, Lorenzo de' Medici. In codices Clm 766 and 807 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, there are notes from Poliziano's and Pico della Mirandola's well-known journey to Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, and Venice, to find new texts for Medici's private collection.¹⁷ These notes are related to a famous letter dated 20 June 1491, often mentioned and re-published by scholars working on this subject.¹⁸ In the epistle, Poliziano informs Lorenzo about the presence of some books in Venice, in Valla's collection, whose texts are missing in Medici's, hinting at the opportunity of having them quickly transcribed by the prolific Cretan priest-copyist Iohannes Rhosos (mentioned as 'papa Janni' in the letter).¹⁹ Thus in this way, on Poliziano's initiative, some texts available in Valla's collection were copied by Rhosos in Venice for Lorenzo de' Medici.²⁰ Taking into account here only Andronikos' books, we shall consider the cases of Laur. 6.22 and Laur. 58.13, whose rare texts descend from an important manuscript in Kallistos' library, Vat. gr. 1314. In Laur. 6.22 — a volume made up of many codicological units, coeval and yet independent of each other (all of them being copied between April and July 1491) —, Rhosos transcribed in fols 29r–83v an *Introduction to the composition of works in prose, verses and epistles*²¹ and a booklet with the title Συνοπτικὸν σύνταγμα φιλοσοφίας;²² in Laur. 58.13, Rhosos copied Cornutus' *De natura deorum* (together with Iohannes Lydos' chapter *De cometis*).²³

References to Andronikos' texts from Valla's Venetian collection appear in Ianos Laskaris' private notes about his trips and expeditions to the Byzantine East, undertaken between 1490 and 1492 in order to enrich the Medici's private library. There is a large bibliography on the topic.²⁴ In this regard, a contribution by Guido Avezzù proved to be decisive to the resolution of the question about the

17 See Daneloni 2013 (with further bibliography).

18 See now Rollo 2014a, 111.

19 The identification with Rhosos, which had been suggested by Heiberg, has been corroborated by new data presented in Rollo 2014a, 132.

20 Rollo 2014a, 118–128.

21 The author of this εἰσαγωγὴ περὶ λογογραφίας, ἐπιστολῶν καὶ στίχων brief is still unknown. Scholars have suggested Gregorios of Corinth, but this suggestion cannot be confirmed. For a recent summary on the subject, see Corcella 2010.

22 This anonymous booklet has been elsewhere transmitted under the name of Gregorios Aneponymos; the text is published in Heiberg 1929.

23 See Krafft 1975, 252–253, 278–279, 309–316.

24 A comprehensive account on this subject in Rollo 2014a, 108–110 n. 3 (with further references). For Laskaris' travel diary see Gentile 1994, Speranzi 2010b, and Speranzi 2013a, 80–82, 89–91.

existence of the *Anonymus Mutinensis*.²⁵ Resuming earlier proposals by K. K. Müller and G. Mercati,²⁶ Avezzù was able to identify in Laskaris' travel journal, Vat. gr. 1412, indisputable references to Andronikos' books kept at Valla's house:²⁷ Vat. gr. 1314, Mutin. α U.9.10, Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71, Mutin. α Q.5.21.²⁸ Hans-Christian Günther and Andrea Tessier identified at a later time in Laskaris' notebook another manuscript belonging to Kallistos: Mutin. α Q.5.20.²⁹

Before providing a full account of these identifications (see below, Table 3.3), to which we can add some new ones, mention must be made of an important issue. As correctly observed by Avezzù, it has mistakenly been assumed that the titles of the works written down by Ianos Laskaris faithfully repeat those he found in the library he was inspecting, and some manuscripts have been attributed to other libraries (like that of Gioacchino Della Torre), whereas they were included in Valla's.³⁰ We can hereby clarify further. The entries do not necessarily refer to entire volumes, since they rather reflect the interest shown by Ianos Laskaris into specific texts contained within them, in some of their codicological units or in some leaves. A close correlation will be therefore established between entries and texts rather than between entries and manuscripts.

Table 3.3: Andronikos' books at Valla's house. The notebook of Ianos Laskaris.

Entry in Laskaris' notebook Vat. gr. 1412 (fols 51r–52r)	Manuscripts of Andronikos Kallistos (kept by Valla)
51r lin. 7–10 Σοφοκλέους Αἰκάντος, Ἡλέκτρας, Ἀντιγόνης, Οἰδίποδος σχόλια καὶ εἶδος μέτρων. Θεοκρίτου εἰδιλίων (sic) ἰθ' ἐξηγήσεις. ἔτι σχόλια εἰς τινὰς λόγους τοῦ Πλάτωνος, εἰς τὸν Εὐθύφρονα καὶ ἄλλους	= Mutin. α Q.5.20 (units I–IV) (Mercati / Günther / Tessier)

²⁵ Avezzù 1989–1990, 85–87.

²⁶ See Müller 1884, 340–344, 354–363, 366, Heiberg 1896 and Mercati 1938.

²⁷ Fols 51r–51v, 52r lin. 11–22 give an account about the books which are kept in Venice in the collection of Valla (ἐν Βενετίᾳ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Βάλλα).

²⁸ Avezzù 1989–1990, 84–87. The reference to Mutin. α V.7.14, indicated by Avezzù as a 'codice androniciano', is wrong. The autoptical examination of this manuscript shows that there is no link to Kallistos' activity or any further evidence supporting the observations advanced by Gamillscheg 1978, 232 and taken for granted by Centanni 1984–1985, 214. Recent data about this manuscript is in Speranzi 2013a, 30, 112–113, 177, 180, 182.

²⁹ See Mercati 1938, Günther 1999, 321, Tessier 2000, 353, and Tessier 2015a, XXIX–XXX.

³⁰ See Avezzù 1989–1990, 77–78, correcting the entries regarding Trophonius (Mutin. α U.9.10, fols 2r–12v) and Musaeus (Mutin. α Q.5.21, unit II).

Entry in Laskaris' notebook Vat. gr. 1412 (fols 51r–52r)	Manuscripts of Andronikos Kallistos (kept by Valla)
51r lin. 18 Νεμεσίου περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου	= <Mutin. U.9.18>
51r lin. 13 Συμπόσιον ἢ χρόνια τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ, ἀτελέες ³¹	= <Mutin. α V.7.1> (unit II, fols 119v–141r)
51r lin. 14–15 Ξενοφώντος πόροι ἢ περὶ προσόδων τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπολογία Σωκράτους ³²	= Mutin. α V.7.17 (unit IV, fols 121v lin. 19– 129v) (Heiberg)
51v lin. 5 Κασσιανοῦ ἱατροσοφιστοῦ προβλήματα	= <Mutin. α P.5.20> (unit II, fols 70v lin. 10–82v)
51v lin. 6–7 De remediis, de praeparatione corporis et bono animo, nescio utrum Plotini an Cassiani ³³	= <Mutin. α P.5.20> (units I –II, fols 63v–78r lin. 11)
51v lin. 12 Μουσική τοῦ Βρυεννίου	= <Mutin. α V.7.1> (unit I)
51v lin. 14 Πλουτάρχου αἰτία φυσικά, περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τετελεσμένον οὐ μὴν ὤων ³⁴	= Mutin. α V.7.17 (unit III) (Heiberg)
52r lin. 12 Amphilochii versus	= Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 16r–17r) (Avezzù)
52r lin. 12–13 Macremboli enigmata & Oloboli solutiones	= Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 29v–32r) (Avezzù)
52r lin. 13 logica sine nomine libellus	= Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 86v–106v) (Avezzù)
52 lin. 13–14 Phurnii de diis antiquorum libellus antiqui auctoris & de cometis	= Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 191r–213r) (Avezzù)

³¹ The work by the Emperor Julian copied in this Mutinensis is indeed incomplete.

³² This Mutinensis is the only codex known to us which contains in this order Xenophon's *De vectigalibus* and *Apologia Socratis*.

³³ This case is particularly instructive about the fact that the entries mostly refer to single texts and not necessarily to the whole unit containing them. It is also interesting to observe that here Laskaris reproduced the erroneous indication he read in the *pinax* in the hand of Markos Musuros: (fol. 1v) *eu<s>dem De remediis*, corrected by a later hand to *eiusdem* [sc. *Galen*] *De sectis ad introducendos*. One gets the impression therefore that, in this case, Laskaris did not check the actual contents of the manuscript.

³⁴ The indication 'complete, but not undefective' exactly corresponds to the state of these leaves (in Andronikos' hand) which display numerous *fenestrae*.

Entry in Laskaris' notebook Vat. gr. 1412 (fols 51r–52r)	Manuscripts of Andronikos Kallistos (kept by Valla)
52 lin. 14–15 Orphei de ter remotibus versiculi. Quod ea quae sunt sint, tria quattuor folia	= Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 215v–216r) (Avezzù)
52r lin. 16 Τροφονίου προλεγόμενα εις τὴν ῥητορικὴν	= Mutin. α U.9.10 (fols 2r–12v) (Avezzù)
52r lin. 16–17 Nicephori tractatus de dialectica & philosophia et naturalis	= Oxon. Holk. Hall gr. 71 (Avezzù)
52r lin. 17–18 παράφρασις εις σοφιστικὴν Ἀνδρονικίους γράμμασι	= Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit I) (Avezzù)
52 lin. 18 Μουσαίου τὸ κατ' Ἠρῶ (sic) καὶ Λέανδρον	= Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit II) (Avezzù)

In the last two decades of the fifteenth century, therefore, Kallistos' books were with certainty stored in Valla's library in Venice, drawing the attention of Giorgio's friends and fellow scholars because of their highly interesting contents. Before examining the events which led this nucleus of Andronikos' collection to be included (through Valla) in the library of the rulers of Modena, we may add here a brief remark.

To Ianos Laskaris' team of scribes acting in Florence (which included Aristobulos Apostoles, Markos Musuros and Kaisar Strategos, who arrived in the city around 1492), there belonged also a certain Michael Suliardos from Argos.³⁵ Although David Speranzi recently offered a detailed account of this copyist's movements between Greece and Italy, there is still no systematic study on his autographs, which could allow a more precise identification of times and whereabouts. However, there is a significant piece of information about Suliardos' activity in the last decade of the fifteenth century which is relevant to many books of Andronikos' collection. Some of the manuscripts copied in this timespan by Suliardos turned out to be direct copies of Kallistos' books being part of Valla's collection in Venice. In his fundamental study on the textual tradition of Aristotle's *Poetics*, Edgar Lobel already highlighted the dependency of Matr. 4612 on Mutin. α T.8.3.³⁶ Likewise, according to Jean Irigoin, the Pindaric section written

³⁵ On the activity of this scribe see Lobel 1933, 54–56; Harlfinger 1971, 416; *RGK* I 286 = II 392 = III 468; Speranzi 2013a, in part. 60–64, 68–72. A new trace of his activity as a copyist is <Pal. gr. 338> (Greek version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*).

³⁶ Lobel 1933, 38.

down by Suliardos in Ambr. C 22 sup. derives from Mutin. α T.9.14.³⁷ Alexander Turyn's studies on Triclinius' scholia to the tragedians — summarised and further explored by Andrea Tessier — have shown that the Cambridge manuscript Univ. Libr. Dd.XI.70 is a direct apograph to both Mutin. α Q.5.20 and Mutin. α U.9.22.³⁸ Similarly, as Paolo Eleuteri demonstrated, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, copied by Suliardos in Par. gr. 2600 is an offspring of a manuscript once owned by Kallistos, i.e. Mutin. α Q.5.21.³⁹ Heterogeneous contents of Mutin. α T.9.2 (Aratus, Nicander *etc.*) are gathered together in Ambr. C 32 sup.⁴⁰ To all these data, already acknowledged by the modern scholarship, one shall add at least another piece concerning Par. gr. 2166, whose two first codicological units belonged to Ianos Laskaris.⁴¹ Partial collations on the text of the *Ad Glauconem* (fols 1r–29r) highlighted that the Parisinus directly descends from Mutin. α P.5.20, a volume from Kallistos' (and thence Valla's) library, which preserves this text at fols 38v–63v.⁴² In short, there are numerous indications of Suliardos' activity as a copyist in Venice (perhaps also on behalf of Ianos Laskaris); he seems thus to have been charged with the task of producing copies of Kallistos' books available through Valla (see Table 3.4). This activity is to a certain extent parallel to the aforementioned campaign

37 Irigoien 1952, 386–387. The identification of the copyist with Michael Suliardos is already found in the catalogue Martini and Bassi 1906, I, 184.

38 See Turyn 1957, 205 and Tessier 2015a, XXXI–XXXII. The analysis of the watermarks by Günther 1995, 162 should also be taken into account, as it points out that Venice must have been the place of production of the Cambridge codex. Finally, also the section containing the *Prolegomena Tzetzae*, rearranged in a quite singular form by the so-called *Anonymus Crameri* descends from Mutin. α U.9.22: see on this subject Koster 1975, XXXVI.

39 Eleuteri 1981, 13, 105–107, 111–117. The watermarks point to a production in Venice. A further proof to the fact that the copy by Suliardos was carried out directly from the Modena codex is that some lines of text which are missing in Mutin. α Q.5.21 of Kallistos (fols 68v lin. 12–70v) were integrated in the Mutinensis by Suliardos himself, as observed by De Gregorio 1993, 142.

40 See Martin 1974 XI–XII (Aratus); Vian 1979, 29–31 (*Argon. Orph.*); Aujac 1992, 23 (Dion. Halic.); Jacques 2002, CLIII–CLIV (Nicander). With regard to the section containing Lycophron's *Alexandra*, the Ambr. C 32 sup. has been included in a group of codices which Pal gr. 142, a direct apograph of Mutin. α T.9.14, also belongs to (see Scheer 1879, 451); since Suliardos used Mutin. α T.9.14 for copying Pindar, it is likely at this point that for Lycophron the Ambrosianus likewise descends from this Mutinensis.

41 See Jackson 1999a, 130 and Jackson 2010. This book was purchased later on by Niccolò Leonicensino, whose collection was passed on in the middle of the sixteenth century to Niccolò Ridolfi. See Muratore 2009. This information is missing in the monograph study about the collection of Niccolò Leonicensino by Mugnai Carrara 1991.

42 The third codicological unit of Par. gr. 2166, containing Galen's *De plenitudine*, which is not of the hand of Suliardos, also descends from a book included in Valla's library, that is, Mutin. α G.3.12; see Otte 2001, 14–18.

of transcription of texts for the enrichment of Medici's private collection, performed between Florence and Venice in those same years.

Table 3.4: Copies of Kallistos' books made by Suliardos.

Manuscripts of the collection Kallistos / Valla	Contents	Apographs in the hand of Michael Suliardos
Mutin. α T.8.3	Aristotle, <i>Poetica</i>	→ Matr. 4612
	[Dem. Phal.]	→ Matr. 4612
Mutin. α Q.5.21	Musaeus	→ Par. gr. 2600
Mutin. α T.9.2	Aratus, <i>Phaenom.</i>	→ Ambr. C 32 sup.
	Dion. Halic., <i>De imit.</i>	
	Nicander <i>Argon. Orph.</i>	
Mutin. α T.9.14	Lycophron	→ Ambr. C 32 sup.
	Pindar	→ Ambr. C 22 sup.
Mutin. α Q.5.20	<i>scholia</i>	→ Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Dd.XI.70
Mutin. α U.9.22	<i>scholia</i>	→ Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Dd.XI.70
	<i>scholia</i>	→ Voss. gr. Q 33
Mutin. α P.5.20	Galen, <i>Ad Glauca.</i>	→ Par. gr. 2166

As is known, Valla's Greek collection was bought by the Lord of Carpi Alberto III Pio for 800 golden 'scudi',⁴³ after Giorgio's death in 1500. Andronikos' collection, included in that of Valla, thus merged with other minor collections coming from Ferrara and Venice, that is, cities where Alberto was completing numerous purchases at that time. The Lord of Carpi entrusted the Cretan Markos Musuros with the task of organizing this growing collection; Musuros endowed a large number of volumes with a Latin index and with a new *ex libris* on their flyleaves.⁴⁴ In several cases, Musuros crossed out Valla's note of ownership, substituting it with Alberto's (see Fig. 3.4); in other cases, he simply added Alberto's name to Valla's.

⁴³ See Svalduz 2001, 114–115, n. 1.

⁴⁴ Among the books preserved in Modena which are linked to Andronikos' library, the ones still bearing both the *ex libris* and the index in the hand of Markos Musuros are: Mutin. α P.5.19, α P.5.20, α Q.5.20, α T.8.3, α T.8.13, α T.8.20, α T.9.1, α T.9.2, α T.9.14, α U.9.3, α U.9.10, α U.9.22, α

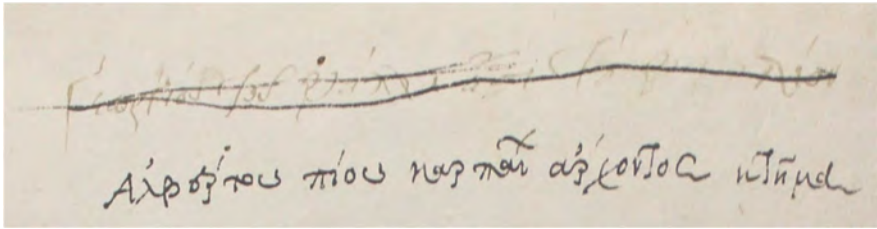


Fig. 3.4: Mutin. α P.5.20, fol. 1v; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

Following Valla's, Andronikos' 22 books ended up in Alberto Pio's hands and provided support for his Greek studies under the teachings of Musuros. Alberto's collection mainly included recent volumes dating back to the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. As is known, an inventory was done in Carpi in the first decades of the sixteenth century, certainly before 1531 (that is, the year of Lord Alberto Pio's death).⁴⁵ Traces of this cataloguing activity are found in two manuscripts, Vat. lat. 6937 (fols 40r–49r) and 7205 (fols 94r–105r).⁴⁶ After Alberto's death, his nephew cardinal Rodolfo Pio inherited the manuscripts. The complete inventory of his books is kept in Barb. lat. 3108 (fols 55v–62r).⁴⁷ Unlike Alberto's, this was compiled directly by the executors of Rodolfo's will in May 1564 (about two weeks after his death), in preparation for the sale of the cardinal's antiquarian goods. Among the bibliophiles interested in the purchase were Philip II of Spain, Cosimo de' Medici and Alfonso II d'Este. The Lord of Ferrara managed to obtain the Pios' collection; though the transfer of the antiquities (including the boxes containing the manuscripts) from Rome to Ferrara succeeded only in 1573. In 1598 the books finally moved from Ferrara to Modena, where they are nowadays kept at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (see Table 3.5).⁴⁸

V.7.1, α V.7.17; for a broader perspective, not limited to Andronikos' collection, see Speranzi 2013a, 112–113 n. 67.

⁴⁵ Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67 reasonably proposes a date around 1527.

⁴⁶ See Mercati 1938, 38–74 and 203–245.

⁴⁷ For the inventory of the 'libri scritti à penna Greci' see Heiberg 1896, 470–478.

⁴⁸ In the last decades of the eighteenth century, Girolamo Tiraboschi carried out a reorganization of the Duke's library, which obliterated most of the original codicological features. Tiraboschi substituted the original bindings with those which are still visible today (known, thus, as 'legature tiraboschiane'): they are made of Russian leather and are provided with coat of arms on the spine (the eagle of the House of Este).

Table 3.5: From Andronikos to Rodolfo Pio. Concordance.

Current shelfmark	Reference to Puntoni's catalogue	Old shelfmark	Inventory of Alberto Pio (<i>ante</i> 1531) = Vat. lat. 6937	Inventory of Rodolfo Pio (1564) = Barb. lat. 3108
α P.5.19	gr. 110	II.D.11	no. 92	no. 94
α P.5.20	gr. 109	II.D.10	no. 1	no. 63
α P.6.13	gr. 77	II.C.10	no. 140	no. 74
α Q.5.20	gr. 87	III.C.8	no. 134	no. 136
α Q.5.21	gr. 91	III.C.12	no. 24	no. 16
α T.8.3	gr. 100	II.D.1	no. 36	no. 83
α T.8.13	gr. 140	II.E.7	no. 67	no. 69
α T.8.20	gr. 141	II.E.8	no. 71	no. 62
α T.9.1	gr. 38	II.B.1	no. 16	no. 32
α T.9.2	gr. 39	II.B.2	no. 135	no. 37
α T.9.14	gr. 51	II.B.14	no. 145	no. 72
α U.5.1	gr. 123	III.D.4	no. 72	no. 95
α U.9.3	gr. 54	III.B.2	no. 74	no. 35
α U.9.10	gr. 59	III.B.7	no. 99	no. 38
α U.9.18	gr. 18	III.A.4	no. 74	no. 35
α U.9.22	gr. 93	III.C.14	no. 146	no. 75
α V.7.1	gr. 173	II.F.8	no. 13	no. 89
α V.7.17	gr. 145	II.E.12	no. 41	no. 50
α W.2.1	gr. 69	II.C.2	no. 94	no. 27
α W.5.5	gr. 165	III.E.12	no. 54	no. 122

A distinction is in order: two manuscripts owned by Andronikos, and later by Giorgio Valla and Alberto Pio, left the collection before the latter's death, and thus never belonged to Rodolfo. This split probably took place as Alberto, defeated in the battle of Pavia in 1525, fled to Rome, where he died some years later

in 1531. This may explain why the manuscripts Vat. gr. 1314 and Oxon. Bodl. Holkham Hall gr. 71 are today away from Modena.⁴⁹

The Vatican manuscript, as anticipated,⁵⁰ is a witness well-known to scholars working on Kallistos because of the *subscriptio* in the hand of Andronikos (fol. 15v). In the inventory of Alberto's books, compiled before 1531, Vat. gr. 1314 appears at no. 49,⁵¹ whereas it is missing from the list compiled after Rodolfo's death in 1564. The Vaticanus ended up finally in Fulvio Orsini's Roman collection.⁵² Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71, which bears traces of Andronikos' textual and codicological restoration, was never part of the Este's collection. The Oxoniensis shows still both Giorgio Valla's and Alberto Pio's *ex libris*, along with that of Claudio Betti from Bologna (†1589).⁵³ Known as 'Betto giovane', he was born in Modena and lectured on moral philosophy at the *Studium* in Bologna.⁵⁴ More than two centuries later, Oxon. Hokham Hall gr. 71 was purchased in Italy by Thomas Coke, Duke of Leicester; thence the transfer to Oxford's Bodleian Library.⁵⁵

To conclude the survey on Valla-Pio's branch, we should briefly refer to the Euclid Par. gr. 2346. Three scribes worked together on its making: Georgios Tribizias, Michael Lygizos, and Andronikos Kallistos, who acted as the *maître d'œuvre* of the manuscript.⁵⁶ As observed by Ernst Gamillscheg and Antonio Rollo,⁵⁷ Valla is the author of most of additions in the margins. One can infer therefore that this manuscript also belonged to Andronikos before entering Valla's library. However, Par. gr. 2346 did not share the fate of the other books which belonged to

49 While examining the manuscripts from Kallistos' library I checked some others belonging to Valla-Pio's. I did not come across traces of Andronikos' hand in the following pieces: Neap. III.C.2, Par. Suppl. gr. 387, Ambr. A 119 sup., Ambr. L 41 sup., Vat. Barb. gr. 186, Ott. gr. 371, Vat. gr. 1316, and Vat. gr. 2241. I also verified some manuscripts only bearing Valla's *ex libris*, with negative outcomes concerning Kallistos' hand; it is Par. gr. 2195, Vat. gr. 2202, Par. Suppl. gr. 556, Ambr. C 235 inf., and Ambr. M 51 sup.

50 See *supra*, § 2.1.2.

51 Mercati 1938, 210.

52 This corresponds to no. 30 in the inventory of Orsini's library published in de Nolhac 1887.

53 To my knowledge, the *ex-libris* of Betti is found in at least two other Greek books, that is, Barb. gr. 124 (fol. 240v: Κλαυδίου Βέττου καὶ τῶν φίλων; see Capocci 1958, 180) and the manuscript Chicago, Newberry Library, Ry. 9 (see Sicherl 1997, 228 [shelfmark '103']).

54 For a biographical account see Stabile 1967; more data about his works in Kristeller's *Iter Italicum* (I 151, 278b, 398b; II 453).

55 See Barbour 1956, 61–63 and Barbour 1961, 591, 605.

56 The identification of the hands is in RGK II 25, 94, 386.

57 See Rollo 2014b.

Valla, and was never part of Alberto's and Rodolfo Pio's collections.⁵⁸ Along with many other books owned by Valla, the Parisinus was bought by Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola († c. 1557), Aldo Manuzio's brother-in-law.⁵⁹ It finally ended up at Fontainebleu in the royal library of France by means of the purchase carried out by Guillaume Pellicier (acting as ambassador in Venice in 1542) for King Francis I.

3.4 The Migliavacca batch

In a recent paper,⁶⁰ I undertook the study of the Greek manuscripts once belonging to Baldassar Migliavacca († c. 1524), a lesser-known humanist from Pavia acting in Lombardy between the second half of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth century. The interest in Migliavacca's books arose out of a pressing need to collect more information about a learned man whose name comes out in the catalogues as the owner of some Greek books, which are often linked to the activity of Andronikos Kallistos. In this regard, it must be said that Migliavacca's Greek-Latin *ex libris* — generally expressed by means of the formula ἐμοῦ Βαλτάσαρος Μελιαβακκοῦ / *Baltasaris Meliavaccae* (with slight variations) — appears in the following volumes: Ambr. I 56 sup., Laur. Ashb. 1144 and 1599, Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Nn.III.18, Sinod. gr. 370, Par. Suppl. gr. 66.⁶¹ The palaeographic study of Migliavacca's Greek handwriting⁶² — which started with the analysis of these inscriptions on the guard-leaves along with the tables of contents, written sometimes in his hand⁶³ — demonstrated that he was without doubt a pupil of Kallistos. Moreover, Migliavacca was not only the owner of many books belonging to Andronikos, since he also 'inherited' from the master most of his graphic system: Kallistos' typical forms and ligatures regularly appear in the sam-

⁵⁸ As noticed in Mercati 1938, and 211–212, the two entries concerning Euclid's *Elementa* in the inventory of Alberto Pio (no. 57 and no. 73) correspond to manuscripts nowadays kept in Modena.

⁵⁹ The case of Par. gr. 2195 is similar, as this was undoubtedly owned by Valla and bears his *ex libris* on the *recto* of the flyleaf placed on the front and marked with the letter 'A'; see Cataldi Palau 1998, 471–472.

⁶⁰ Orlandi 2014b.

⁶¹ With reference to Par. Suppl. gr. 66, Migliavacca's *ex libris*, today almost completely erased, is still visible with the aid of the Wood lamp; see Orlandi 2014b, and plate XVIIIe.

⁶² See Orlandi 2014b, 149–155.

⁶³ See the case of Par. Suppl. gr. 541, Laur. Ashb. 1144, Laur. Ashb. 1599, and Sinod. gr. 267.

ples of Migliavacca's handwriting. This evidence led to a more detailed examination of all books from Kallistos' collection in which one comes across puzzling anomalies of *ductus* and hatching. In more than one instance, especially with reference to the annotations in the margins, it has been possible to attribute to Migliavacca (rather than to Kallistos) numerous samples.⁶⁴

The outcome of these identifications is of great importance to the reconstruction of the history of Kallistos' collection. I attach here an up-to-date list of the books owned by the master which came into his pupil's possession:

- Athos, Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων, 161 [miscellany]
- Cantabr. Univ. Libr., Nn.III.18 [Thucydides]
- Laur. Ashb. 1144 [Pindar, Lycophron]
- Laur. Ashb. 1599 [miscellany]
- Ambr. A 185 sup. (units IV–V) [miscellany]
- Ambr. I 56 sup. [Aristotle]
- Ambr. D 78 inf. [Ammonius]
- Sinod. gr. 267 [Demosthenes]
- Sinod. gr. 370 [Sophocles]
- RGADA, Φ 1607 Matthaei 15 (ex-Dresd. Da 11) [Demosthenes]
- Oxon. d'Orville 115 [Eustathios]
- Par. gr. 1879 [Michael of Ephesos]
- Par. gr. 2066 [comm. to Aristotle]
- Par. gr. 2998 [miscellany]
- Par. Suppl. gr. 66 [miscellany]
- Par. Suppl. gr. 541 [miscellany]

In addition, it has been possible to identify some routes of dispersal of Andronikos' books which entered Migliavacca's collection. Before examining these subgroups, it is important to stress the fact that in none of the manuscripts of the 'Migliavacca-batch' is there any trace of Giorgio Valla's hand (just as in Valla's books there is no trace of Migliavacca's hand). This is a clear clue — as anticipated — of the independence of these two groups and that Andronikos' collection split at a very early stage into two different main branches.

⁶⁴ Orlandi 2014b. With the addition of other books nowadays kept at Mount Athos, in Milan, Moscow, and Oxford (for which see Orlandi 2019a and Orlandi 2020c), and of another Vatican manuscript, which will be presented *infra* (§ 4.1.1), the size of the Migliavacca's collection has grown significantly.

Two out of the three books belonging to Andronikos (and thence to Migliavacca) which are today included in the *Fond Ancien* of the Bibliothèque nationale de France come from Gian Francesco d'Asola's collection, through the purchase by Guillaume Pellicier, ambassador in Venice at the behest of the King of France between the years 1539–1541.⁶⁵ The first one is Par. gr. 1879, a volume containing the second half of Michael of Ephesos' commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.⁶⁶ Likewise, Par. gr. 2066 contains exegetical writings by Philoponos and Michael of Ephesos on Aristotle; one finds in this case the commentary on *De generatione animalium* (fols 1r–178r), *De incessu animalium* and *De motu animalium* (fols 178r–219v), and the so-called *Parva naturalia* (fols 219v–312r).⁶⁷ Both Par. gr. 1879 and Par. gr. 2066 bear evidence to Migliavacca's deep interest in Aristotle.

Par. gr. 2998 is an important miscellaneous volume (Demosthenes, Plato, Libanius, Saint Basil, etc.) copied in part (and perhaps also owned) by the patriarch Gregorios II of Cyprus (1241–1289).⁶⁸ It ended up at the *BnF* via Iohannes Abramios, Jean Veillart, Frédéric Morel (1552–1630), Pierre de Nancel (1570–c. 1641) and Étienne Baluze (1630–1718).⁶⁹

Another route, in which the sequence of owners after Kallistos is almost entirely clear, is that including the books kept today at Mount Athos and Moscow.⁷⁰ These are the manuscripts that were once in the possession of doctor Giambattista Rasario (1517–1578) and then passed on into the hands of the bishop of Kythera Maximos Margunios (1549–1602). After Margunios' death, they were moved to Athos in the Μονὴ Ἰβήρων and finally purchased in 1653 by Arsénij Sukhanov on behalf of the tsar of Russia Alexis I. It is still not clear which and how many passages are to be assumed between Migliavacca (who died around 1524) and Rasario; while waiting for new data and documents, this question remains open. Three books ended up, via Athos, at the library of the Orthodox Patriarchate in

65 For the library of Gian Francesco d'Asola refer to Cataldi Palau 1998; for an account of the manuscripts of Pellicier's own library, see Piccione 2020.

66 See Orlandi 2014b, 167–169, 189–190. The text of books V–XIII (transmitted since the late antiquity under the name of Alexander of Aphrodisias) was accurately revised by Migliavacca by means of a systematic collation of other witnesses.

67 See Orlandi 2014b, 165–166, 189–190. One finds also in this manuscript annotations in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca (see fols 262r–265v) which imply the collation of other witnesses to the text (here Michael's commentary on *De memoria et reminiscentia*).

68 See Orlandi 2014b, 164–165 and the further bibliography. *Marginalia* in Migliavacca's hand are at fols 29r–30r, 31v–32r, 33r, 34r, 40v–41v, 43v, 45v, 52r, 73v, 102v, 173r–174r, 181r, 183v–184r, 185rv.

69 For a detailed study about the owners of Par. gr. 2998 refer now to Settecase 2021. For Abramios and his books refer to Mondrain 2017 and Cardinali 2020b.

70 See on the subject Orlandi 2014b, 146–149, 191–192 and Orlandi 2019a.

Moscow. These are: Sinod. gr. 267, a witness to Demosthenes' orations, entirely in the hand of Andronikos; Sinod. gr. 370 (Sophocles); the manuscript RGADA, Φ 1607 Matthaei 15 (ex-Dresd. Da 11) (another witness to Demosthenes' speeches, textually akin and complementary to Sinod. gr. 267). This latter book, the *ex-Dresdensis*, was separated from the other two in modern times, after an illicit acquisition by Ch. Friedrich Matthaei (1744–1811) — hence the shelf-mark indicating its 'sojourn' in Dresden — and returned to Russia only after the Second World War at the time of the Soviet occupation of East Germany.⁷¹ Within this group, there is a manuscript which is, as we have seen,⁷² of particular interest. Soukhanov failed to acquire it, and thus it is still kept to the present day on Mount Athos at the Μονὴ Ἰβήρων: it is the manuscript no. 161.⁷³ A key-witness to many classical texts, this book, which is made of codicological units dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, contains *inter alia* works by Pindar and Theocritus, which were lectured upon by Kallistos in his Greek language courses.⁷⁴

Some manuscripts belonging to Migliavacca circulated within intellectual *milieux* in Northern Italy between the last decades of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. Proof of this is the correspondence between Migliavacca and some of the most famous humanists of the time, such as Ermolao Barbaro and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.⁷⁵ According to Martin Sicherl, Migliavacca may have lent the manuscript Ambr. I 56 sup. to Niccolò Leonicensi (1428–1524): this was to be used by Aldo Manuzio for the corrections to the text of the *Historia animalium*.⁷⁶ However, Ambr. I 56 sup. never strayed too far from

71 See a summary of this in Orlandi 2014b, 147–148 (with further bibliography). Therein (pages 159–163) I excluded from Andronikos' library two other codices owned by Migliavacca, the manuscripts Sinod. gr. 282 and RGADA, Φ 1607 Matthaei 9 (ex-Lips. gr. 53), which followed the same route. They had been attributed to Kallistos in Fonkič 1981, 124, whereas they are the work of his pupil Migliavacca; see Orlandi 2020c, 456–458.

72 See on this manuscript *supra*, § 3.1 and *infra*, § 5.2.1.

73 Some observations are found in Orlandi 2019a. Relying on an indication by Turyn, Agamemnon Tselikas identified the author of the restoration with Andronikos Kallistos; see Tselikas 2004, 374. Given the presence of Kallistos' hand, the manuscript Ἰβήρων 161 is the one for which a provenance from Kallistos' library is most likely amongst the books which had belonged to Migliavacca and are kept today at Mount Athos. By contrast, the autoptical analysis of some other manuscripts of Migliavacca — Ἰβήρων 164 (Galen, *Methodus medendi*) and 189 (containing Moschopoulos' commentary on Hesiod and again works by Galen) — did not reveal traces of Andronikos' hand; it is therefore not demonstrable that these manuscripts also came from Kallistos' collection.

74 See more *infra*, § 5.3.1.

75 See Orlandi 2014b, 142–144.

76 See Sicherl 1997, 45–46. Some remarks on the issue are also in Orlandi 2022b (forthcoming).

Milan throughout the sixteenth century; for his later owners were to be learned men from Lombard cultural circles, such as Ottaviano Ferrari (1518–1586) and Cesare Rovida (c. 1556–1591). It is well known how the books of Ferrari, a master of philosophy and medicine in Padua, passed after his death to his pupil Rovida, a professor in Pavia, who succeeded in obtaining them only after lengthy negotiations for their purchase with his colleague Bartolomeo Capra. After Cesare's death in 1591, the volumes passed to his brother Alessandro, who died a couple of years later in 1605, at which point Rovida's Greek-Latin library was purchased by the curators of the Ambrosiana. There is not much to say, unfortunately, about Ambr. D 78 inf.: the indication 'olim Pinelli', which appears in the catalogue edited by Emidio Martini and Domenico Bassi,⁷⁷ only clarifies that the manuscript entered the Ambrosiana in the first years of the seventeenth century together with other books owned by Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601).

The sequence of events which led the two manuscripts now known as Laurentiani Ashburnham 1144 and 1599 to Florence is quite clear, at least from the seventeenth century onwards.⁷⁸ Before the Italian State's definitive re-acquisition in the second half of the nineteenth century, these two books were part of the Saibante family's famous collection (in Verona); from there, they were passed on to the French bibliophile Charles Millon (1754–1839); later, they were part of the collection owned by Guglielmo Libri (1803–1869) and finally entered the possession of the English Lord Ashburnham. A tangible trace of all these passages is their presence in their respective inventories. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the owners between Migliavacca – who died around 1524 – and the Saibante family, whose book inventory was edited by Scipione Maffei (first half of the eighteenth century):⁷⁹ there is thus a lack of information for the span of roughly two centuries.

Likewise, it is not possible at the moment to define who owned Par. Suppl. gr. 66 after Kallistos and Migliavacca, and before the manuscript ended up in the collection of the bibliophile Jean Bourdelot (who died in 1638),⁸⁰ and from there in that of his nephew Pierre-Michon. The fate of the miscellaneous codex Par.

⁷⁷ See Martini and Bassi 1906, II, 1029–1030.

⁷⁸ See Orlandi 2014b.

⁷⁹ The noble Veronese family gradually abandoned its library in the period between 1650 and 1750 circa. For information about its buyers and further bibliography, see Orlandi 2014b.

⁸⁰ As noted elsewhere, it could be significant that there is at least one Latin manuscript in the Bourdelot library, that is, Voss. lat. F 100 (Latin version of Proclus' commentary on Plato's *Ti-maeus*), presenting Giambattista Rasario's ownership note; see Orlandi 2014b, 192.

Suppl. gr. 541⁸¹ and of the Thucydides of Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Nn.III.18⁸² is similarly still obscure.

3.5 Other dispersal routes: Exploring Barbaro's, Pico's, and Grimani's collection

Alongside the two main dispersal routes so far examined (Valla-Pio and Migliavacca), there is a series of elements we can take into account to shed further light on Kallistos' library's fate. A first clue comes from an important source, Ermolao Barbaro's epistolary:

Libros Andronici non haberi amplius istic doleo, quamquam, si verum est pervenisse illos in manus Pici nostri, minus moleste fero.⁸³

I regret the fact that Andronikos' books are no longer kept there at your place; however, if it is true that they came into the hands of our dear Pico, I will endure this fact with less annoyance.

This letter, dated 1 September 1483, is addressed to Giorgio Merula, who was Kallistos' pupil in Bologna.⁸⁴ By writing to Merula (likely from Venice), Ermolao shows his interest in the fate of Andronikos' books. Barbaro is upset as these books are no longer kept there (*istic*) at Merula's, i.e. in Lombardy, between Milan and Pavia, where Giorgio was residing. Barbaro doubtfully suggests that Kallistos' books are now in the hands of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) (*in manus Pici nostri*), although he is not certain of this (*si verum est*).

One wonders whether it is possible to identify Merula's books which Ermolao is referring to in this letter. We can probably rule out that he is talking about the same pieces of Kallistos' collection which had already been or were to be purchased by Giorgio Valla. As far as we are concerned, in September 1483 Valla was

81 There is no information about the time preceding its arrival at the Sorbona's library, certified by the seal visible in fol. 11r. The only element available to us is the registration as no. 1524 in the catalogue edited by Guédier de Saint-Aubin around 1740. In contrast to Omont's claims, this manuscript did not end up in the Sorbona from the collection of the Cardinal Richelieu; the arrival at the Bibliothèque nationale is however attested in 1796. For the history of the codices in Richelieu's collection, see Astruc 1952.

82 Concerning this codex, it is possible to suggest that it was owned in modern times by the English bishop John Moore (1646–1714) (see Orlandi 2014b, 193), though there is no decisive evidence to confirm this hypothesis.

83 Branca 1943, I, 44. The text has been discussed in Petrucci 1989.

84 See *supra*, § 1.1.

still residing in Lombardy, teaching in Pavia (hence not too far from Merula) and he may have already purchased that big batch of Andronikos' books,⁸⁵ a deal which Ermolao was probably informed about through his own contacts with Valla.

Likewise, it seems that the letter is not concerned with the manuscripts which were to be included in the 'Migliavacca batch', for similar reasons. Migliavacca was also living at that time in Lombardy, acting between Milan and Pavia. In addition, five years later (i.e. in 1488) Ermolao himself was to ask Migliavacca for a loan of some books formerly belonging to Kallistos' collection which meanwhile had become part of Migliavacca's.⁸⁶ The books mentioned by Ermolao in the letter to Merula then seem to point to another small group from Andronikos' library, whose fate can be outlined by looking elsewhere, following the traces of Pico's collection.⁸⁷ We will be returning to this topic in a moment.

3.5.1 Barbaro, Valla, and the *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger

Recent studies show that in at least two cases, books from Kallistos' collection served as models for copies destined to enrich Ermolao Barbaro's collection. Andronikos' own copy of Theophrastus' works on plants, i.e. Par. gr. 2069 (which ended up in the library of Niccolò Leonicensino), turned out to be the antigraph to the second codicological unit of Barbaro's Vat. gr. 1305.⁸⁸ Similarly, from the manuscript Par. gr. 1878, copied and owned by Andronikos (and later by Leonicensino),⁸⁹ descends the text of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* copied for Ermolao in the manuscript Neap. III.D.35⁹⁰ by the so-called *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger.

The connection between this mysterious and anonymous copyist and Ermolao Barbaro is indisputable, as the writing of the *Anonymus* 38 had already been

85 For the year 1485 as a *terminus ante quem*, see *supra*, § 3.3. We did not rule out the hypothesis that Valla had purchased them directly from Gian Francesco Della Torre not long after their sale in Milan in 1476.

86 This is the case with Par. gr. 1879 containing Michael of Ephesos' commentary on *Metaphysics*; see Orlandi 2014b, 143–144 and Orlandi 2019a, 134–135.

87 A comprehensive study on Pico's library is in Kibre 1936.

88 See Cronier 2020, 198–199.

89 It is remarkable and probably not incidental that both Par. gr. 1878 and Par. gr. 2069 were part of the library of Niccolò Leonicensino.

90 See Golitsis 2022, CIII–CIV, CXL–CXLI.

found by Dieter Harlfinger in two manuscripts⁹¹ (now in Naples, and both containing Aristotelian materials) belonging to Ermolao: Neap. III.D.29 and Neap. III.D.35. To these I add the Mutin. α K.3.31 (also bearing commentaries to Aristotle), in which Stefano Martinelli Tempesta recognized the hand of Barbaro himself.⁹²

Once Andronikos' books arrived in Venice, however, it probably became easier for all scholars interested in reading new Greek texts to interact with Valla and to arrange with him for copies to be made. At least one of Kallistos' manuscripts from Valla's collection served as a model to a book found in Ermolao's library, Neap. III.E.12 (Fig. 3.5), written entirely in the hand of the *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger.⁹³

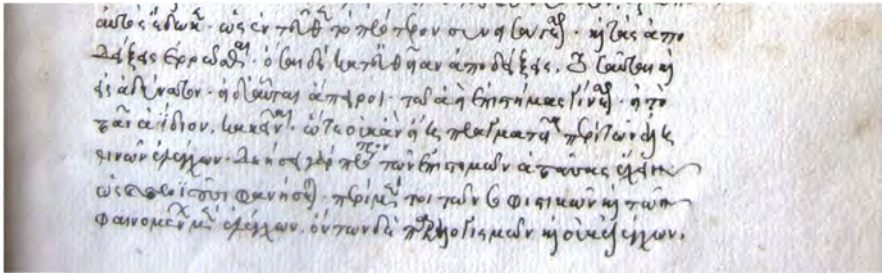


Fig. 3.5: Neap. III.E.12, fol. 1r; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

The first codicological unit of the Naples manuscript contains a unique combination of texts: an anonymous *paraphrasis* to Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* and Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*. As one might suspect, such works are otherwise never handed down together in the manuscript tradition. This exception can be explained by assuming a copying from a manuscript belonging to Andronikos, i.e. Mutin. α Q.5.21, where the *paraphrasis* and Musaeus are in found respectively

⁹¹ See Harlfinger 1971, 420.

⁹² Stefano Martinelli Tempesta brought forward my identification of the *Anonymus* 38's handwriting in Martinelli Tempesta 2019, 292–293.

⁹³ I published this identification in Martinelli Tempesta 2019, 292–293. A very detailed account on Ermolao's library is now Vendruscolo 2020. A new book from Barbaro's collection turned out to be Neap. III.D.37; see Orlandi 2022b (forthcoming).

in the first and second codicological units. I carried out some sample collations,⁹⁴ which confirmed the dependence of Barbaro's manuscript on this Mutinensis.

Another manuscript partially copied by the *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger is Mutin. α P.5.18 (Galen)⁹⁵ belonging to the collection of Giorgio Valla, and probably copied from Marc. gr. Z. 286, in which Ciro Giacomelli recognised marginal annotations by the *Anonymus* himself.⁹⁶

Finally, I shall add one more piece in which I found his handwriting: the first codicological unit (fols 1–56) of the <Mutin. α T.9.11> (Nikephoros Blemmydes) (Fig. 3.6), this manuscript being likewise part of the collection of Giorgio Valla.⁹⁷

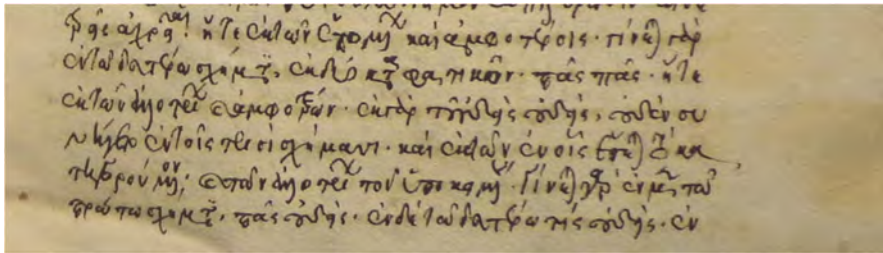


Fig. 3.6: Mutin. α T.9.11, fol. 2r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

While awaiting new studies to hopefully better define and locate the scribal activity of the *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger, as well as his contacts with learned men based in Venice in the last quarter of the century, and to verify the existence of other copies made from items once belonging to Andronikos' library, I hereby

⁹⁴ The reference study on the manuscript tradition of Musaeus (Eleuteri 1981) did not include Neap. III.E.12.

⁹⁵ The identification published by Martinelli Tempesta (in Giacomelli 2019a, 113) with regard to a manuscript of Galen's *De simpl. med.* written by the *Anonymus* should be partly corrected. It is in fact not Mutin. α W.2.9, but Mutin. α P.5.18.

⁹⁶ Giacomelli 2019a, 113.

⁹⁷ I shall remark here that the scribe of the second unit (fols 57–end) is found in other volumes belonging to the collection of Giorgio Valla and/or Andronikos. It is the same copyist with whom Gamillscheg 1978, 240–242 dealt. Gamillscheg found his handwriting in Andronikos' (and hence Valla's) Mutin. α P.5.19 (= fol. 200rv) and in the supplementary section of Andronikos' (and Valla's) Mutin. α V.7.1 (= fol. 80v–86r, 87r–104v). To this evidence we can now add Valla's <Mutin. α T.9.11> (= second unit), and <Mutin. α V.7.13>. The possibility that also this anonymous scribe may have been in contact with Valla should therefore be explored.

sum up the corpus of manuscript evidence so far attributed to the *Anonymus*' hand (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6: The manuscripts of the *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger. Overview.

Manuscript	Collection	References
Neap. III.D.29 (fols 1r–24v)	Ermolao Barbaro	Harlfinger 1971
Neap. III.D.35 (fols 1r–73r)	Ermolao Barbaro	Harlfinger 1971
Neap. III.E.12	Ermolao Barbaro	Orlandi <i>apud</i> Martinelli Tempesta 2019
Mutin. α K.3.31 (fols 7r–36v)	Ermolao Barbaro	Orlandi <i>apud</i> Martinelli Tempesta 2019
Mutin. α P.5.18 (fols 1r–40v)	Giorgio Valla	Martinelli Tempesta <i>apud</i> Giacomelli 2019
Marc. gr. Z. 286 (<i>marginalia</i>)	Bessarion	Giacomelli 2019
<Mutin. α T.9.11> (fols 1r–56r)	Giorgio Valla	Orlandi, here

3.5.2 On the trail of Pico's collection

It is known that a couple of years after Pico's premature death in 1498 his library merged with that of Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461–1523).⁹⁸ According to the will, after Grimani's death, the Greek books (together with many Hebrew, Armenian and Arabic ones) were transferred to the monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello, where they were kept for the following decades. An unspecified amount of Grimani's manuscripts did not perish in the tremendous fire which destroyed the monastery's library in 1687.⁹⁹ However, by the date of the fire — which occurred

⁹⁸ For a current account on the subject, including previous bibliographical references, see Tura 2009. There exists a copy of Grimani's inventory, contained in the manuscript Vat. lat. 3960, whose contents have been edited in Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003; see also Tura 2009, 421. For Pico's Greek codices, one may refer to Jackson 1999b, Jackson 2004, and Jackson 2008.

⁹⁹ From among the books which were not lost, there are those kept today in the Biblioteca Arcivescovile in Udine; see Tura 2009, 414–415 (with further bibliography).

more than one and a half centuries after Domenico Grimani's death — a considerable part of the collection had already been dispersed elsewhere, due to private purchases. This is the main reason why many Greek books referred to as 'Pico-Grimani' are found today in several libraries across Europe, including Vienna and Paris. Among the main buyers there were János Zsámboki (1531–1584, also known under his latinized name 'Iohannes Sambucus')¹⁰⁰ and the brothers Jean Hurault de Boistaillé (†1572) and André Hurault de Maisse (1534–1607).¹⁰¹

A note indicating the provenance from Jean Hurault's collection can still be read on fol. 3v of Par. gr. 3011, a fourteenth-century witness to Lucian of Samosata restored by Andronikos Kallistos.¹⁰² This manuscript corresponds to the entry no. 250 in Grimani's inventory¹⁰³ and comes with certainty from Pico's collection (no. 933).¹⁰⁴ One can trace it back without doubt to Andronikos' personal collection by means of the indication 'Luciani orationes' (fol. Vr) in the hand of Bonaccorso Pisano, which is, as said, related to the time of the sale in Milan.¹⁰⁵

André Hurault's name is linked to Par. Mazarine 4453 (nos and 203 and 223 in Grimani's list),¹⁰⁶ a codex containing Synesius' works, mainly in the hand of Demetrios Triklinios;¹⁰⁷ likewise, it is also recorded in Pico's inventory (no. 203).¹⁰⁸ In this case, Andronikos' hand has been correctly identified with that of the scribe applying a marginal note at page 153;¹⁰⁹ one should ascribe to Kallistos, though, a larger number of marginal and interlinear annotations (see <pages 139, 143–158>) as well as the retracing of many lines which are close to the outer margin and whose ink had almost completely faded.

Kallistos' hand is visible at fols 38r–59v (Galen, *Ars medica*)¹¹⁰ of today's Par. gr. 1644, a multiple-text-manuscript. In more detail, this is a non-homogeneous

100 See Jackson 1999b.

101 See Jackson 2004 and de Conihout 2007.

102 Jackson 2004, 232. The note, as observed by Jackson, stands above the erased one by Domenico Grimani. The presence of Andronikos' hand in this manuscript was reported for the first time in *RGK II* 25.

103 See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 147, Jackson 2004, 232 and Jackson 2008, 165.

104 Kibre 1936, 244; Jackson 2004, 232.

105 See *supra*, § 3.2.

106 See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 141, 144 and Jackson 2008, 167.

107 See *RGK II* 136.

108 Kibre 1936, 148; see also Förstel 1998. After André Hurault de Maisse, the book was owned by André de Berziau (1620–1696) and, before its arrival at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, it was preserved at the Institution de l'Oratoire; see de Conihout 2007.

109 Identification in *RGK II* 25. The manuscript is provided with a pagination instead of a foliation.

110 Identification in *RGK II* 25.

composite manuscript consisting of four codicological units: I = fols 1–23 (Xen., *Resp. Lac.*, [*Ath. Resp.*]); II = fols 24–27 (Plot., *Enn.* I 2–4 [des. mut.]); III = fols 28–37 (Hermog., *Id.* [inc. mut.], *Meth.* [des. mut.]); IV = fols 38–I' (Gal., *Ars medica*). These units are different from one another, and have been put together in more recent times, probably after their arrival at the royal library in Fontainebleau (from Colbert's library). They recur in various separate and non-consecutive entries in the Grimani inventory,¹¹¹ and it is very likely that they all come from Pico's library.¹¹² The only unit which has to be linked back to Kallistos' activity and book collection corresponds to the entry no. 92 in the Grimani list ('*Ars parva Galeni*'). This unit is made of fols 38–I' (= two *quiniones* plus one *binio* currently missing the last leaf, yet without loss of text), which were probably transcribed in Florence¹¹³ between 1471–1474.

A codex which was once certainly included in cardinal Grimani's collection (perhaps coming from Pico's) is kept today in Vienna: Hist. gr. 78 (= no. 72 Grimani, part II).¹¹⁴ As Donald F. Jackson has shown, this book was part of a batch which Sambucus bought in Venice around 1550.

Although there is so far no evidence for it, the inclusion in the Pico-Grimani collection could be assumed also for two other manuscripts of Kallistos' likewise bought by Sambucus and now preserved in Vienna: Theol. gr. 163 and Suppl. gr. 23.¹¹⁵ The presence of the Theologicus in Venice during the sixteenth century is proved by the fact that it was at a certain point in the hands of Andreas Darmarios; it was to be purchased a little later by Sambucus, who was, as aforementioned, the main private purchaser of the Pico-Grimani books stored at Sant'Antonio di Castello.

3.5.3 The case of Berol. Hamilton 270

It is not easy to take a stance on whether the manuscript Berol. Hamilton 270 (early thirteenth century), i.e. the key witness of the textual tradition of Galen's

¹¹¹ See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 124, 137–138, 147, 149 and Jackson 2008, 166–168.

¹¹² As far as I know, it has not been noticed that the four codicological units (containing, in order, Xenophon, Plotinus, Hermogenes and Galen) may correspond to the following entries in the inventory of Pico's books edited by Kibre 1936: nos 751, 989, 1604, 454.

¹¹³ See *supra*, § 2.3.2.3.

¹¹⁴ See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 120–121, Jackson 1999b, 4 and Jackson 2008, 165. A detailed description is found in Hunger 1961, 85–86.

¹¹⁵ See Hunger, Kresten and Hannick 1984, 251–253 and Hunger and Hannick 1994, 46–49.

work *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, belonged to Kallistos' collection.¹¹⁶ In the Berolinensis, now badly damaged and devoid of the original guard leaves, one finds three marginal annotations applied by the hand of <Andronikos> (Fig. 3.7) at fols <31r, 52v and 73v>.¹¹⁷

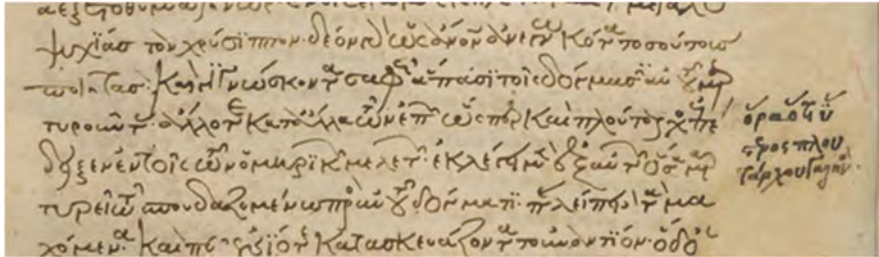


Fig. 3.7: Hamilton 270, fol. 31r; © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

The content of such notes is unfortunately not of great help in definitively establishing whether the Berolinensis belonged to Kallistos' library.¹¹⁸ However, two interesting clues of historical and cultural nature could point to the inclusion of the book in the collection. First of all, we shall mention that the Hamilton 270 circulated in Bessarion's milieu in the 1460s: Georgios Tzangaropoulos made a copy of it around the years 1468–1471 for Bessarion, i.e. Marc. gr. Z. 284; likewise, Theodoros Gazes benefited from the consultation of Hamilton 270 to collect some excerpts from Galen's works in his notebook, i.e. Par. gr. 2283.¹¹⁹ Secondly, it should be noted that the manuscript was kept in the Venetian monastery of San

116 For this work refer to De Lacy 1978, 5–6, 12–18.

117 Dieter Harlfinger, whom I warmly thank for the communication, is credited with this identification, which until now had remained unpublished.

118 In the margin of fol. 31r (= *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* III 2,18: *CMG V* 4,1,2, p. 182,21–27) Andronikos wrote ὅρα ὅτι ὕστερος Πλουτάρχου Γαληνός, thus remarking that Galen lived at a later time than Plutarch. At fol. 52v (= *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* V 5,32: *CMG V* 4,1,2, p. 324,2–9) Kallistos added the *notabile* κουμένωνων, in order to highlight a passage about the shaping of unborn children in the womb and about their rearing and training after birth, according to Plato. This is the aim of the *notabile* κουόμενον at fol. 73v too (= *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* VI 6,33: *CMG V* 4,1,2, p. 400,31–36), where the same topic is presented, though, in the opinion of the philosopher Erasistratus.

119 See De Lacy 1978, 26–30. For the attribution of the Paris manuscript to Gazes and further considerations on this interesting notebook see Orlandi 2015. For the codex Marc. gr. Z. 284 (in which Bessarion is appointed with the title *cardinalis Sabinensis et Niceni*) see Mioni 1981, 407–408.

Michele di Murano,¹²⁰ where other volumes from Barbaro's and Pico della Mirandola's collection were also kept for some time (via Grimani).¹²¹ This element may not be irrelevant in view of what has been previously said on the passage of some of the books from Andronikos' library to Pico della Mirandola and on their consultation by Ermolao himself.¹²²

3.6 In and out of the collection

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the distinction between the books which most certainly belonged to Andronikos' collection and those which he merely annotated, restored, consulted or copied at the behest of others certainly falls among the *desiderata* of comprehensive research on Kallistos' graphic and scholarly activity. I discuss in this chapter the case of some of the manuscripts which left his private collection at an early stage, that is, before the Milan sale. As for other books, it still remains difficult to determine with any certainty their inclusion in Kallistos' library.

3.6.1 Manuscripts parting from the collection before the Milan sale

3.6.1.1 To Bessarion or members of his entourage (1453–1471)

Since they were copied for Cardinal Bessarion, most of the manuscripts now kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, in which Andronikos' hand is found, were not part of his collection: these are Marc. gr. Z. 10, 186, 190, 192, 198, 223, 226, 238, 337, 518, 522, 527. However, Marc. gr. Z. 374 deserves a separate discussion.

Marc. gr. Z. 374 is a witness to the historical work of Diodorus Siculus, which we traced back to the 'Byzantine' activity of Kallistos thanks to philological evidence and the results of the codicological and palaeographic analysis.¹²³

Since the book was made in the East (in Crete) an explanation must be found for its inclusion in the cardinal's private collection. I would rule out the hypothesis of a copy commissioned from afar, since this would imply the existence of a

¹²⁰ See De Lacy 1978, 12. However, the codex was absent from the list published in Mioni 1958.

¹²¹ For details of this issue, see Mioni 1958, 318.

¹²² See *supra*. For news on the library of the Barbaros see Diller 1963 and, in more recent times, Rollo 2004b and Vendruscolo 2020.

¹²³ See *supra*, § 2.1.1.

connection between the Cardinal and Andronikos in the early 1450s for the production of manuscripts to be sent to Italy from Crete. Moreover, one has to consider that it would be the only instance of a copy executed for Bessarion from afar by Kallistos before his arrival in Italy. This perspective seems thus unconvincing. By broadening the horizons and turning our gaze to the Cardinal's private collection, it may be possible to find a better answer to the question. In the end, Marc. gr. Z. 374 is the only copy of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* present in Bessarion's collection containing books I-V of the work.¹²⁴ It is not improbable therefore to assume that Andronikos gave this volume to his powerful protector upon his arrival in Italy in the 1450s.

This hypothesis becomes more convincing when compared with the similar case of a book, which left Andronikos' collection and ended up in the hands of another member of Bessarion's milieu: Erlang. A 4. Some ten years after they were made, the independent sections of the Erlangensis in the hand of Kallistos — dating back, as mentioned,¹²⁵ from his 'Byzantine' years — were bound together with other quires in the hand of the monk Kosmas to be donated to Johannes Müller (known as Johannes *Regiomontanus*). A scholar from Königsberg, Müller was mostly interested in natural sciences and was bound in friendship to Cardinal Bessarion.

3.6.1.2 To Laskaris, Chalkondyles, and Poliziano (after 1471)

Doubts as to whether or not they belong to Andronikos' collection remain concerning some manuscripts that have one factor in common: the link with the city of Florence and with personalities who, in a certain sense, inherited Kallistos' cultural legacy after his departure.

We can start with some certain data. One manuscript that was certainly part of Andronikos' precious library was the famous Aristotle Par. gr. 2038, a book that has already been cited several times in the course of this study. What is of interest here is the presence of annotations — long since identified — in the hand of Ianos Laskaris, who became the owner of the manuscript at some point in its history.

124 Marc. gr. Z. 375, dating back to the eleventh century, contains only books XI–XV; Marc. gr. Z. 376, copied in the first half of the fifteenth century, contains books XV–XX; excerpts by Plethon are found in Marc. gr. Z. 406 (fols 94r–114v); an *epitome* by the Bessarion himself is in Marc. gr. Z. 523 (fols 139r–165v); finally, one finds only the so-called *Epitaphius Alexandri* in the manuscripts Marc. gr. Z. 369 (fol. 190r) and Marc. gr. Z. 511 (fols 397v–398r). For all these manuscripts see respectively: Mioni 1985a, 133–134, 157–159, 396–398, 129–130, and 367–368.

125 See *supra*, § 2.1.1.

This fact allows us to hypothesise that the manuscript remained in Florence at the end of Andronikos' stay. In fact, no annotations can be found in the hands of learned men dealing with the other recognised channels of dispersal of the collection after the sale (e.g. Bonaccorso da Pisa, Giorgio Valla, Baldassar Migliavacca).

In all likelihood, Par. gr. 2715 (= Kallistos' 'edition' of Aristophanes' comedies) was part of the Andronikos' library.¹²⁶ This Parisinus may also have left the collection in Florence. In the margins there are some annotations — whose presence had so far gone unnoticed — in the hand of <Ianos Laskaris> (Fig. 3.8).

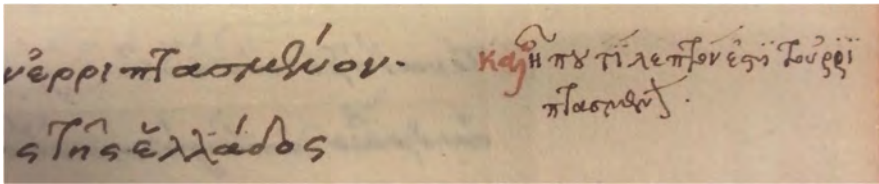


Fig. 3.8: Par. gr. 2715, fol. 138r; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

It is also possible that the manuscript Comensis 1.3.19 remained in Florence. It is a witness to Philostratus' works in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos and Michael Lygizos. In both codicological units of which the book is made, I found annotations in the hand of <Demetrios Chalkondyles> (fols 41r, 149v, 157r, 179r). Interestingly, Chalkondyles made a copy of Philostratus' text from this manuscript.¹²⁷

Another manuscript dated to the fourteenth century and restored in some of its parts by Andronikos, Cremon. 130, ended up in the first quarter of the sixteenth century in the collection of Daniele Gaetani (1465–1528), who — as is well known — had in turn acquired a batch of manuscripts previously owned by Chalkondyles.¹²⁸ Since for chronological reasons Gaetani cannot have received the book directly from Kallistos, it is therefore possible to assume that the sequence of owners between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century is the following: Kallistos → Chalkondyles → Gaetani.

¹²⁶ See *supra*, § 2.3.2.2.

¹²⁷ It is Comensis 1.4.41; see Stefec 2010a, 71, 75–76, 80–81, 86 and Stefec 2014, 154–156.

¹²⁸ See Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 333–336.

Finally, mention should also be made of the manuscript Laur. 85.21, the most ancient witness (twelfth–thirteenth century) of Simplicius’ commentary on Aristotle’s *De anima*, restored at fols 210r–224v by Andronikos Kallistos.¹²⁹ David Speranzi is credited with the identification of Kallistos’ hand; he also found annotations in the hand of Angelo Poliziano. The presence of both the hand of the master and that of the pupil leads — as Speranzi noted — to the hypothesis that the manuscript may have belonged to one of the two. If the book belonged to Poliziano, Andronikos may have restored it at Poliziano’s request. If, on the other hand, it belonged to Kallistos, it would be reasonable to think that, instead of travelling with him to Milan, the manuscript remained in Florence as the result of a donation Kallistos might have made to his talented pupil in the 1470s. A not insignificant clue leads to this second hypothesis; for a copy of the Laurentianus had been realized in the 1460s at Bessarion’s residence: the second unit of Marc. gr. Z. 413, in the hand of Georgios Tribizias.¹³⁰ This would suggest that Laur. 85.21 already belonged to Andronikos. As already seen in other cases, Kallistos may have made a book of his collection available to his prominent benefactor in order to produce a copy.

3.6.2 Lost manuscripts and lost quires

As will become clearer from the examination of two case studies presented in Chapter 5, it is possible to reconstruct the presence in Andronikos’ library of a manuscript containing Theocritus’ *Idylls* corresponding to his study and working copy. This copy also served as the basis for the *editio princeps* (1480/1481) prepared in Milan by Bonaccorso da Pisa who — as seen — had taken over Kallistos’ collection together with Gian Francesco Della Torre. As in the case of numerous lost manuscripts used as *Druckvorlage* (e.g. in Venice in Aldo Manuzio’s printing house), it is possible that Kallistos’ manuscript of Theocritus was destroyed after the preparation of the first printed edition.

In the case of manuscripts that are still preserved, if the loss of the quires affects the middle sections of a volume, it is not difficult to recognise the amount of text which is no longer available.¹³¹ However, certain cases may be more problematic.

¹²⁹ See Speranzi 2016b, 59–64.

¹³⁰ See *supra*, § 2.1.3.

¹³¹ For instance, this is the case in the manuscript Mutin. α Q.5.20, where part of the text (scholia to Sophocles’ tragedies) was lost due to the loss of most of the second and the third quire; see

The quire numeration of the current manuscript Oxon. d'Orville 115 (Eust. in *Dion. Per.*) starts with number '21' and ends with '32' (κα'–λβ', in the hand of Kallistos). We cannot say what the previous twenty quires contained. On the one hand, one might think that the lost part hosted the beginning of the work, which is actually missing.¹³² However, an easy calculation shows that the missing portion would have occupied at most one quire. Moreover, given the existence of other witnesses to the work characterised by the same loss of text (such as Scor. R.I.6, a sibling to the Oxoniensis),¹³³ it is likely that — as far as the work of Eustathios is concerned — nothing got lost, and that the quires <α'–κ'> formerly contained other texts.

With regard to the manuscript Vind. Hist. gr. 78 (= Plethon's excerpts from Diodorus, Appian, and Aelian), where the numeration nowadays starts at '10' (ι') and ends at '21' (κα'), we can state exactly what the missing nine quires contained at the time of their inclusion in Kallistos' collection. As observed by Herbert Hunger ('heute fehlender Text!'),¹³⁴ one finds at fol. IIv the indication 'Bessarion et alia', thus informing us that some of Bessarion's works were also present in the volume. A closer inspection of fol. IIIr provides us with a more detailed account of the contents. In the first nine quires there were some of Bessarion's questions (ζητήματα) addressed to Plethon, along with the latter's reply; moreover, the missing quires contained works by Plethon himself (*Contra Scholarii in defensionem Aristotelis*, *De differentiis*, and *de virtutibus*) and a mysterious ἐπιτάφιος λόγος. This reconstruction is also confirmed by the entry in Grimani's inventory (no. 72), giving account of the current missing parts: 'Plethon de iis quibus Aristoteles differt à Platone | Idem contra responsiones Scholarii. Idem de virtute | Eiusdem sermo Epitaphii. Eiusdem fragmentum libri de republica'.¹³⁵ But that is not all. Thanks to the index and the catalogue entry, we also discover that the original manuscript contained other materials beyond the current quire no. 21. In these sections some 'platonica ζητήματα ἀκέφαλα' were found (referred to as 'Platonicae quaestiones sine principio' in the Grimani list), the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De lineis insecabilibus* (this entry is omitted in the inventory) and a work registered (only in the Grimani list) as 'Atticus de differentiis Aristotelis, et Platonis, et Mosis'.

Tessier 2015b, 196. The same applies to Lips. gr. 34+33. This is a volume today split into two parts lacking the original quire nine (<θ'>), which contained the follow-up to Theocr. *Idylls* 8,68.

132 See *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 32).

133 See *supra*, § 2.1.2.

134 See Hunger 1961, 85–86.

135 See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 120–121.

3.6.3 Manuscripts never joining the collection

A special (and in its own way already famous) case is that of two books that, according to the testamentary will of Theodoros Gazes, should have ended up with his cousin Andronikos. These are the two manuscripts containing Strabo's *Geography*.

In a fundamental contribution to the investigation of the manuscripts that belonged to Gazes' collection and the structural characteristics of his Greek writing, David Speranzi explored the history of the volumes of the *Geography*, achieving the identification of the two books mentioned in the will, i.e. Laur. 28.5 and 28.15.¹³⁶ Due to Andronikos' departure from Italy before March 1476, the manuscripts never reached his collection (which had already been sold in Milan in the meantime); they finally ended up in that of Chalkondyles.

3.7 The posthumous fortune of the collection: Translations and printed editions

In this final section, we report on some tangible signs of the posthumous fortune of the books which were part of Andronikos' collection. A first case is the use of Kallistos' manuscripts as the basis for some Latin versions.

Giorgio Valla translated the *Problemata* attributed to Aristoteles and/or Alexander of Aphrodisias from Mutin. α V.7.17, apparently integrating some passages from another source, i.e. Kallistos' Mutin. α P.5.20.¹³⁷ The Latin translation by Valla of Plutarch's *Quaestiones naturales* is likewise based on the text transmitted by Mutin. α V.7.17.¹³⁸ Accordingly, the Greek text of the aforementioned Mutin. α P.5.20 was used by Valla for the translation of Galen's *De sectis*.¹³⁹ This very manuscript served for Valla's (and, partly, Niccolò Leonicensio's) translation of Galen's *De inaequali intemperie*.¹⁴⁰ Likewise, the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Poetica* by Valla stems from the Greek text found in Mutin. α T.8.3.¹⁴¹ In order to

136 See Speranzi 2012, 346–348. Before the publication of the findings by Speranzi, one of the volumes mentioned in the will had been identified with the manuscript Etonensis 141 (see Diller 1975, 117, 147). New data about manuscripts from Gazes' will is in Orlandi 2021b.

137 See Kapetanaki and Sharples 2006, 47.

138 See Ieraci Bio 2021.

139 See García Novo 2010, 92. In all likelihood, the Latin translation of the treatises *De optima nostri corporis constitutione* and *De bono habitu* also originates from this manuscript.

140 See García Novo 2004, 188–189 and García Novo 2010.

141 See Tarán and Gutas 2012, 45.

enrich the monumental treatise *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, Valla was also to make use of certain portions of the text of Nikephoros Blemmydes handed down in Kallistos' Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71;¹⁴² the enormous encyclopaedic work went on to be printed by Aldo Manuzio shortly after Valla's death.¹⁴³

Another sign of the impact of manuscripts previously belonging to Andronikos' collection is their deployment as models for the first printed editions of selected classical authors. The *editio princeps* (1480/1481) of Theocritus' *Idylls* prepared in Milan by Bonaccorso Pisano, who — as mentioned above — had taken over Kallistos' collection jointly with Gian Francesco Della Torre, was drawn from a now lost manuscript.¹⁴⁴ However, it is especially in the context of the typography established by Aldo Manuzio that one finds more frequent cases of works whose model proved to be a manuscript belonging to Kallistos (or a copy of it). For the fourth volume of Aristotle's *Opera omnia* (published by Aldo in June 1497) we know that the *Druckvorlage* of Theophrastus' botanical works (printed together with Aristotle's treatises) is Harv. gr. 17. This is a direct copy of Andronikos' Par. gr. 2069, which was made available to Aldo by Niccolò Leonicensi.¹⁴⁵ The printed edition containing Aristotle's *Rhetorica*, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, and *Poetica* was modelled on Kallistos' Par. gr. 2038.¹⁴⁶ As a partial source and *Korrektivexemplar* for the text of Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, Aldo used another book of Andronikos', later owned by Baldassar Migliavacca: Ambr. I 56 sup.¹⁴⁷ Finally, the printed text of Aratus' *Phaenomena* (along with the scholia) descends from Andronikos' Mutin. α T.9.14, a manuscript with plenty of annotations in the hand of Giorgio Valla.¹⁴⁸

142 See Valente 2021, 42.

143 For the structure and the sources of the work, see Magnani 2021.

144 See more *infra*, § 5.3.1.

145 See Sicherl 1997, 65–71 and, more recently, Cronier 2020, 200–201. A review of Leonicensi's books used by Aldo and a study revealing the identity of one of the main collaborators of Manuzio, the so-called *Anonymus Harvardianus*, can be found in Orlandi 2022b (forthcoming).

146 See Sicherl 1997, 314–319.

147 See Sicherl 1997, 43–46, Berger 2005. Some remarks are in Orlandi 2022b (forthcoming).

148 See Martin 1974, XI–XIII and Pontani and Lugato 2017, 284–285.

4 Writing and Learning Greek at the School of Andronikos Kallistos

4.1 Graphic mimetism: Preliminary remarks

Research on the phenomenon of so-called ‘graphic mimetism’ during the fifteenth century represents one of the most prolific lines of investigation in the field of Greek palaeography. A pioneering role has been played by the contributions of Ernesto Berti¹ and Antonio Rollo,² who explained the characteristics of the ‘mimetic’ rendering of the writings of the Byzantine masters by their respective students, i.e. fifteenth-century Italian humanists. It is worth remembering that the imitation of the masters’ writing was the natural outcome of graphic learning within the school. By learning to write in Greek in adulthood, pupils could merely reproduce in their manuscripts the graphic model proposed by the master. Rarer are the cases of humanists (such as Filelfo and Guarino) capable of developing their own graphic system, characterised by elements of strong personalisation.³

A different aspect of graphic mimesis, unrelated to the school context, is that which Antonio Rollo proposed to define ‘antiquarian’ mimesis: it is a mimetic phenomenon aimed at enhancing the graphic product through the adoption of forms that are not current, but older by a few centuries; this process gives the writing an archaising aspect and to some extent amplifies the authority of the copied text.⁴

While researching the scholarly and scribal activity of Andronikos Kallistos, who was — as repeatedly mentioned — a successful teacher in several Italian cities, numerous testimonies of ‘mimetic’ writings emerged; precisely on the basis of the principle of ‘graphic mimetism’ it was possible to attribute these writings (the work of little-known or completely anonymous persons) to the school of Kallistos. I have given an account of some of these writings in contributions I published in recent years.⁵ I therefore aim here, on the one hand, to take up only the essential issues of already published research, referring to the individual contributions for details. Furthermore, I present here for the first time new writings that have so far not been associated with Andronikos’ teaching career.

1 See Berti 1987.

2 See Rollo 2006b.

3 With regard to the school of Kallistos, this is the case with his most talented student, i.e. Angelo Poliziano, whose Greek writing will therefore be analysed in a future paper.

4 See Rollo 2018, 94.

5 See Orlandi 2014a, Orlandi 2014b, Orlandi 2019a, and Orlandi 2020c.

4.1.1 Baldassar Migliavacca

The writing that has most frequently emerged in the study of the cultural milieu centred on the figure of Kallistos is that of Baldassar Migliavacca († c. 1524), a minor humanist from Pavia, until recently known only for the presence of his *ex-libris* in a small group of Greek manuscripts.⁶ Among the students of Andronikos who have come to light so far, Migliavacca was the one who best succeeded in perfectly reproducing the graphic system taught by his master. This is the reason why, in some manuscripts from Kallistos' library, traces of Migliavacca's handwriting (an example below, Fig. 4.1) have ended up being confused with those of his master.

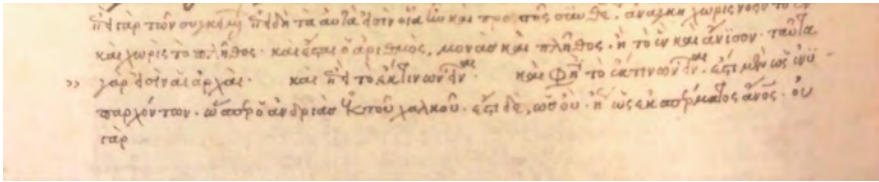


Fig. 4.1: Par. gr. 1879, fol. 191v; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Leaving aside the details already provided elsewhere, we only mention here a number of forms and ligatures that we will find later when analysing other writings of Kallistos' pupils: 1. bilobular *beta*, provided with tiny bows; 2. the characteristic *Fahren-Tau*; 3. diphthong *epsilon-iota* often in ligature with circumflex accent; 4. the right-hand section of the *lambda*, which forms a big hook below the line.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the discovery of Migliavacca's hand in numerous Andronikos-related manuscripts has shed light on some obscure aspects of the history of the dispersion of Kallistos' collection.

Among the manuscripts already related to Migliavacca's work, at least one case of imitation of ancient forms and ligatures had already emerged in the past: the Aristotle Cantabr. II.V.44 (thirteenth century).⁷ In this ancient manuscript, Migliavacca had carried out an impressive codicological and textual restoration, by inserting a few leaves in his own hand in order to supplement portions of the

⁶ I collected reproductions of all the extant Greek-Latin *ex-libris* in the hand of Migliavacca in Orlandi 2014b, plates VI and XVIIIe.

⁷ See Orlandi 2014b, 173–175 and plate XX.

text that had been lost. In the frame of a handwriting necessarily influenced by that of Kallistos, Migliavacca had on that occasion incorporated some of the characteristic traits of the style of the famous copyist Nikolaos,⁸ i.e. a handwriting dating back more than two centuries.

I recently came across a new case of antiquarian mimesis, in which Migliavacca is once again a protagonist. It concerns the manuscript Vat. Chis. R.VIII.58, an ancient witness to Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* dated to the twelfth century. Paola Megna has devoted a detailed study to this important manuscript.⁹ A new element can be added. The author of the restoration and insertion of fols 232–233, 235–236 is none other than <Baldassar Migliavacca> (Fig. 4.2).

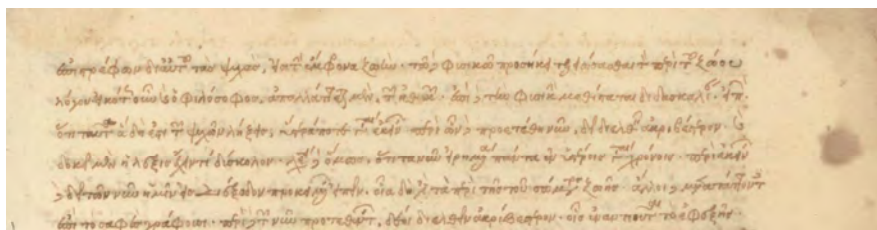


Fig. 4.2: Chis. R.VIII.58, fol. 235r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

On the one hand, we can immediately recognize the main features of Migliavacca's writing, i.e. that repertoire of forms (e.g. bilobular *beta*, the ligature *epsilon-iota* + circumflex accent) derived from Kallistos' graphic system and thus envisaged in the phenomenon of school graphic mimetism. On the other hand, we can note that these standard forms are accompanied by others attempting to accurately reproduce the twelfth-century writing of the original manuscript. We can highlight here some of these innovations unrelated to Andronikos' graphic system: the abbreviation of *καί* in the form of a snail; *beta*, *delta*, and *zeta* in a majuscule shape. This discovery is meaningful for another aspect as well. For the Chisianus belonged to Marsilio Ficino, as already noted by Megna; this establishes an interesting connection between Migliavacca and the city of Florence, which will have to be explored further in the future.

⁸ RGK I 327 = II 445 = III 525.

⁹ See Megna 2003.

4.1.2 The scribe B of the manuscript Berolinensis gr. qu. 73

In a recent paper,¹⁰ I presented the manuscript Berol. gr. qu. 73 (Porphyry, *Intr.*; Arist., *De int.*, *Cat.*), today kept in Kraków (Biblioteka Jagiellońska). It is a parchment volume in which Kallistos was responsible for the copy of fols 1r–23r (up to Arist., *Cat.* 8b 35 Bekker). On the *verso* of folio 23, however, another hand appears (Fig. 4.3), which took up the transcription of the text of the *Categories* and completed the work.

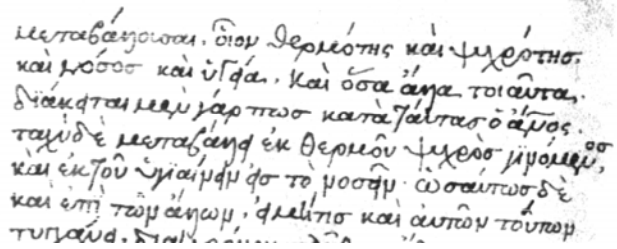


Fig. 4.3: Berol. gr. qu. 73, fol. 23v; © Biblioteka Jagiellońska.

Bearing in mind the principle of graphic mimetism, palaeographic analysis has made it possible to recognize in this anonymous copyist a (hitherto unknown) pupil of Andronikos. The derivation of the features of the pupil's handwriting from Kallistos' is evident; the main forms we have drawn attention to in these pages recur again, such as the bilobular *beta*, the *Fahnen-Tau* and the cursive majuscule *lambda*. However, the hatching characterising the writing of this anonymous pupil does not appear as fluid as in the case of Migliavacca's; the letters here take on a more square and angular appearance.

In the course of research, it was possible to argue that this anonymous pupil of Andronikos was also the addressee of the copy.¹¹ It is not yet known exactly when the Berolinesis was made, but it can be dated to the mid-1460s.

An interesting aspect of the matter, however, concerns the stemmatic derivation of this manuscript. For the text of the *Categoriae* the Berolinesis descends *recta via* from Vat. gr. 1314, i.e. from Kallistos' personal copy. Up to this point, it would appear to be simply a customary condition, according to which a book

¹⁰ See Orlandi 2020c, 458–463.

¹¹ Future owners of the manuscript were to be Petros Hypselas (RGK I 349 = II 478 = III 558) and a certain Lorenzo Bartolino (see Orlandi 2020c, 463 n. 27).

from the master's collection was made available to a student to have it copied. However, a closer philological examination¹² revealed that Berol. gr. qu. 73 is an apograph of Vat. gr. 1314 only up to 8b 35 Bekker, i.e. up to the point where Andronikos himself was responsible for the copying (= fol. 23r). From fol. 23v onwards a different model was therefore used. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that the transcription could not be completed due to the sudden departure of Andronikos (and his book, Vat. gr. 1314). Hopefully future investigations will shed light on the matter and reveal the identity of the pupil.

4.1.3 *Anonymus 51 Harlfinger*

Research into Kallistos' cultural environment has also recently uncovered a large part of a book collection that belonged to one of his mysterious pupils: the so-called *Anonymus 51 Harlfinger*.¹³ Two manuscripts were originally¹⁴ associated with this unknown copyist: Vat. gr. 2170 B and Vat. gr. 2201 (fols 51–149). It is to Paul Canart's intuition that we owe the primordial connection between the activity of this scribe and that of Andronikos Kallistos:

Scriptura textus [...] adfinitatem magnam cum modo scribendi Andronici Callisti praebet [...] sed P. Canart sententia non de Andronico Callisto ipso sed de discipulo quodam eius scriptura imitante agitur.¹⁵

Canart's intuition was right: that of *Anonymus 51 Harlfinger* (Fig. 4.4) is undoubtedly a writing inspired both in its general layout and in most of its individual traits by that of Kallistos.

¹² See Orlandi 2020c, 460–463.

¹³ For the manuscripts belonging to his collection, refer to Orlandi 2020c, 463–481.

¹⁴ See Harlfinger 1971, 420.

¹⁵ Lilla 1985, 33–34.

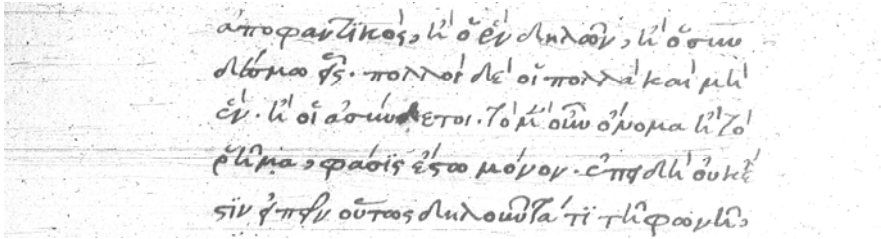


Fig. 4.4: Vat. gr. 2170 B, fol. 3v; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

The interaction between the manuscripts of the *Anonymus* and the didactic-philological activity of Kallistos has become evident. As many as 7 manuscripts owned by the *Anonymus* were in fact corrected and/or annotated by Andronikos: Ricc. 46 (Aristotle), Lond. Burney 109 (Pindar, Theocritus), Monac. gr. 332 (Aristotle), Par. gr. 2772 (miscellany), Vat. gr. 2189 (Aristotle), Vat. gr. 2201 (Aristotle), Vat. gr. 2207 (Demosthenes). And the presence in these manuscripts of authors who are crucial within the cultural landscape and *cursus studiorum* offered by Kallistos is certainly not incidental.

Cross examination of all the palaeographic, historical, philological, and codicological data available on the 16 manuscripts bearing the handwriting of the *Anonymus* (mostly responsible for additions in the margins) offered clear clues as to the date and place of his activity. Most of the manuscripts in which the *Anonymus* appears (either in the text or in the margins) were produced in Florence, around the 1470s. Others, such as the famous Aristotle Ricc. 46, were restored there. Still others come from collections kept in Florentine libraries (e.g. Cicero Laur. 90 sup. 77.1). Finally, most of the manuscripts that belonged to the *Anonymus* flowed into the conspicuous collection of the Salviati family, most of which is now preserved in the Vatican Library (but not exclusively there).¹⁶

Finally, I provide here a concise list of all manuscripts that have so far been traced back to *Anonymus* 51's library on the basis of historical, bibliological, and palaeographic data: Laur. 90 sup. 77.1; Ricc. 46; Lond. Burney 109; Monac. gr. 332; Par. Coislin 155; Par. gr. 2772; Vat. gr. 2170 B, 2181, 2186, 2189, 2191, 2201, 2205, 2207, 2222, 2250.

¹⁶ Thanks to the research by Cardinali 2020a, 468, 471, 473 n. 216, 476, 489 — the results of which I had not been able to read at the time of the publication of my study (Orlandi 2020c) — we now know that Par. Coislin 155 and Monac. gr. 332 (in which I had likewise found annotations of *Anonymus* 51) also belonged to the collection of Cardinal Giovanni Salviati.

4.1.4 Giovambattista Buoninsegni

Among the pupils of Andronikos' Florentine courses appears Giovambattista Buoninsegni (1453–*post* 1512),¹⁷ who was still a young boy at the time of Kallistos' teaching. Evidence for Buoninsegni's participation in Andronikos' courses are two verses from Poliziano's well-known elegy composed for Bartolomeo Fonzio, in which Buoninsegni is mentioned as a fellow student.¹⁸ A very recent contribution¹⁹ has brought to light three Greek epigrams Buoninsegni composed to honour the memory of Theodoros Gazes, who died in 1476. These poems, as Paola Megna has well illustrated, represent a further significant record of the interest in poetry fostered by Kallistos in Florence which had a noticeable influence on the literary production of all his students.

One of the many insights of Megna's work is bringing attention to hitherto neglected graphic evidence. She published a specimen of Buoninsegni's Greek writing.²⁰ It is a quotation from Demosthenes — *Olynth.* 2,12: καὶ γὰρ ὡς παρὰ Δημοσθένει, 'ἄπας λόγος, ἂν ἀπὴ τὰ πράγματα μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν' ('Indeed, as said by Demosthenes, "if unaccompanied by deeds, each word appears vain and empty"') — included in a letter sent by Buoninsegni to Niccolò Michelozzi.

Although limited to a few lines, this evidence is of considerable importance. In addition to confirming the circulation and reading of one of the authors (Demosthenes) chosen by Kallistos in Florence for the *cursus studiorum* of his students, it allows us a glimpse into the graphic layout of Buoninsegni's handwriting at the time of the letter (i.e. February 1474). Below (Fig. 4.5) I reproduce only the lines with the *graeca*:

¹⁷ A biographical account is found in Kristeller 1972.

¹⁸ Verses 205–206 (ed. Bausi 2003) read: *nec minor egregia surgit virtute Ioannes Baptista, Etrusci gloria certa soli*. About the friendship between Poliziano and Buoninsegni and the epigrams by Poliziano in honor of Buoninsegni refer to Pontani 2002, 17–37.

¹⁹ See Megna 2021.

²⁰ The letter is kept at the National Library of Florence; see Megna 2021, 303–304.

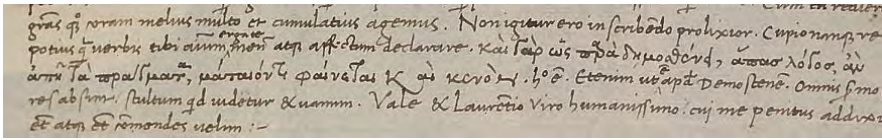


Fig. 4.5: Ginori Conti 29.64, fol. 73r, lin. 11–15; © Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

As far as can be observed, one recognizes in these lines an evident influence of Kallistos' graphic model, both in the arrangement of the individual letters (like the usual *Fahren-Tau*, the uppercase high *gamma*, the final *sigma* closed and terminating in a curl at the top), and in the rendering of the ligatures (*alpha-rho*, hatched with the *alpha* placed in the line spacing, *sigma-theta* and *epsilon-iota*).

This specimen may form the basis for new identifications of Buoninsegni's hand in Latin and Greek manuscripts in the future. The new discoveries will in turn help us understand the degree of knowledge of Greek mastered by this minor humanist and his actual role in the cultural initiatives promoted by his contemporaries.

A first significant example can be attached here. As Megna recalls, we are informed of the great esteem Marsilio Ficino had for Buoninsegni, described as *familiaris noster, vir apprime Latinis Graecisque litteris eruditus* in a letter Ficino sent to Alessandro Braccesi.²¹ Ficino himself praises Buoninsegni's collaboration in revising the text in the preface to the edition of the Latin translation of Plato's works (1484). Now, in Laur. 85.9 — i.e., the famous Greek manuscript owned by Ficino that served as the basis for the Latin text of his translation — we find marginal annotations in a hand that can finally be associated with the name of <Giovambattista Buoninsegni> (see e.g. fols 195r and 202r [Fig. 4.6]).

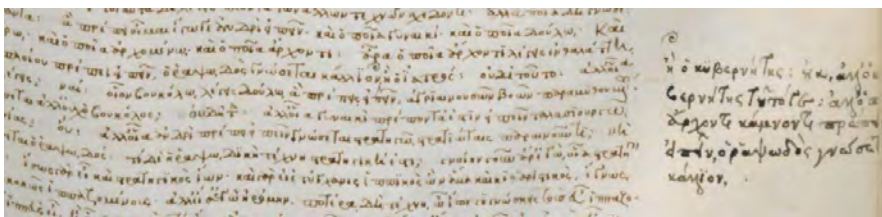


Fig. 4.6: Laur. 85.9, fol. 202r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

²¹ See Megna 2021.

The *marginalia* in Plato Laur. 85.9 allow us to extend the graphic sample and confirm the adherence to Kallistos' model (see, for example, the shape of the *beta*, the open *epsilon* in the word endings, or the ligature of the double *lambda*). Beyond the purely graphic data, however, the discovery of Buoninsegni's hand in Ficino's Greek manuscript enables one to observe from a privileged perspective the efforts to correct and revise the Greek text prior to the production of the monumental Latin version of Plato's *Dialogues*.

4.1.5 On the trail of other pupils

4.1.5.1 John Free

In the first chapter of this book, I presented a letter sent by the English humanist John Free (c. 1430–1465) to Ludovico Carbone (1430–1485).²² This epistle mentions Andronikos, who is about to travel to Ferrara to spend a short period of study and teaching there. Free reveals that he knows Kallistos well and can vouch not only for his intellectual merits, but also for his spiritual qualities. Free's epistle is preserved in the manuscript Oxon. Bodl. 587 in the form of an autograph draft (Fig. 4.7).

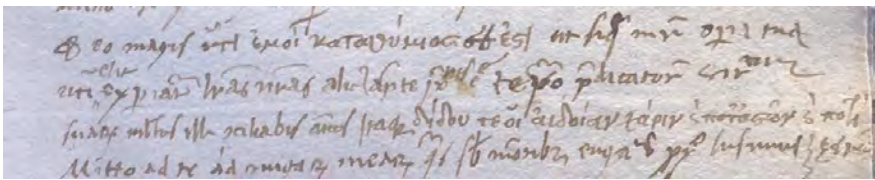
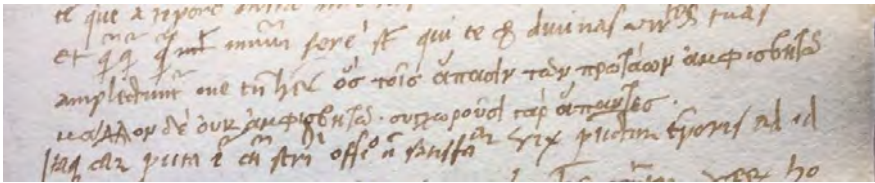


Fig. 4.7: Oxon. Bodl. 587, fol. 159^r; © Bodleian Library.

²² See *supra*, § 1.3.4.

Despite the smallness of the sample analysed, we can observe that some features of his handwriting clearly resemble that of Kallistos. From these elements we might deduce that Free probably spent a period of discipleship under Andronikos, which included learning Greek writing.

4.1.5.2 Copying Gazes' *Grammar*

In more than one instance Kallistos' employment of Theodoros Gazes' *Grammar* during his Greek language courses in Bologna, Padua, Rome and Florence has been previously mentioned.²³ In this regard, the explicit mention of Theodoros' work in a letter addressed to Demetrios <Chalkondyles> is emblematic.²⁴ The text of the *Grammar* was read and commented during the class as with other classical authors, and represented a fundamental aid towards the memorisation of grammatical notions. Every student at Kallistos' school must have owned a copy of this handbook. In most cases the production of the copy was commissioned to professional scribes for a fee. It should not appear surprising, however, that some students manufactured their own copies. This is the case with the manuscript Ott. gr. 347, a copy of Gazes' *Grammatica* executed by a 'Kallistos-looking' hand (see Fig. 4.8).²⁵

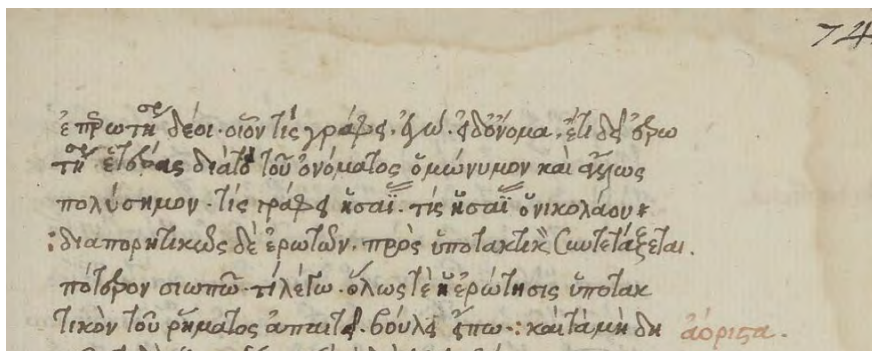


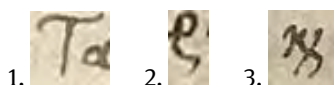
Fig. 4.8: Ott. gr. 347, fol. 74r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

²³ See *supra*, § 1.4 and 2.3.1. We shall remember that Andronikos himself corrected the text of the *Grammar* in the manuscripts Ott. gr. 52, Vat. gr. 13, and Neap. II.D.9.

²⁴ The text is re-edited and translated *infra*, Appendix 5.

²⁵ There are no recent publications about this codex. For a catalogue entry, refer to Feron and Battaglini 1893, 182.

All of the main features of Andronikos' handwriting appear here: the tall *Fahnen-Tau*; the ligature *epsilon-iota* + circumflex accent (which is visible, for instance, in the word δεῑ in the first line); the cursive majuscule *lambda* (as in the adverb ἄλλως, line 2); the bilobular *beta* (as at line 6, in the word βούλει). The degree of imitation shown by this anonymous disciple is fairly good. There are, however, some insecurities in the shaping of letters and the harmony of the strokes; one notices at times the lack of a certain fluidity in the *ductus*. Moreover, the first folios of the manuscript (in particular fols 1r–13v lin. 14),²⁶ give a different impression when compared to the *specimen* reproduced above. In fact, in these first leaves one comes across some elements which do not belong to Kallistos' graphic system: letter *tau* traced in two movements by means of two strokes (1); *rho* finishing in a wavy tail (2); the abbreviation for καὶ realised by means of a stroke intersecting with the inferior right oblique trait (3). For the sake of clarity, these are reproduced below:



These odd elements become rarer from fol. 13v lin. 14 onwards, appearing only sporadically in the rest of the manuscript.²⁷ The feeling one gets when leafing through the codex is that of a progressive improvement in the quality and security of the hatching: in other words, fols 1r–13v seem to belong to a different (i.e. earlier) 'graphic moment', rather than to a different hand.

It is not possible to provide at this stage a dating for the manufacture of Ott. gr. 347, since the data stemming from the analysis of the watermarks did not offer clear indications, and we do not know enough about the history of the composition of Gazes' *Grammar*.²⁸ Some clues on the location of the activity of this anonymous disciple come, however, from other manuscripts displaying his Greek handwriting.

This is the case, for instance, of Salm. 71, transmitting works by Aristophanes and Demosthenes, the *Argonautica Orphica*, and a Latin translation of Theocritus' *Idyllia*. Teresa Martínez Manzano already linked this Salmanticensis to the

²⁶ The whole manuscript is digitised at <<http://digi.vatlib.it>>.

²⁷ I considered the possibility of attributing the copying of fols 1r–13v to a different hand, but I have not found decisive evidence to distinguish between who copied fols 1r–13v and who would have copied the rest of the manuscript.

²⁸ Some remarks are in Botley 2010, 14–25.

school of Andronikos Kallistos in Bologna, mainly relying on textual, palaeographic, codicological, and historical evidence:²⁹ 1. the contents perfectly match with the works read in Kallistos' classes;³⁰ 2. the historical data on this manuscript (i.e. the link with Lianoro Lianori and the later purchase by Pinciano) point to Bologna, a city in which Andronikos lived;³¹ 3. the writing of the copyists responsible for fols 128r–143r ('scribe A') (see Fig. 4.9) and fols 79r–127r, 181r–199v ('scribe B') (see Fig. 4.10)³² is clearly influenced by Kallistos'.

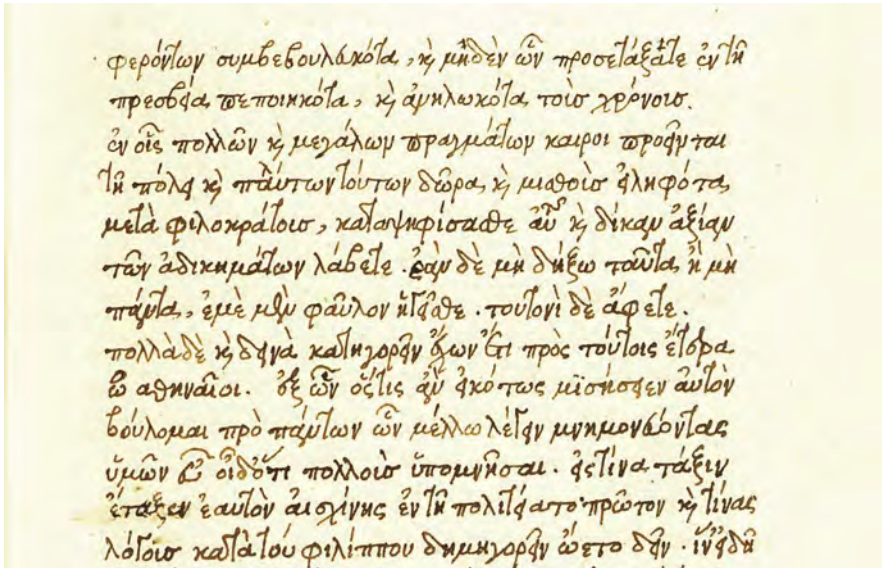


Fig. 4.9: Salm. 71, fol. 129r; © Biblioteca Universitaria.

²⁹ See Martínez Manzano 2009 and Martínez Manzano 2015a, in part. 172–174. It is worth noting that Martínez Manzano 2009, 128 n. 3 had pointed out for the text of Demosthenes' orations a derivation of Salm. 71 from Par. gr. 2998. At the time it was not yet known that the Parisinus was part of Kallistos' library. The discovery of Kallistos' annotations by his own hand (reported in Orlandi 2014b) in Par. gr. 2998 further supports the reconstruction proposed by Teresa Martínez Manzano and leads to the assumption that Salm. 71 *directly* descends from Par. gr. 2998.

³⁰ Martínez Manzano 2015a, 172–173.

³¹ Martínez Manzano 2015a, 173–174.

³² See also the plates (nos 57 and 58) printed in Martínez Manzano 2015a, 338–339.

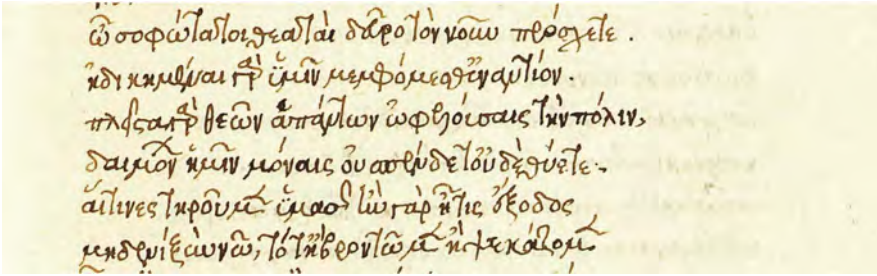


Fig. 4.10: Salm. 71, fol. 88r; © Biblioteca Universitaria.

The only element apparently distinguishing the handwritings of A and B seems to be the preference by A to write the letter *ny* in the shape of a ‘cup’, whereas scribe B mostly adopts the modern minuscule form. One should remember that both forms for letter *ny* are included in Andronikos’ graphic repertoire. As seen in the case of Ott. gr. 347, this difference can thus be easily explained by thinking of two different ‘graphic moments’, rather than supposing the existence of two different persons working on the same codex. At any rate, on the basis of the palaeographic analysis we can identify at least the ‘scribe A’ of the Salmanticensis (Fig. 4.9) with the copyist of Ott. gr. 347 (Fig. 4.8). Both a general impression and the observation of the individual strokes confirm this impression.

To further enrich this picture, we shall turn to another codex, the manuscript Bywater 35, currently kept at the Bodleian Library of Oxford. The aforementioned scribe of both Salm. 71 and Ott. gr. 347 is responsible in this case for some additions applied in the margins of the first book of Theodoros Gazes’ *Grammar* (Fig. 4.11).

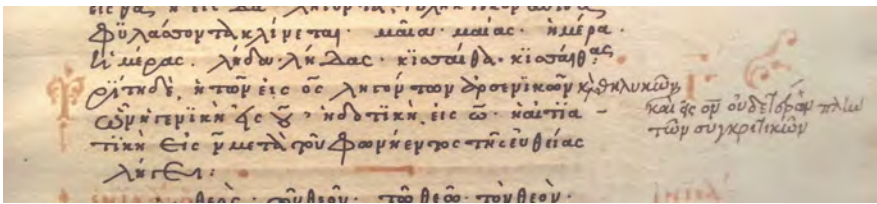


Fig. 4.11: Oxon. Bywater 35, fol. 7r; © Bodleian Library.

The Oxoniensis³³ is fully in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos³⁴ and belonged to a certain ‘Lelius Fidelis’, whose *ex-libris* is found on fol. 5r.³⁵ As shown in the specimen below, the copyist of Salm 71/Ott. gr. 347 supplemented here a passage which had accidentally been omitted by Rhosos.

In addition to these corrections, two annotations found at fol. 11rv deserve attention: they are work of the monk <Gregorios> (formerly known as *Anonymus* KB Harlfinger) (Fig. 4.12).

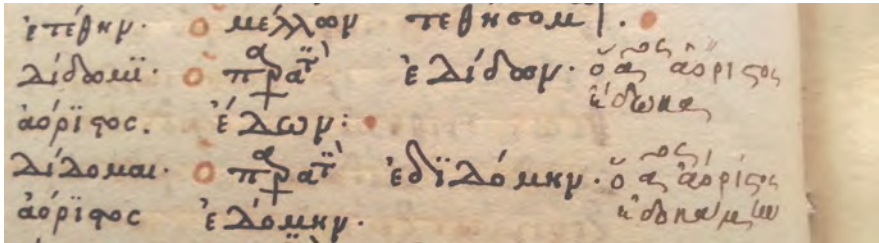


Fig. 4.12: Oxon. Bywater 35, fol. 11v; © Bodleian Library.

We are fairly well informed about Gregorios’ activity between the 1450s and the 1460s thanks to some recent contributions.³⁶ However, the exact connection between Gregorios and this manuscript eludes us at the moment, and it is not easy to determine a dating for these corrections.

Finally, with regard to manuscripts of Gazes’ *Grammar* copied or annotated at Andronikos’ school, I cursorily give here account of the discovery of another interesting piece: Vat. Barb. gr. 89. In the margin of the Barberinianus³⁷ one

³³ For a description, see Crostini Lappin 2003, 8–12.

³⁴ Identification in *RGK* I 178.

³⁵ The mysterious ‘Lelius Fidelis’ might be identified with Lelio/Lilio Tifernate, but I have not found decisive evidence so far.

³⁶ A detailed study on the manuscripts copied and/or annotated by Gregorios is now Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, where I brought forward this identification. To the batch of 43 manuscripts therein reported, one shall first add two more manuscripts presented in earlier published contributions: it is Olomouc M 531 (see Eleuteri 1986, 548) and Par. gr. 2940 (see Harlfinger 2011, 289 n. 13). Finally, I report here some new findings about Gregorios’ scholarly activity. Some *marginalia* in his hand are found in <Par. gr. 1921> (see e.g. fols 216v, 240v) and <Mutin. α T.8.21> (see e.g. fols 1r, 3r).

³⁷ For a description, refer to Capocci 1958, 120–121. A digitization is at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>>. I hereby report that the writing of the anonymous scribe of the Barberinianus is also found in the manuscript <Vall. F 60> (fols 249r–256v) (*Grammar* by Moschopoulos).

comes across another handwriting influenced by Kallistos', as the specimen attached below (Fig. 4.13) shows.

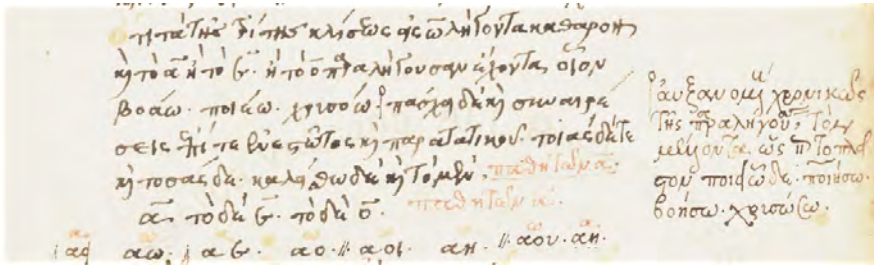


Fig. 4.13: Barb. gr. 89, fol. 12r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

We note also in this case the shape of the tall *Fahnen-Tau*, the bilobular *beta*, the form of the majuscule *lambda* and the *epsilon-iota* ligature connected with the circumflex accent (as at lines 3–4, in the word *ἐπιτοπλεϊστον*).

4.1.5.3 Copying Apollonius' *Argonautics*

Following the trail indicated by the authors interpreted in Kallistos' classes is, as seen in the examples presented so far, one of the ways to arrive at the discovery of new mimetic writings. I report on a recent finding. It is Laur. 91 sup. 8 (Fig. 4.14), a copy of Apollonius' *Argonautics* today kept in Florence. Without dwelling more than necessary on single details, one glance is enough to immediately recognize the derivation of this copyist's handwriting from Kallistos'.

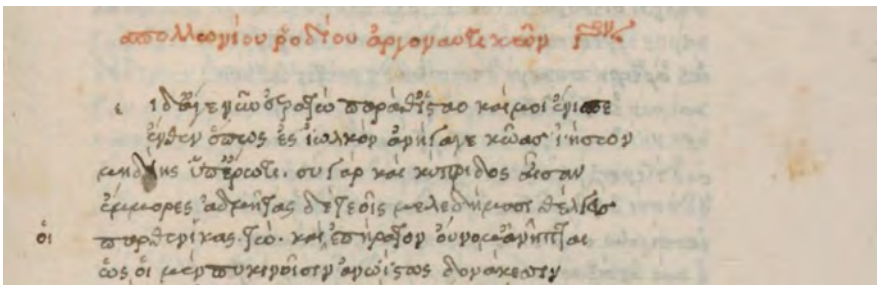


Fig. 4.14: Laur. 91 sup. 8, fol. 57r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

It is no coincidence that a close relationship has already been identified between the text of the Laurentianus and that transmitted in Andronikos' personal copy of Apollonius' work, i.e. Mutin. α T.8.13.³⁸ Systematic collations will not only provide confirmation of this stemmatic proximity, but perhaps also acknowledge the Mutinensis as the direct model for the Laurentianus.

4.2 Reading and interpreting Homer's *Iliad*: First insights

The connection between Laur. 66.31 (a manuscript containing class notes on Homer, Demosthenes, Theocritus) and the teaching activity of Andronikos Kallistos has already been highlighted by modern scholars such as Ida Maier, Gianvito Resta, Lucia Cesarini Martinelli, and Paola Megna.³⁹ My identification of Kallistos' handwriting within the manuscript itself allowed me in the meantime to ascribe definitely these *recollectae* to his classes held in Florence (1471–1474).⁴⁰ In addition, one should notice that the writing of the scribe is also in this case influenced by Kallistos'.⁴¹

Furthermore, with special regard to the *Iliad*, two hints point at the Mutin. α U.5.1 – i.e. the copy of the poem included in Andronikos' collection – as at the Greek manuscript which was likely the one used by Kallistos for his lectures. At fols 10v–11r, after verse 375 of the first book of *Iliad*, one finds in the Mutinensis five 'extra' verses (= 375a–e), representing a repetition of the previous vv. 17–21:

Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,	(17 =) 375a
ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες	(18 =) 375b
ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι	(19 =) 375c
παῖδα δέ μοι λύσατε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθε,	(20 =) 375d
ἄζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα	(21 =) 375e

In the Latin translation written down in the Laurentianus, one likewise finds the five 'extra' verses:

Atridesque et alii bene ocreati Achivi,	375a
---	------

³⁸ See Schade and Eleuteri 2008, 48.

³⁹ See Maier 1966, 44, 57–59; Resta 1978, 1093–1094; Cesarini Martinelli and Ricciardi 1985, LXXIII–LXXIV, Megna 2009, in part. LIXLXII, LXXIV–LXXVI, 6–7, 11, 16, 42–44, 47, 57, 83, 86, 103, 106, 111–112, 117, 130–131.

⁴⁰ See Orlandi 2014a. Written down by Kallistos at fol. 180v of his pupil's notebook, the well-known epigram on Midas' grave fulfills in that case a specific didactic aim.

⁴¹ See Orlandi 2014a, plate 1. The Laurentianus is fully digitised at <<http://teca.bmlonline.it/>> and <<http://mss.bmlonline.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

vobis quidem dii utinam praebeant olympias domos colentes	375b
expugnare Priami urbem, bene vero domum redire;	375c
filiam vero mihi solvite amabilem, munera vero acceptate,	375d
verentes Iovis filium sagittarium Apollinem	375e

Then, both in the Mutinensis' original Greek text (fols 7v–8r) and in the Laurentianus' Latin translation a couple of verses (namely 264–265) appear in an inverted order in comparison with most manuscripts of *Iliad*:

οἶον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν	263
Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι	265
Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον	264
κάρτιστοι δὴ κείνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφεν ἀνδρῶν	266
qualem Perithoumque Dryantemque opilionem populorum	263
Theseaque Aegidem similem immortalibus	265
Ceneumque Exadiumque et diis equalem Polyphemum	264
optimi certe illi terrestrium nutriti sunt virorum	266

Following the notes written down in the Laurentianus by the student during a lesson about the first book of *Iliad* (fols 7r–50v), one receives a general impression of its structure and how the learning process actually proceeded. In the classroom the pupils were obviously provided with manuscripts of the original Greek text, in order to follow the *interpretatio* of the teacher. Andronikos used to divide the text into small sub-units: one counts in the first book of *Iliad* 27 blocks, with an average value of 24 verses to be interpreted.

After reading the Greek text, the master offered the Latin translation of the verses together with grammatical and exegetical remarks on single words wanting explication.⁴² In most cases one finds only translations of single words. If it is a verb, the forms of future and aorist are usually indicated immediately after that of the present.

In a recent contribution, Luigi Silvano pointed out that both the translation written down in the Laurentianus and the one by Bartolomeo della Fonte in the Riccardianus 904 equally depend on the version by Leontios Pilatos — which I

⁴² See for example the transcription of fol. 7r published by Maier 1966, 59.

hereby quote from Par. lat. 7880.1⁴³ —, thus being both *retractationes*. To some extent I do not agree with this assessment. In fact, despite some similarities, the work of Bartolomeo Fonzio depends apparently on Pilatos' translation, thus being *ipso facto* a *retractatio*, whereas the rendering of Kallistos may have originated independently, thus being on the contrary a regular translation from the Greek. In other words, we do not have evidence for Kallistos having read/used the translation of Pilatos. In this regard the following examples may furnish some interesting indications:

Iliad I 25

ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερόν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε

sed male expellit, *contumaci* autem sermone precipiebat
(Leontios Pilatos, Par. lat. 7880.1)

sed male dimittebat, *imperioso* sed sermone praecipiebat
(Bartolomeo Fonzio, Ricc. 904)

sed inhoneste expellebat, *asperum* vero verbum dicebat
(Andronikos Kallistos, Laur. 66.31)

The rendering *sermone praecipiebat* found in Fonzio's text for the Greek ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε is a substantial clue of the latter's use of Leontios' translation. The adjective κρατερόν was translated into Latin by means of three different words by Leontios, Fonzio, and Kallistos (*contumax* / *imperiosus* / *asper*) as well as the conjunction δέ (*autem* / *sed* / *vero*).

Iliad I 40

ἢ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα

vel si quando autem tibi pinguia crura posui
(Leontios Pilatos, Par. lat. 7880.1)

vel si quando tibi iuxta pinguia crura posui
(Bartolomeo Fonzio, Ricc. 904)

43 See Silvano 2011, 234: 'Se poniamo di fronte i primi 50 versi delle due traduzioni [...] possiamo constatare che le somiglianze tra le due *retractationes* [...] derivano perlopiù dalla comune dipendenza da Leonzio, mentre solo di rado i due testi concordano in lezione o presentano spunti interpretativi affini nelle parti originali'.

aut si aliquando pingues coxas combussi
(Andronikos Kallistos, Laur. 66.31)

Even more strikingly than the previous, this case clearly shows that the rendering of Bartolomeo Fonzio (see in particular the syntagma 'pinguia crura posui' in comparison to 'pingues coxas combussi' transmitted by the Laurentianus) takes inspiration from the version by Leontios.

Iliad I 52
βάλλ'· αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί

percuciebat, semper pire mortuorum comburebantur *cumulate*
(Leontios Pilatos, Par. lat. 7880.1)

percutiebat, semper autem pyrae mortuorum comburebantur *crebrae*
(Bartolomeo Fonzio, Ricc. 904)

percutiebat, semper vero pyre cadaverum incendebantur *frequentes*
(Andronikos Kallistos, Laur. 66.31)

Also this last example indicates that the version of Leontios represents the basis of Fonzio's *retractatio*. In comparison to Fonzio's, the text copied in the Laurentianus offers many more innovations, both in the selection of terms and in the usage of conjunctive particles. In a broad sense, the level of authorship of the latter is definitely higher.⁴⁴

In my opinion, these three examples show that the question of the common dependence of Kallistos' and Fonzio's texts from the version by Leontios remains problematic and in need of further investigation. Moreover, the possibility of the influence of some other minor humanistic translations (see the earlier ones composed by Leonardo Bruni, Lorenzo Valla, Pier Candido Decembrio, and the so-called *Anonymus Bodleianus*) should not be ruled out.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ This feature reminds one of what Pertusi 1964 wrote after briefly presenting just a couple of lines of this Latin translation: 'Chi sia l'umanista che ha compiuto quest'altra *retractatio* non saprei dire', thus highlighting the great level of authorship of the text handed down in the Laurentianus.

⁴⁵ See Sowerby 1996, 165 n. 13. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to understand which kind of lexicographical instruments – bilingual dictionaries come to mind, for instance – the authors of these translations made use of. Such materials were not available at the time of the pioneering work of Leontios.

We shall now shed some initial light on the textual transmission of Andronikos' translation, since it is found in a number of manuscripts other than Laur. 66.31. As already suggested by Agostino Pertusi and Paul Oskar Kristeller,⁴⁶ fragments of the same translation were copied in at least three further volumes: the codex Bologna, Archiginnasio B 1414 (end of fifteenth century; *siglum* B in my working papers), the codex Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Va 19 (end of fifteenth century; *siglum* S), and the wonderful manuscript Vat. gr. 1626 (*siglum* V). The latter is a bilingual illuminated codex on parchment, written in 1477 by the calligraphers Iohannes Rhosos (responsible for the Greek text) and Bartolomeo Sanvito (Latin text) for the Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga.⁴⁷ In the case of the Laurentianus (*siglum* L) the text is apparently the transcription of what the student might have heard the teacher say whilst lecturing (ἀπὸ φωνῆς).⁴⁸

I have collated the text of the first book entirely, thus reconstructing a *stemma* (Fig. 4.15):

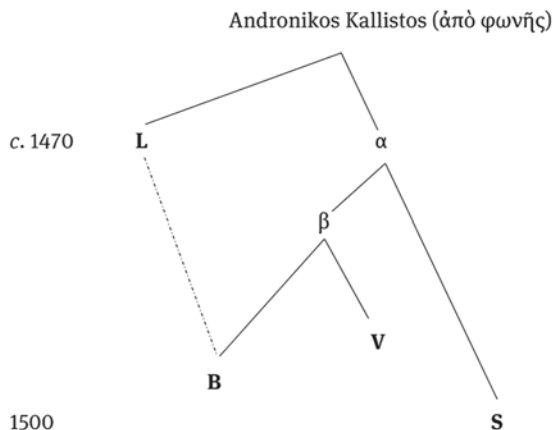


Fig. 4.15: The textual transmission of Andronikos' Latin version of the *Iliad*. *Stemma codicum*.

⁴⁶ See Sowerby 1996, n. 16.

⁴⁷ See the colophon at fol. 404v.

⁴⁸ An example for this might be the rendering of part of verse 348 (ἦ δ' ἄεκουσ' ἄμα τοῖσι γυνῆ κίεν· αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς), where the translation of the pupil does not make any sense: 'illa vero invita cum his *nulli* ibat, verum Achilles'. The reading *nulli* for the Greek word γυνῆ (instead of *mulier*) is probably due to an acoustical mistake.

This *stemma* reflects the relationships among the witnesses. Letter α represents a codex (now lost) whose readings are common to SVB and stand in opposition to L. These readings may stem from a different stage of the transmission or represent, as in the case of L, the outcome of a selection of materials collected in class that nonetheless deviate from L.

- 42 τείσειαν] reddant poenas L : puniantur SVB
 136 ὅπως] quemadmodum L : ut SVB
 176 διστρεφέντων] eruditi L : nutriti SVB
 309 ἐρέτας] remiges L : navigantes SVB
 462 πεμπύβωλα] torres L : titiones S, tictiones VB

Codex S presents some errors and readings in opposition to the rest of the tradition:

- 26 παρὰ] in LVB : coram S
 60 φύγοιμεν] evitare poterimus LVB : auferimus S
 188 ἄχος γένετ'] dolor fuit LVB : factus est dolor S
 470 κοῦροι μὲν] iuvenes vero LVB : pueri quidem S
 609 ἀστεροπητήης] fulminum effector LVB : astrorum effector S
 611 χρυσόθρονος] auream sedem LVB : aureum thronum S

Letter β represents a codex (now lost) with readings and errors which are common to VB in opposition to L and S:

- 29 μιν] hanc LS : an VB
 32 ἴθι] vade LS : valde VB^{ac}
 234 ναὶ] sic LS : si VB
 329 τὸν] hunc LS : nunc VB^{ac}
 459 ἔδειραν] decoriaverunt LS : decoraverunt VB

Codex B contains: 1. peculiar readings and errors in opposition to all the witnesses; 2. peculiar readings and errors in common with L:

- 236 ἀναθηλήσει] revirebit LSV : virebit B
 337 ἔξαγε] educa LSV : et ducas B
 414 τεκοῦσα] peperissem LSV : peperit B

 238 θέμιστας] leges LB : iustitias SV
 323 καλλιπάρηον] pulchram LB : pulchras genas habentem SV
 468 δαιτὸς ἕτης] cibo equali LB : equali cibo SV

The collation of more sections of the translation will probably confirm these preliminary data.

5 From the Desk of a Byzantine Philologist

5.1 First insights into Kallistos' scholarly activity

As recalled in the Introduction, a fairly substantial bibliography on Andronikos' scholarly habits and his 'ventures' in the field of textual criticism already exists. 'A philologist of truly exceptional calibre, far superior to many scholars of the time',¹ Kallistos accomplished numerous undertakings which left a mark in the memory of his contemporaries as well as in that of future generations of humanists. By way of example, one could start by mentioning the composition of a full set of *hypotheses* to the *Odyssey*² which would later be copied into a larger number of manuscripts, or the arrangement of books only provided with scholia, namely conceived as an aid to his teaching activity.³

However, it was mainly because of his conjectural talent and his facility in correcting the Greek texts passing over his desk that Andronikos has earned the reputation of a brilliant philologist not only amongst his contemporaries, but also amongst modern scholars. In some cases, Kallistos' contributions anticipate the conjectures of modern editors,⁴ thus being quoted in the critical apparatuses or even ending up in the main text.⁵ Hence, Andronikos' name is increasingly found in more recent critical editions⁶ alongside those of modern philologists.

Within the context of Andronikos' manuscript production, Stefano Martinelli Tempesta was one of the first modern scholars to realise the importance of the relationship between the copying activity on the one hand and the commitment to study/teaching on the other.⁷ It is thanks to this change of perspective that the

1 The quotation is from Donadi 1976, 245 (here translated into English).

2 See Pontani 2011, 377–380 and Chinellato 2018.

3 See Tessier 2000, 2015a and 2015b.

4 See e.g. Murphy 2002, 152 (Plato); Nelson 2006 (Lysias); Carey 2007, XIII–XXI (in part. XVIII) (Lysias); Murphy 2007, 223 (Plato); Neri 2010–2011, 205 (Pseudo-Xenophon).

5 For the case of Xenophon's *Hiero*, see Bandini and Dorion 2021, CXCVIII: 'Kallistos apporta dans sa copie plusieurs corrections qui anticipent souvent les interventions des philologues des siècles postérieurs. Quelques-uns de ces conjectures méritent, nous semble-t-il, d'être accueillies dans notre texte; d'autres méritent au moins d'être mentionnées dans l'apparat'.

6 This is the case with Stefec 2016 (Philostratus), Bandini and Dorion 2021 (Xenophon), Pirotbelli 2021 (Galen [but in this case the philologist at work could be Kallistos' pupil Migliavacca; see Orlandi 2014a and Orlandi 2019a]), and Golitsis 2022 (Alexander of Aphrodisias).

7 Martinelli Tempesta 1995 and Martinelli 1997, in part. 24–27, 176 n. 160, 209 highlight the peculiarities of the text of Plato's *Lysis* handed down in Kallistos' own copy (i.e. the Erlangensis A 4). Though Martinelli Tempesta's fundamental assumption — i.e. that the innovations found in Kallistos' books are to be attributed to his will and not to the fact that they stem from lost

assumption that exceptional readings found in the manuscripts copied by Andronikos stem from lost ancient manuscripts has been definitively dispelled.

5.2 Taking care of books

Reference to Andronikos Kallistos' proper philological activity has been made in several parts of this work. For instance, we mentioned many manuscripts which, despite not being included in his book collection (see e.g. the manuscripts that belonged to Kallistos' students or to cardinal Bessarion), were collated in order to amend and improve the text found in the copies in his own possession. By starting my analysis here, which typologically takes his interventions into account, I shall begin from the activity of textual and codicological restoration, that was carried out in manuscripts, which both were and were not part of his personal library.

5.2.1 Restoring old manuscripts

As already mentioned, Kallistos' graphic activity — in the Byzantine East as well as in Italy — did not only consist in the production of manuscripts for third parties or for the enrichment of his own collection. A complementary aspect to copying was the restoration of ancient books, dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, both of books belonging to his library as well as ones he did not own.

We will first give an overview of the 17 manuscripts in which Andronikos worked as an *instaurator*: Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων 161; Cremon. 130; Laur. 72.20; Laur. 85.21; Lips. gr. 33; Lips. gr. 34; Mutin. α T.9.14; Mutin. α U.9.10; Mutin. α W.2.1; Sinod. gr. 370; Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71; Par. gr. 1890; Par. gr. 2046; Par. gr. 3011 (in collaboration with Iohannes Rhosos); Vat. Barb. gr. 161; Vat. gr. 1324; Vind. Suppl. gr. 23. A closer look at some images will then immediately show the nature and quality of these interventions, which were often carried out in delicate parts of the manuscripts, such as the outer margins (Figs 5.1–5.2).

branches of transmission — proved over time to be correct, such questions are always worth evaluating on a case-by-case basis. Precisely with regard to the different codicological units of which Erlangensis is composed, for example, one must still maintain a certain caution in attributing all the innovations found in it to Andronikos; indeed, given the location of this manuscript in Byzantine territories (see *supra*, § 2.1.1), one cannot exclude in this specific case a descent from manuscript sources that were lost with the fall of Constantinople.

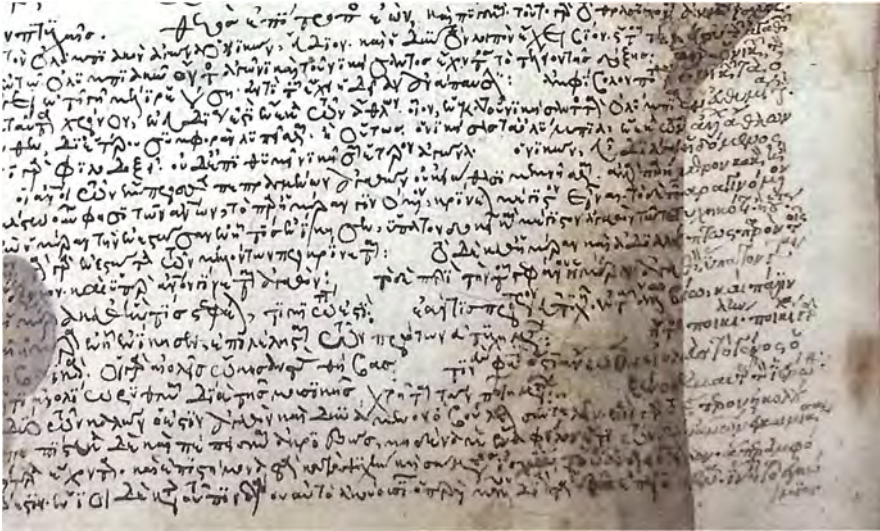


Fig. 5.1: Athos, Μονή Ἰβήρων 161, fol. 146r; © Ἱερὰ Μονή Ἰβήρων.

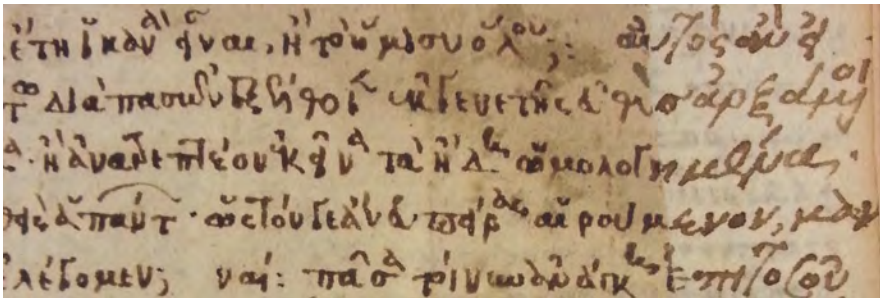


Fig. 5.2: Par. gr. 3011, fol. 262r; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In some cases, it has been possible to go beyond purely material data and delve into the circumstances of the restoration. In this regard, some interesting historical and cultural aspects have been brought to light, such as: 1. the identification of the place and time in which the restorations were made; 2. the identification of the manuscripts used as antigraphs for the recovery of missing portions of text.







For the work by Nikephoros Blemmydes recovered in the Oxon. Holkham gr. 71, for example, we are now provided with reliable data confirming that the restoration was conducted in Crete by 1453, through the collation of a source available on the island at the time: this is Monac. gr. 225. The indications from the

analysis of the handwriting and watermarks⁸ have been fully validated by the results of the philological investigation.⁹

The case of the manuscript Vat. Barb. gr. 161 may be interesting in this context. The identification of Andronikos' hand in this volume is fairly recent.¹⁰ We are almost certain that the restoration carried out by Kallistos on fol. 26rv (*Iliad*, book I, verses 264–306) — in fact the only place where Andronikos' hand can be found — refers to a book in his library, i.e. his personal copy of Homer's *Iliad*: it is Mutin. α U.5.1 (fols 7v–9r). This is demonstrated by compelling philological arguments, such as the following: 1. verses 264–265 (Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον | Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι) are found in both manuscripts in reverse order to the one in which they appear in most witnesses and modern editions; 2. in verse 273 both manuscripts record ξύνιον against the other reading handed down in the manuscripts, ξύνιεν; 3. in verse 286 both the Mutinensis and the Barberinianus bear the reading ἔειπας against the more frequent ἔειπες; 4. in verse 293 both manuscripts omit the particle τε; 5. in verse 298 both manuscripts have τι instead of τοι.

From the point of view of the palaeographic analysis, it is possible to note in the Barberinianus the presence of some elements intentionally inserted to aesthetically 'archaise' the restoration. By way of example (see Table 5.1), I would like to point out: the shape of *eta*, here uppercase, preferred to the more common minuscule variant; the ligature *epsilon-iota* (with a 'drop-shaped' bow for *epsilon* and a wavy tail in the lower section of *iota*); the presence of the 'cup-shaped' ancient form of *ny*, preferred to the 'modern' one.

Table 5.1: Mutin. α U.5.1 and Barb. gr. 161. A palaeographic comparison.

Manuscript	<i>Eta</i>	<i>epsilon-iota</i>	<i>ny</i>
Mutin. α U.5.1			
Barb. gr. 161			

⁸ See *supra*, § 2.1.1.

⁹ See Valente 2021, 37–48.

¹⁰ See Speranzi 2016b, 64.

Finally, I leave room for a brief reconsideration of the palaeographic character of another restoration carried out by Andronikos: this is Mutin. α W.2.1 (see Plate 30), *codex unicus* for Olympiodorus' *Prolegomena* to Aristotle's *Logic*, dated by Giuseppe De Gregorio to the twelfth century. Regarding the restoration of fols 1–2, De Gregorio made the following assumption: 'It is probable that the manuscript was brought to Italy from Constantinople [...] by Andronikos Kallistos; he must have had an easier time in the Byzantine East than in Italy reintegrating the first leaves of a text (Olympiodorus) for which our Mutinensis happens to be a *codex unicus*'.¹¹ We cannot say how the manuscript arrived in Italy, whether it was brought from the Byzantine East by Andronikos himself or whether he acquired it in Italy. However, examination of the development of Kallistos' handwriting leads us to categorically exclude that fols 1–2 were reinstated by him in the Byzantine East. The *ductus* is homogeneous with the autographs dating from the last period of his activity in Italy (i.e. group 'C', according to the classification we proposed in the previous chapters),¹² as is the strong inclination to the right, the adoption of an enlarged body for the letters and the use of a thicker quill. Given the extreme rarity of the text, I would be more inclined to believe that Andronikos simply decided at some point to replace (by recopying) the first outer leaves, which are clearly more exposed to wear than the innermost ones.

After having discussed restorations, it is now time to examine closely Andronikos' textual interventions. From this perspective, one can focus on his careful revision of manuscripts that were part of his own collection or which he simply consulted. In some instances, his interventions were presumably based on his personal reflections on the text; in other cases, use of alternative manuscript models guaranteed the success of his enterprise.

In this respect, reporting the presence of textual *lacunae* can be considered as one of the most frequent types of interventions. In the case of a manuscript of Aristotelian content, Par. gr. 1852 (*Ethica Nichomachea*), belonged to Palla Strozzi, who annotated it,¹³ Andronikos proceeded to emphasise the absence of a large portion of the text (from 1161b 7 to 1171b 34 Bekker) and specified, by adding a marginal note at fol. 126r,¹⁴ the absence of the end of book 8 and the entire book 9 of the work: *λείπει τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὀγδόου καὶ τὸ ἕνατον ὄλον*. The same type of

¹¹ See De Gregorio 1993, 138–139 (here translated into English).

¹² See *supra*, § 2.4.1.3.

¹³ See Harlfinger 1971, 416. In the manuscript, annotations by Raffaele Regio and Francesco Barbaro are also found; see Rollo 2020b, 256 n. 35.

¹⁴ The identification of Kallistos' handwriting (mentioned up to this point with reserve, but now certain) occurred for the first time in Harlfinger 1971, 413.

indication is found at fol. 122v of Marc. gr. VII 5 (containing Thucydides' work), which also belonged to Palla and was provided with the famous 'visto' of Francesco da Lucca.¹⁵ At *Hist.* IV 63, Kallistos wrote λείπει τὸ 'ὁ ἄγων ἡμῖν ἔσται, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δουλωθῆναι. ἠθικῶς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγκέκοπται'. The passage, which had been omitted erroneously by the scribe, was supplemented on the grounds of a collation of the copy of Thucydides' *Historiae* possessed by Kallistos, namely the manuscript Cantabr. Nn.III.18.

An analogous indication that was part of a broader revision work is found in a manuscript that transmits Josephus Flavius' *Contra Apionem*, namely Haun. GkS 1570,4^o. The Hauniensis, a manuscript entirely copied by Iohannes Skutariotes, was most probably produced and consulted by Andronikos in Florence during his stay in the city (1471–1474).¹⁶ In this manuscript, there are four marginal interventions by Kallistos, at fols 49v, 59r, 69rv. The first *marginale*, added by Andronikos at fol. 49v, is of greater interest. Between the words Κλεοπάτραν ἐκβαλεῖν βουλόμενος τῆς βασιλείας and τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένων τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, Kallistos annotated: σκόπει ἐνταῦθα· οὐκ ὀλίγον γὰρ τοῦ κειμένου δοκεῖ λείπειν, ἂν ἀκριβέστερον προσέχειν ἐθελήσης τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ('Be aware: in this passage apparently not a little text is missing, if you pay attention to the narrative'). The incompleteness of the text lamented by Andronikos — incompleteness that in this case cannot be imputed to scribal forgetfulness (Skutariotes) or loss of folios of the manuscript — had already been observed by an anonymous annotator of the *vetustus* Laur. 69.22 (tenth century), which in turn had been identified as the antigraph of the Copenhagen manuscript: at fol. 25v of Laurentianus, exactly at this point of the work, a medieval scholiast pointed out the loss of a portion of the text, which in his view corresponded to about five folios of the antigraph.¹⁷

15 As far as these 'visti' are concerned, I refer to Manfrin and Speranzi 2019.

16 The identification of the handwriting of Skutariotes and Kallistos is present in the catalogographic description by Schartau 1994, 125–126. The manuscript, an apograph of Laur. 69.22 (once owned by Niccolò Niccoli and kept for a long time in the Dominican convent of San Marco), was certainly made in Florence.

17 The other passages of the Hauniensis, in which Schartau found Kallistos' interventions, contain three textual supplements of omissions corresponding to three lines of the text of Laur. 69.22: at fol. 59r, after παρέχων σύμφωνα τοῖς λόγοις, Kallistos added οὐ μόνον τοὺς καθ' αὐ[τὸν] ἔπεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τ[οῖς] ἐξ ἐκείνων, which had been omitted (it corresponds to one line of the text of Laur. 69.22, fol. 29r); the passage of Laur. 69.22, corresponding to the supplement at fol. 69r of the Hauniensis (μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζηλοῦν) οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, τοὺς μ[έντοι] μετέχειν, is at fol. 35r; for the textual supplement at fol. 69v (ἀπέθανεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ προεδίδου τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις) see again fol. 35r of Laurentianus.

Not infrequently, Andronikos filled in by his own hand the textual *lacunae* of the manuscripts that had ended up on his desk. In the case of two manuscripts belonging to Bessarion, that were produced at the time of his first stay in Bologna at the service of the Cardinal (1453–1455), Andronikos apparently supervised the operations carried out by other copyists in the Cardinal’s service at the time and contributed to the deciphering of whatever, in the respective antigraphs, was not immediately clear to the scribes who were in charge of the transcription. In the manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 518, copied by Georgios Tribizias,¹⁸ Andronikos restored a part of the text of Eunapius, which Tribizias did not clearly understand, contained in the last folio of the antigraph, i.e. Vat. gr. 206 (see fols 96r lin. 40–96v lin. 2 = 23,6 ed. Giangrande 1956).¹⁹ It is likely that the situation was analogous in the case of Marc. gr. Z. 337, produced in the same period. At a specific point of the codicological unit, which was copied also in this case by Tribizias and contains the *Ecclesiastic History* by Theodoret of Cyrrus (fol. 130r, lin. 21–31),²⁰ Kallistos filled in the white spaces corresponding to the passage 314,3–21 of the Parmen-tier-Scheidweiler edition (from εὐεργεσίας τὸ μέγεθος to προσέφερε σπέρμασι), which had been previously left blank by the Tribizias while he was transcribing the text.

In a manuscript that was surely part of his collection, Mutin. α U.9.10, Andronikos recommends repositioning an entire chapter of Hermogenes’ *De inventione*, which is transmitted in the wrong order in the Mutinensis. The following marginal annotation occurs at fol. 70r: τὸ ‘περὶ βιαίου’ κεφάλαιον μετὰ τὴν ἔνστασιν κεῖσθαι δεῖ. δι’ ὃ παραλιπόντας τοῦτον νῦν μέχρις ἂν εἰς ἐκεῖνο ἀφικώμεθα, ἀμέσως ἐπὶ τὸ ‘περὶ κεφαλαίων’ μεταβῆναι δεῖ οὗ ἢ ἀρχὴ ‘περὶ μὲν τῆς τῶν κεφαλαίων διαίρεσεως καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς’ (‘the chapter *On the involuntary* must follow that on objection. So, by overlooking this one until one arrives to that one, one needs to move on to the chapter *On chapters*, of which the beginning reads: “On the difference of chapters etc.”). Hugo Rabe, the modern editor of Hermogenes, agrees with Kallistos: indeed, he places the chapter περὶ βιαίου (138,14–140,8) after the chapters *On objection* and *On counter-objection* (136,21–138,13).

¹⁸ See Mioni 1985a, 386–387.

¹⁹ I personally inspected the Vaticanus manuscript, which is actually difficult to decipher at this point. The identification of the handwriting of Andronikos and Bessarion is by Dieter Harlfinger (*apud* Liakou-Kropp 2002, 311). A few lines after the intervention of Andronikos, Bessarion himself completed the addition by his own hand. For the derivation of Marcianus from Vaticanus, which is the archetype of the entire transmission, see Decorps and Foulquier 2001, 79, 84, 91–92.

²⁰ The identification of Andronikos’ handwriting is due also in this case to Harlfinger (in Liakou-Kropp 2002, 282).

One cannot state with certainty that Laur. 72.20, a manuscript containing Philoponus' commentary to Aristotle's *Analytics*, was part of Kallistos' private collection; however, it is certain that it was the subject of Andronikos' philological *curae*, that — on the grounds of the *facies* of his handwriting — occurred at an early stage of his activity. At the foot of fol. 182v, the ninth one of a quire that was reordered by Andronikos through the addition of Greek letters in the central upper margin of each folio, he pointed out the presence of a *lacuna* with the following words: εἰ καὶ γέγραπται μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέκατον, ἄλλοῦν λείπει μετὰξὺ τούτου καὶ τοῦ δεκάτου φύλλα²¹ ('even though the tenth <folio> has been written after this, some other folios between this and the tenth one are missing anyway'). The text of this problematic *quinio*, reconstructed with difficulty by Andronikos, ends abruptly in correspondence with the words λαμβάνει τῆ σῆ ὑποθέσει ἐξ ἀνάγκης (Io. Phlp., in *Arist. An. Pr.*, ed. Wallies 1905, 461,20).

The reorganisation of textual sequences by specific catch-signs is found in numerous manuscripts that ended up on Kallistos' desk. It occurred within specific quires that were broken up, as well as following the insertion of folios or quires in the midst of original codicological units that were restored. One must attribute to Andronikos, for instance, the catch-signs that are found in the *vetustus* Simplicius Laur. 85.21 (twelfth century; see fols 8v–9r, 10v–11r, 12v–13r, 13v–14r); by these signs, the correct order of the text within the second quire is restored (β').²² Noteworthy in this respect is the peculiar sign drawn as a minuscule Latin *h* (with the addition of a dot or small circle within the curve of the *h*),²³ regularly employed by Andronikos (see Fig. 5.3). The same symbol occurs in the Cleomedes Laur. Ashb. 1599 (see Fig. 5.4), which was copied entirely by Andronikos and underwent later restorative interventions by Kallistos himself. This presumes that either it was copied from a faulty antigraph or its quires were damaged after having been made by Andronikos. Within the third codicological unit (= fols 113–152), which contains the text of the *Caelestia*, one can distinguish an original

²¹ The attribution of the note to Andronikos (Harlfinger) is in *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 253–254. One must attribute to him, as previously said, also the numeration of each folio (<α', γ'–θ', β'>, placed in the central upper margins from fol. 175v to fol. 183r).

²² The text copied in the last line of current fol. 8v (Simpl., in *Arist. de An.* ed. Hayduck 1882, 14,37) continues in the first line of current fol. 13r (= τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶ][αἴτιον· ἀλλὰ τὸ δὲν). In the case of the Laurentianus, that at a given time of its history was available to Poliziano, a codicological restoration by Kallistos in the external corners of the last folios of the manuscript has already been observed (see Speranzi 2016b, 59–64, who was the first to identify the handwriting of Andronikos in the manuscript).

²³ The same symbol occurs in another manuscript restored by Kallistos (Vat. gr. 1324, fols 80v–81r, about which see also *infra*, § 5.2.3.1).

section (= fols 115–118, 121–140, 145–152), that was most probably produced in the 1450s, from a more recent section that was added to the first one at a later stage in order to complete it, containing individual bifolios or small ‘connecting’ quires (= fols 113–114, 119–120, 141–144). The reference sign in the shape of the Latin *h* is placed in this case at the foot of the nineteenth quire (ιθ’), a *binio* that was certainly inserted by Kallistos at a later stage (about ten years later).²⁴

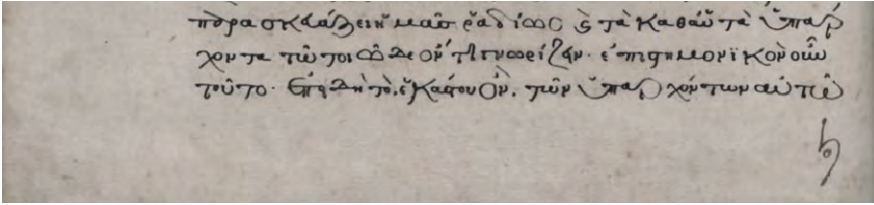


Fig. 5.3: Laur. 85.21, fol. 8v; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

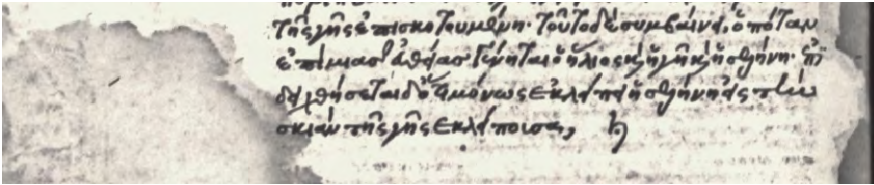


Fig. 5.4: Laur. Ashb. 1599, fol. 144v; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

Finally, Andronikos was also responsible for the reorganisation of the quires of at least two further manuscripts, namely the multiple-text-manuscript Lips. gr. 34+33 and Vat. gr. 1324, containing Lucian, that will be dealt with in greater detail later in this book.

²⁴ The chronological gap between the production and the textual/codicological restoration of the manuscript is confirmed by palaeographic and codicological evidence. First of all, one can observe an ostensible difference in *ductus* between the older sections and the more recent ones (see e.g. the last folio of the nineteenth quire, 144v, and the first folio of the twentieth quire, 145r). Moreover, one can observe, in the respective sections, different types of paper (the older part contains *Monts* watermarks, whereas the more recent one presents *Chapeau* watermarks).

5.2.2 Bilateral and multiple corrections

Aside from the study of the manuscript transmission of Thucydides' *Historiae*, Giovanni Battista Alberti pointed out the activity of the scribe responsible for the copy of the manuscript Cantabrigensis Nn.III.18 (fifteenth century, *siglum* Cn) and for the *marginalia* (A₃) of Par. Suppl. gr. 255 (tenth century, *siglum* A). Alberti managed to demonstrate the mutual dependence of the two manuscripts, by proving, on the one hand, that the corrections added to Cn originated in A and, on the other hand, that the marginal innovations occurring in A, all of which are ascribable to the same hand (A₃), could only be explained in the light of the text of Cn. Finally, by proving the identity of the handwritings of Cn e A₃, Alberti could infer that between the two manuscripts 'an exchange of variants, made by the scribe himself [...] had occurred. It was therefore the scribe himself of Cn [...] who, beyond the insertion in his own text of some readings taken from A, also introduced in A some variants of his manuscript: thus, it is a case of "bilateral corrections" [...].'²⁵

One can demonstrate that the addition of double notes of collation in the manuscripts of his collection, as well as in those which he simply consulted, was a *proprium* of Andronikos' philological practice on the grounds of at least another significant example. This is the case of Aristotle's *Categoriae*, a text to which Andronikos had access above all through two books of his own collection: 1. Vat. gr. 1314, which is among the first manuscripts copied by him, made before 1453²⁶ and extremely important for his research and teaching activity; 2. Oxoniensis Holkham Hall gr. 71 (thirteenth century), restored by Kallistos himself in Crete before he arrived in Italy.²⁷

As I demonstrated elsewhere,²⁸ around the middle of the 1460s Vat. gr. 1314 had already been employed as an antigraph to make the manuscript Berol. gr. qu. 73 (up to 8b 53 Bekker), produced for an unknown student of Andronikos. Concurrently to the copying of the Berolinensis, the other manuscript owned by Kallistos, the Oxoniensis Holkham Hall gr. 71, was used as a *Korrektivexemplar*: the variants considered to be most interesting were thus integrated into both the

²⁵ Alberti 1967, 16 (here translated into English). Alberti still attributed to the scribe-philologist the name 'George the Cretan A', who was to be identified with Andronikos Kallistos shortly thereafter in Diller 1967.

²⁶ See *supra*, § 2.1.2.

²⁷ See *supra*, § 2.1.2.

²⁸ See Orlandi 2020c, 458–463.

manuscript that was being copied at that moment (i.e. the Berolinensis) and into the model (i.e. the Vaticanus).

In the 1470s, during his sojourn in Florence, Kallistos managed to reflect once again on the text of the *Categoriae*, having been stimulated by the consultation of some books owned by a student of his who was active in the city, namely the *Anonymus* 51 Harlfinger.²⁹ Among these books was Vat. gr. 2189, containing the logical writings of Aristotle. This manuscript is clearly related to the philological activity of Andronikos, as it displays marginal annotations (written by Andronikos) which can be explained on the grounds of a comparison with Vat. gr. 1314, the personal copy of the *Categoriae* owned by Kallistos. Moreover, variants coming from Vat. gr. 2189 occur in the margins and interlinear spaces of Vat. gr. 1314; and these *marginalia* can be dated, through a palaeographic examination of the handwriting of Andronikos, to the time of his sojourn in Florence (1471–1474). The following is one example of insertion *supra lineam* in Vat. gr. 1314 of readings taken from Vat. gr. 2189: at 14b7 Bekker, Vat. gr. 1314 reads ἔστι μὲν οὖν σχεδόν; Andronikos added in the interlinear space the variant ἔστι μὲν δὴ καὶ σχεδόν coming from Vat. gr. 2189.³⁰ However, instead of resorting to the readings transmitted by the manuscript owned by his student (readings that were generally inferior to those transmitted by his own Vat. gr. 1314), Andronikos focussed his efforts on adding in the margins of Vat. gr. 2189 the corrections to the key points of the text, the same passages in which he had intervened in Vat. gr. 1314 years earlier.³¹

At *Cat.* 3b 33–4a 9 Aristotle explains the reasons why the substance (ἡ οὐσία) does not apparently admit the more and the less (τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον); indeed, there is no substance which is more or less (of a) substance than another substance. After a series of examples, the arguments end at 4a 9 with the following words: ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἐπιδέχοιτο ἡ οὐσία τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον ('therefore, the substance cannot admit the more and the less'). At this point, right before the argument continues by highlighting what substance can admit of — μάλιστα δὲ ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ ταῦτόν καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ ὄν τῶν ἐναντίων εἶναι δεκτικόν ('above all, admitting the opposites, by remaining the same and one in number,

²⁹ See Orlandi 2020c, 463–481 (in part. 471).

³⁰ The Holkhamensis at this point simply reads ἔστι σχεδόν.

³¹ These are the other marginal corrections by Andronikos in Vat. gr. 2189: Arist., *Cat.* 4b 32 [fol. 75r] post λόγος add. τῶν διορισμένων (habet Vat. 1314); 6a 23 [fol. 77r] post λέγεται add. οὐδὲ τὰ πέντε τῶν τριῶν (habet Vat. 1314); 6a 39 [fol. 82v] ante ἐτέρου add. τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστίν (habet Vat. 1314) et τὸ ante διπλάσιον punctis del. (tantum διπλάσιον habet Vat. 1314); 7a 38 [fol. 84r] post καταλειπομένου δὲ add. μόνου (habet Vat. 1314); 8b 7 [fol. 85r] post ἀφωρισμένως οἶδεν add. ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν ἀφωρισμένως εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα (habet Vat. 1314); 8b 23 [fol. 86r] post ἐπεσκεμμένον add. περὶ αὐτῶν (habet Vat. 1314).

seems to be peculiar of substance’) – Andronikos added in Vat. gr. 2189 the following words: οὐκ ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας, τὸ μὴ ἐπιδέχεσθαι αὐτὴν τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ποσὸν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον (‘however, it is not even this which is peculiar to substance: the fact that it does not admit the more and the less; indeed, also quantity does not admit the more and the less’). It is a spurious statement which occurs in the same way within an anonymous paraphrase of the *Categoriae* (ed. Hayduck 1883, 17,37–39) erroneously converged into the text of manuscript Holkham Hall gr. 71 (fol. 316r). By considering the supplementation to be necessary, Kallistos proceeded to note it in the margins of as many as three manuscripts: ‘his own’ Vat. gr. 1314 (fol. 230r, outer margin; Fig. 5.5), Berol. gr. qu. 73 (fol. 15v, inner margin; Fig. 5.6), and Vat. gr. 2189 (fol. 70r, outer margin; Fig. 5.7).

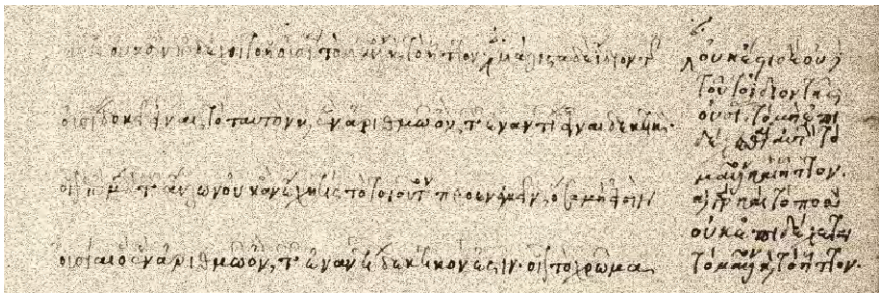


Fig. 5.5: Vat. gr. 1314, fol. 230r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

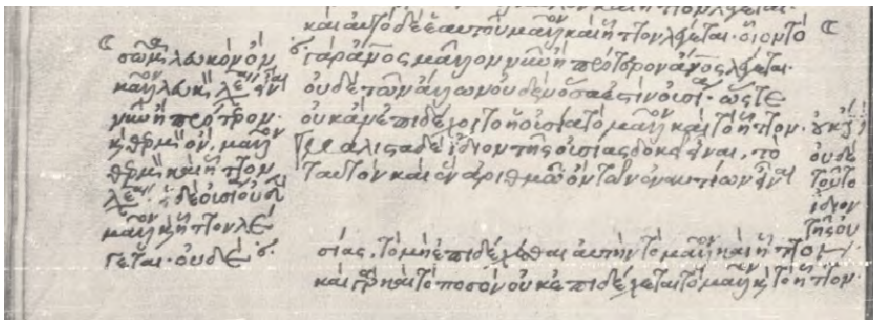


Fig. 5.6: Berol. gr. qu. 73, fol. 15v; © Biblioteka Jagiellońska.

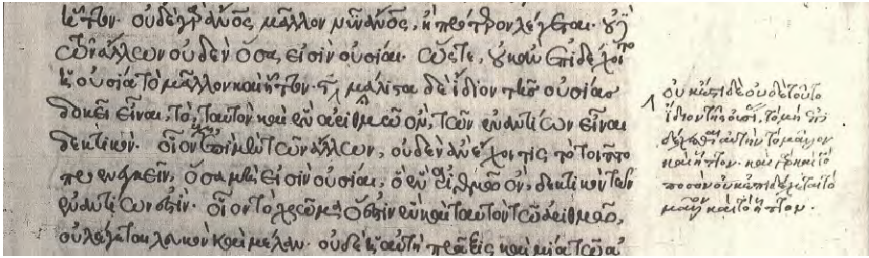


Fig. 5.7: Vat. gr. 2189, fol. 70r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

An analogous behaviour is noticeable at Arist. *Cat.* 6b 19–27 Bekker, where the category of relative things (τὰ πρὸς τι) is discussed. Before commenting on this passage, it is worth reproducing it here as it reads in the reference edition by Minio-Paluello. The apparatus shows the variants occurring in the manuscripts employed by Andronikos:

	δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον	19
καὶ τὸ ἥττον ἐπίδεχεται τὰ πρὸς τι· ὅμοιον γὰρ		20
μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον λέγεται, καὶ ἄνισον μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον		21
λέγεται, ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν πρὸς τι ὄν· τό τε γὰρ ὅμοιον		22
τινὶ ὅμοιον λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἄνισον τινὶ ἄνισον. οὐ πάντα		23
δὲ ἐπίδεχεται τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον·		24
	τὸ γὰρ διπλάσιον	25
οὐ λέγεται μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον διπλάσιον οὐδὲ τῶν τοιούτων		26
οὐδέν.		27

‘It seems that relative things admit also the more and the less. Indeed, a similar thing is said to be more or less similar and an unequal thing is said to be more or less unequal, each of them being something relative. Indeed, the similar is said to be similar to something else and the unequal is unequal to something else. However, not all of them admit the more and the less: indeed, the double is not said to be more or less double, nor is any other thing of the sort.’

20 post γὰρ add. καὶ ἀνόμοιον Holk Vat1314 Berol Vat2189 **21** ante καὶ ἄνισον add. καὶ ἴσον Holk Vat1314 Berol Vat2189 **22** post λέγεται scr. καὶ ἀνισαίτερον μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον λέγεται in textu Holk, in marg. add. Kallistos in Vat1314 Berol Vat2189: post λέγεται scr. καὶ τὸ ἄνισον τινὶ λέγεται ἄνισον supra lin. Holk² | ἐκάτερον in textu scr., ἕκαστον supra lin. add. Kallistos in Vat1314: ἐκάτερον in ἕκαστον radendo corr. Kallistos in Vat2189 **23** post λέγεται scr. καὶ τὸ ἀνόμοιον τινὶ ἀνόμοιον in textu Vat1314 Berol, in marg. add. Kallistos in Vat2189 | καὶ τὸ ἄνισον τινὶ ἄνισον] καὶ τὰ ἀνισαίτερα ἐτέρων τινῶν ἀνίσων ἀνισαίτερα Holk, καὶ τὸ ἄνισον τινὶ ἄνισον supra lin. add. Holk² : post ἄνισον¹ in marg. add. Kallistos καὶ τὰ ἀνισαίτερα ἐτέρων τινῶν ἀνισαίτερα in Vat1314 Berol Vat2189 **24** post δὲ add. τὰ πρὸς τι

Holk | ante ἤττον add. τὸ Vat1314 Berol 26 οὐ λέγεται| οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται Vat1314 Berol | μάλλον καὶ ἤττον| τὸ μάλλον καὶ τὸ ἤττον Vat1314 Berol | διπλάσιον om. Vat1314 Berol

By comparing the readings shown in the apparatus it is clear that Andronikos added in the manuscript Vat. gr. 2189 (fol. 83r) all the main textual novelties of Vat. gr. 1314 (fol. 238r). These novelties mostly (albeit not exclusively) come from the Holkhamensis (see fols 320v–321r), and had been already added *recta via* to the Berolinensis (fol. 15v). The textual expansions at lines 22 and 23, which add, respectively, to the adjective ἄνισον (‘unequal’) the comparative ἀνισαίτερον (‘more unequal’), to ὅμοιον (‘similar’), its opposite ἀνόμοιον (‘dissimilar’), and again to ἄνισον (‘unequal’) the comparative (ἀνισαίτερα) in the plural, can be compared also in this case with the anonymous paraphrase of the *Categoriae* that was briefly mentioned above,³² which exerted its influence on the text transmitted by the Holkhamensis. However, the variant ἕκαστον (which appears *supra lineam* in Vat. gr. 1314, absent from the Berolinensis and the Oxoniensis) might be a personal conjecture by Andronikos.³³

Thus, if we try to rewrite the text according to the indications of Andronikos, we obtain the following ‘enlarged’ version of the Aristotelian passage, deemed as more correct by Kallistos:³⁴

	δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ μάλλον	19
καὶ τὸ ἤττον ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τι· ὅμοιον γὰρ <καὶ ἀνόμοιον>		20
μάλλον καὶ ἤττον λέγεται, <καὶ ἴσον> καὶ ἄνισον μάλλον καὶ ἤττον		21
λέγεται, <καὶ ἀνισαίτερον μάλλον καὶ ἤττον λέγεται>, ἕκαστον ³⁵ αὐτῶν πρὸς τι ὄν·		
	τό τε γὰρ ὅμοιον	22
τινὶ ὅμοιον λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἀνόμοιον τινὶ ἀνόμοιον <καὶ τὸ ἄνισον τινὶ ἄνισον		
	καὶ τὰ ἀνισαίτερα ἐτέρων τινῶν ἀνισαίτερα>. οὐ πάντα	23
δὲ ἐπιδέχεται τὸ μάλλον καὶ τὸ ἤττον·		24
	τὸ γὰρ διπλάσιον	25

³² See ed. Hayduck 1883, 32,11–16.

³³ Indeed, ἑκάτερον is the reading unanimously transmitted by all the manuscripts (belonging to several lines of transmission) containing the work that could be checked (about sixty manuscripts, copied from the ninth to the sixteenth century). I will mention here only the most authoritative ones: Urb. gr. 35 (34r), Barb. gr. 87 (25v), Laur. 72.5 (33r), Par. gr. 1843 (9r), Laur. 71.3 (114v), Oxon. Barocci 177 (14v), Par. gr. 1897A (36v), Par. Coislin 327 (22v), Marc. gr. Z. 202 (113r), Marc. gr. Z. 211 (138v). Only in one case I found a different combination in the genitive: ἐκατέρων ὄντων (pro αὐτῶν): Vat. gr. 110 (279r).

³⁴ A similar case of textual expansion, placed by Andronikos in the margins of the text of the *Ethica Nicomachea*, which he copied in Mutin. α T.9.1 and collated with Ricc. 46, was recently highlighted in Martinelli Tempesta 2016a, 224–227.

³⁵ Written by Andronikos above ἑκάτερον.

οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον οὐδὲ τῶν τοιούτων 26
οὐδέν. 27

‘It seems that relative things admit also the more and the less. Indeed, a similar <or dissimilar> thing is said to be more or less similar and an <equal or> unequal thing is said to be more or less unequal <and more or less more unequal>, each of them being something relative. Indeed, the similar is said to be similar to something else and the dissimilar is dissimilar to something else, <and the unequal is unequal to something else and the more unequal things are more unequal than other ones>. However, not all of them admit the more and the less: indeed, the double is not said to be more or less double, nor is any other thing of the sort.’

5.2.3 Correcting books at Palla’s house: Three case studies

At the time of his acquaintance with Palla Strozzi, Kallistos managed, as previously mentioned,³⁶ to enrich his library with new works and to correct his books by comparing them with those owned by Palla. Furthermore, he revised the text of some of Palla’s books. We have already discussed³⁷ Kallistos’ reports of the textual lacunae occurring in the Aristotelian manuscript Par. gr. 1852 and in the Thucydides Marc. gr. VII 5, two manuscripts that were surely part of Strozzi’s library. In the following pages, I will show in more detail three case studies, which illustrate Andronikos’ textual criticism of literary and non-literary works while in Padua.

5.2.3.1 Lucian

In the appendix to his study of Philostratus’ *Vitae Sophistarum*, Rudolf S. Stefec³⁸ highlighted some time ago the presence of annotations written by Kallistos in Vat. gr. 1324, which is an ancient parchment manuscript dated back to the tenth/eleventh century³⁹ and containing Lucian’s *Dialogi*.⁴⁰ This manuscript is not unknown to scholars: similarly to manuscript Par. gr. 1852 and Marc. gr. VII 5, it

³⁶ See *supra*, § 1.3.5 and 2.2.2.

³⁷ See *supra*, § 5.2.1.

³⁸ Stefec 2014, 176.

³⁹ Jean Irigoien argued for the second half of the eleventh century (communication published in the edition by Bompaire 1998).

⁴⁰ In this footnote I shall illustrate the content of the manuscript: 1r *De mercede conductis potentium familiaribus* (inc. mut.: προχειρισάμενος, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἄσιτόν τε [§ 26; 227,16–17 Macleod]); 5v *Tyrannicida*; 11r *Abdicatus*; 20r *Imagines*; 25v *Patriae encomium*; 27v *Demonax*; 41r *Gallus* (inc. mut.: ἀπολείπειν αἰεὶ τὸν νεανίσκον [§ 3; 251,17 Macleod]); 50r *Bis accusatus sive tribunalia*; 61r

bears both the famous ‘Visto’ by Francesco da Lucca⁴¹ and the bilingual title by Chrysoloras.⁴² The identification of the handwriting of Andronikos has relevant consequences for the history of the Vaticanus in the fifteenth century: indeed, it contributes to reinforce the hypothesis that Palla owned the book, as was already suggested by Sosower,⁴³ and it therefore allows to locate it in Padua, at least in the years in which Kallistos was surely in that city (namely 1457–1462, at intervals).

An examination of the folios in which one can identify Andronikos’ interventions shows what his activity in the manuscripts owned by Palla was like. First, Kallistos proceeded to reorganise and reorder the quires of the manuscripts, the order of which was seriously disturbed, as the manuscript was most probably unbound. This is demonstrated by the position of the first of the two bilingual titles, which now appears in the middle of the manuscript, at fol. 73r. The manuscript was, and still is, acephalous.⁴⁴ When Kallistos consulted it, it was necessary above all to identify its content: at fols 72v–73r one can find a first indication written by Andronikos, namely a reference sign added to establish the order of the text. Another catch-sign, which is moon-shaped, occurs between fols 104v and 105r. Kallistos was also the author of the Greek letters placed in the lower outer margins in order to numerate the quires. Furthermore, at fol. 41r, in correspondence with the beginning of the fifth quire (ε’), one can identify Andronikos as the author of the annotation ‘λείπει’, aimed at pointing out the loss of portions of the text.⁴⁵ Finally, one must identify Kallistos as the author of the numeration of the quires by Greek letters placed in the lower external margins of the first folio of each quire.⁴⁶

As far as the critical reading of Lucian’s short works and the philological activity are concerned, to which the Vaticanus bears witness, one can observe several corrections to the text of the works *De luctu* and *Soloecista* made by Kallistos. I shall point out here that, in the case of some of these textual interventions (especially the restoration of the portions of text omitted by the scribe of Vat. gr.

Vitarum auctio; 68r *Rhetorum praeceptor*; 75r *Revivescentes sive piscator*; 87r *Alexander*; 100r *De luctu*; 103v *Prometheus*; 108v *Iudicium vocalium*; 121v *Soloecista*; 124v *Hercules*; 126r *Electrum*.

⁴¹ See Manfrin and Speranzi 2019, 47 n. 75, 59.

⁴² For bibliography on bilingual titles see Rollo 2017.

⁴³ Sosower 1986, 150; the manuscript is among those marked with an asterisk, of which Palla has been identified with some doubt as the owner.

⁴⁴ The text of *De mercede conductis potentium familiaribus* begins at fol. 1r with the words προχειρισόμενος, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἄσιτόν τε (§ 26; 227,16–17 Macleod).

⁴⁵ For this type of intervention of textual ‘reorganisation’ by Andronikos, see *supra*, § 5.2.1.

⁴⁶ I shall point out here the presence of one further quire-and-leaf-numeration in the centre of the lower margin, applied by a Western hand.

1324), Andronikos could resort to a manuscript that was part of his book collection, namely Par. gr. 3011 (fourteenth century). Indeed, I verified the correspondence of certain passages from the text, which make the hypothesis of the derivation from the Parisinus more than likely.⁴⁷

There are other cases, however, in which Kallistos' interventions cannot be explained on the grounds of the textual *facies* transmitted by the Parisinus; in fact, they appear to be the results of a personal reflection while working on Vat. gr. 1324. His accurate re-attribution of the lines of the dialogue between the two main characters of the *Soloecista*, namely Lucian himself and the sophist, can be considered a mark of Andronikos' thoughtful reading of the work. The first case occurs at chapter 3 (167,4 Macleod), a passage in which the Vaticanus attributes to the sophist a portion of the line ἀλλὰ μὴν μεθῆκα θεῖν λαγῶ ταχέως ('And yet I let a hare run fast'); Kallistos proceeded to attribute the line to Lucian — a choice supported by all modern editors of the work — without relying on the text copied at fol. 171v of Par. gr. 3011, in which the line was attributed to the sophist, as in the case of the Vaticanus. Shortly thereafter, at *Soloecista* 4 (167,12–13 Macleod), the words ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ οἶδα πῶς λέγεις· ἐγὼ δὲ πολλοὺς ἤδη σολοικίζοντας κατενόησα ('I do not know what you mean by saying this. I have already observed many committing a solecism'), attributed to Lucian, were ascribed by Kallistos to the sophist; in this case, Andronikos' choice was grounded on Par. gr. 3011 (fol. 171v) and is supported by all modern editors. As far as the distribution of the lines is concerned there is constant agreement between Andronikos' choices (both according to and against the text of the Parisinus) and the modern editors of the work. At *Soloecista* 10 (line 174,4 Macleod), the words ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ('I do not know what to say') are correctly attributed to the sophist, against the Parisinus; at chapter 11 (175,14–15 Macleod), the words καὶ ὀρθῶς γε ἤκουσας, ἀλλὰ τὸ κάθισον τοῦ κάθησο διαφέρειν φημί ('You heard right. But I say that 'κάθισον' and 'κάθησο' are different') are correctly attributed to Lucian, in this case in agreement with the Parisinus.

⁴⁷ I shall list here a few examples. *De luctu* 18 (314,28–29 Macleod): after πάτερ Kallistos restored the words οὐκ οἶε πολὺ ἀληθέστερα καὶ γελοιότερα ἐκείνων ἐρεῖν, omitted in the Vaticanus; the variant γελούτερα (against γενναίότερα printed by Macleod) also occurs in Par. gr. 3011 (fol. 150r). *Soloecista* 9 (172,11 Macleod): in the clause τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέπομι Kallistos restored *supra lineam* the negation οὐκ, which is necessary to make sense of the passage and also occurs in Par. gr. 3011 (172v); the same reasoning applies to the restoration of γὰρ at *Soloecista* 10 (172,15 Macleod). At *Soloecista* 10 (175,2 Macleod) the omission due to *saut du même au même* of the words ποτὲ δὲ τῷ μὴ κυρίῳ — regularly occurring in Par. gr. 3011 (fol. 173r) — was corrected.

The situation at *Soloecista* 10 (lines 174,13–175,3 Macleod) is more complex. Lucian just finished showing the sophist the difference between the expressions ὑβρίζειν τινα ('exert violence on somebody, directly') and ὑβρίζειν εἰς τινα ('exert violence on somebody, by materially exerting the violence on someone who is connected with this person'). Thus, the action of exchanging/substituting (ὑπαλλάττειν) the two expressions, erroneously considered to be interchangeable, is described as a solecism. Then, a pun follows: it is about the meaning of ὑπαλλάττειν and ἐναλλάττειν, and its meaning is not immediately clear. I will show now the situation of Vat. gr. 1324 (fol. 124r), *ante* and *post correctionem*, before commenting on Andronikos' interventions (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: The text of Lucian's *Soloecista* before and after the correction of Kallistos.

Vat. gr. 1324 <i>ante Callisti correctionem</i>	Vat. gr. 1324 <i>post Callisti correctionem</i>
<p>Luc. Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτο κατανοεῖς, ὅτι τὸ ταῦτα ὑπαλλάττειν σολοικίζειν καλοῦσιν; Soph. Ἄλλὰ νῦν εἴσομαι. Luc. Αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐναλλάττειν;</p>	<p>Luc. Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτο κατανοεῖς, ὅτι τὸ ταῦτα ὑπαλλάττειν σολοικίζειν καλοῦσιν; Soph. Ἄλλὰ νῦν εἴσομαι. Luc. Αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ὑπαλλάττειν <εἴ τις ἐναλλάττειν λέγει, τί σοι δόξειεν ἂν λέγειν;></p>
<p>Soph. Ἐμοὶ μὲν ταυτὸν λέγειν δόξει. Luc. Καὶ πῶς ἂν εἴη ταυτὸν τὸ ὑπαλλάττειν τῷ ἐναλλάττειν, εἴπερ τὸ μὲν ἑτέρου πρὸς ἕτερον γίνεταί, τοῦ μὴ ὀρθοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὀρθόν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος πρὸς τὸ ὄν; Soph. Κατέμαθον ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑπαλλάττειν τὸ μὴ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ κυρίου λέγειν ἐστίν, τὸ δ' ἐναλλάττειν ποτὲ μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ <... > χρῆσθαι.</p>	<p>Soph. Ἐμοὶ μὲν ταυτὸν λέγειν δόξει. Luc. Καὶ πῶς ἂν εἴη ταυτὸν τὸ ὑπαλλάττειν τῷ ἐναλλάττειν, εἴπερ τὸ μὲν ἑτέρου πρὸς ἕτερον γίνεταί, τοῦ μὴ ὀρθοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὀρθόν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος πρὸς τὸ ὄν; Soph. Κατέμαθον ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑπαλλάττειν τὸ μὴ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ κυρίου λέγειν ἐστίν, τὸ δ' ἐναλλάττειν ποτὲ μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ, <ποτὲ δὲ τῷ μὴ κυρίῳ> χρῆσθαι.</p>
<p>Luc. So, do you also understand this, that we call solecism the action of exchanging these things? Soph. Well, I understand it now. Luc. Is 'changing' the same thing?</p>	<p>Luc. So, do you also understand this, that we call solecism the action of exchanging these things? Soph. Well, I understand it now. Luc. <If one called this 'exchanging' 'changing', what do you think that would mean?></p>
<p>Soph. I think it would mean the same thing. Luc. And how could 'exchanging' and 'changing' mean the same thing, if the latter means that something changes towards something else, like something</p>	<p>Soph. I think it would mean the same thing. Luc. And how could 'exchanging' and 'changing' mean the same thing, if the latter means that something changes towards something else, like something</p>

Vat. gr. 1324 ante Callisti correctionem

incorrect towards something correct, whereas the former means replacing something which is not correct with something that is correct?
 Soph. I learned that ‘exchanging’ means saying something improper instead of something correct, whereas ‘changing’ means resorting occasionally to something proper <...>.

Vat. gr. 1324 post Callisti correctionem

incorrect towards something correct, whereas the former means replacing something which is not correct with something that is correct?
 Soph. I learned that ‘exchanging’ means saying something improper instead of something correct, whereas ‘changing’ means resorting occasionally to something proper <and sometimes to something improper>.

The correction of *ἐναλλάττειν* into *ὑπαλλάττειν* and the restoration of the words *εἴ τις ἐναλλάττειν λέγει, τί σοι δόξειεν ἂν λέγειν* by Andronikos, which are not found either in Par. gr. 3011 (fol. 173r) or in the other manuscript witnesses, are registered in critical apparatuses as noteworthy innovations, displaying their affinity with the conjectures made by modern editors.⁴⁸ The textual intervention is certainly bold; nevertheless, it aims at making the transition to the explanation of difference between *ὑπαλλάττειν* and *ἐναλλάττειν* less abrupt.

Kallistos’ corrections, which are apparently isolated within the manuscript transmission, have accurately been registered in critical apparatuses as interventions by the main corrector of the *vetustus* Vaticanus; they were occasionally appreciated by scholars and sometimes ended up in the text. A complete list of his interventions, beyond the aforementioned ones, goes beyond the research scope of the present study; however, one last relevant case will be shown.

At a certain point of his work, Lucian illustrates the way in which the otherwise unknown Socrates of Mopsos reacted to solecisms, by thus satirising and polemizing against those who expressed themselves improperly. Then, a number of expressions are shown in which the terms *πατῶος*, *πατριώτης*, and *μεθύσης* (masc. nom.) are employed incorrectly.⁴⁹ At *Soloecista* 5 (168,16–17 Macleod), however, all the Greek manuscripts present a serious textual damage, which still leaves the readers of the work unsatisfied. The text of the *OCT* edition, modified by means of conjectures by Macleod, reads *ἐτέρου δὲ <... λέγοντος> λέοντας, διπλασιάζεις, ἔφη, τοὺς λέοντας*, whereas the *CUF* edition by Bompaire reads *ἐτέρου δὲ <...> λέοντας εἰπόντος, διπλασιάζεις, ἔφη, τοὺς λέοντας*; in both cases

⁴⁸ Beyond the apparatus of the reference edition by Matthew D. Macleod, see also the critical apparatus of the more recent edition of the work (Bompaire 1998, 253).

⁴⁹ The correct terms would be, respectively: *πάτριος*, *πολίτης*, *μεθύσης* (fem. gen.); see the commentary by Bompaire 1998, 342–343.

the obscure meaning of the passage would be close to ‘and when another one said “lions”, he [sc. Socrates] replied: “You duplicate the lions”’. The original sol-ecism (which is corrupted in the whole manuscript transmission) hides behind the letters that formed in the end the word λέοντας. Now, in the Vaticanus (fol. 122v) — which, as previously said, stands among the most authoritative witnesses to the text of Lucian’s *Opuscula* — the passage reads in a similarly unsatisfactory manner: ἕτερον δέοντας διπλασιάζει, ἔφη, τοὺς λέγοντας. All the extant manuscripts (including Andronikos’ copy, i.e. Par. gr. 3011)⁵⁰ are of no help in this case. Kallistos intervened by correcting *ope ingenii* the entire sentence, inserting and replacing words both in the main text and in the interlinear space. This is his final rendering: ἐτέρου δὲ ἐκλελοχότας εἰπόντος, διπλασιάζεις, ἔφη, τοὺς ἐξειλοχότας (‘and when another one said “those who have chosen”, he [sc. Socrates] replied: “You duplicate those who have chosen”’). In this case, there is a pun about the ambiguity caused by the presence of the reduplication -λε-, considered not suitable for the formation of the perfect tense (which would already have been indicated as εἴλοχα, according to classical usage). Andronikos’ conjecture, which was stimulated by his understanding of the technical meaning of the verb διπλασιάζω, is unparalleled in the manuscript transmission. It was favoured by some of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editors of the work, such as Reit, Lehmann, and Bekker; however, it did not convince the modern editors (MacLeod and Bompaire).

5.2.3.2 Planudes

It is interesting to observe that such a learned man as Kallistos, who worked as a Greek teacher for some years in his life, corrected not only manuscripts containing literary texts but also those on rhetorical and grammatical subjects. It is the case of Urb. gr. 151,⁵¹ a manuscript of the fourteenth century, associated to the entourage of Nikephoros Gregoras, which transmits the works *Dialogus grammaticalis* and *De syntaxi* authored by Maximos Planudes. These texts were revised by Andronikos, who apparently altered the text by conjecture, as shown by the analysis of a number of passages.⁵²

⁵⁰ This is the unsatisfactory reading transmitted in the manuscript Par. gr. 3011 (fol. 172r): ἕτερον δὲ ὄντας διπλασιάζει, ἔφη, τοὺς λέγοντας.

⁵¹ See Bianconi 2004, 348–355, Bianconi 2005a and Bianconi 2005b, 190–192. An overview on Gregoras’ library is now in Bianconi 2021. For the ‘visto’ by Francesco da Lucca in this manuscript see Manfrin and Speranzi 2019, 47 n. 75, 59.

⁵² For all the necessary comparisons, I consulted other witnesses to the Planudean texts which contain either both writings (*Dialogus* + *De syntaxi*: Bonon. 2638, Vat. gr. 97, Vat. gr. 113, Urb. gr.

At fol. 9v, Kallistos' first intervention occurs. Planudes is defining the relationships among tenses. One type of relationship is presented, related to the development of the action, in which, on the one hand, the present is linked to the imperfect (both, indeed, are tenses in which the development of the action is still 'progressive') and, on the other hand, the perfect is linked to the pluperfect (the development of the action is in this case 'punctual'). However, the text clearly states that there are other ways to relate tenses. The passage corrected by Kallistos (= *Dialogus*, 13,7–14,15 Bachmann, who employed Par. Suppl. gr. 70 for his edition), in which a possible 'alternative' relationship is presented, is transmitted by the Urbinas as follows:⁵³

οὐ τοῦτω δὲ μόνῳ τῷ λόγῳ κέχρηται (κέχρηται Par) πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἐναλλάξ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ λόγος παρατατικῶ πρὸς ὑπερσυντέλικον, ὃ (ὅς Par) παρακειμένῳ πρὸς ἐνεστώτα. καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν οἷς ῥήμασι τῶν παρακειμένων λαμβανομένων ἀντὶ ἐνεστώτων, ὃ καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῶν δηλοῖ τὴν συγγένειαν, λέγω δὲ ταῦτα εἶναι τὸ 'δέδοικα, πέφυκα, πέποιθα' καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. οἱ τοῦτων ὑπερσυντέλικοι ἀντὶ παρακειμένων παραδοχῆς ἀξιοῦνται, τὸ τε 'έδεδοίκειν' δηλαδὴ καὶ 'έπεφύκειν' καὶ 'έπεποίθειν'.

However, they do not have only this reciprocal relationship, so the same crosswise relationship relates the imperfect and pluperfect tenses, and the perfect and present tenses. Indeed, it is found in those verbs for which one employs the perfect instead of the present – something that shows how profound their relationship is. I mean the following forms: δέδοικα, πέφυκα, πέποιθα, and similar. Use of pluperfect forms of these verbs instead of perfect ones is admitted, namely έδεδοίκειν and έπεφύκειν and έπεποίθειν.

Kallistos corrects the reading of the manuscript, ἀντὶ παρακειμένων ('instead of perfect ones') by ἀντὶ παρατατικῶν ('instead of imperfect ones'). Thus, a certain type of relationship is restored (present–perfect vs. imperfect–pluperfect), which exists when the perfect functions as the present and, analogously, the pluperfect functions as the imperfect. A very positive judgement about this textual intervention, which follows the logic of the discourse and could therefore be a conjecture, is supported by other manuscripts containing the same work.⁵⁴ The false reading παρακειμένων, which is peculiar to the Urbinas and other manuscripts of the

152, Laur. 57.24, Par. gr. 2562, Par. Coislin 192, Matr. 4639) or only one of them (manuscripts containing only the *Dialogus*: Vat. gr. 15, Laur. 55.7, Laur. 56.3, Laur. San Marco 314, Monac. gr. 499; manuscripts containing only the *De syntaxi*: Par. gr. 2562).

⁵³ The readings of the Parisinus are between brackets.

⁵⁴ The correct reading ἀντὶ παρατατικῶν also occurs Vat. gr. 15 (112v), Laur. 55.7 (388r), Laur. 57.24 (77v), Matr. 4639 (8v), and Monac. gr. 499 (282r).

work,⁵⁵ must have been caused by the misreading of the abbreviation of the ending of the word παρατατικῶν.⁵⁶ Other minor corrections, not always right, of a number of passages, in which Homeric quotes are employed to illustrate grammatical phenomena, seem to be of conjectural nature.

At *De syntaxi* 107,7–15 Bachmann, Planudes takes as an example of pleonasm the Iliadic verse 9, 70 δαίνυ δαῖτα γέρουσιν ἔοικέ τοι, οὐ τοι ἀεικές ('make thou a feast for the elders; this were but right and seemly for thee'; transl. by A. T. Murray). Planudes emphasises that the expression οὐ τοι ἀεικές (lit. 'it is not unseemly') is basically useless, as it does not add anything new to the meaning of ἔοικέ τοι, by commenting: τὸ γὰρ 'οὐτοι ἀεικές' παρέλκει, μὴ πλέον δηλοῦν τοῦ 'ἔοικε'. The passage displays numerous errors in the Urbinas (fol. 59r). The Homeric quote appears in an abridged and corrupt form: δαίνυ ταῖτα (*sic*) γέρουσιν ἔοικέ τις. The absence of the final part of the line (οὐ τοι ἀεικές), which represented the *raison d'être* of this *exemplum* of pleonasm, is most problematic. Furthermore, Planudes' judgement (τὸ γὰρ 'οὐτοι ἀεικές' παρέλκει, μὴ πλέον δηλοῦν τοῦ 'ἔοικε') is missing, which explained *expressis verbis* the present case. First, Andronikos proceeded to correct ταῖτα by δαῖτα, and then, in an effort to make sense of the *exemplum*, he inserted after γέρουσιν the remark τὸ γὰρ 'δαῖτα' περισσόν, by therefore identifying the word 'lunch/meal' as the pleonasm of the clause 'make thou a feast for the elders'. It is obvious that such an intervention, carried out in an attempt to amend a *locus desperatus* of the text, does not presuppose the comparison with other witnesses of the work, which could have easily allowed him to amend the passage. Kallistos' solution does not take into account the use of the verb δαίνυμι, which in Homer customarily governs an accusative and cannot therefore be part of an absolute construction.⁵⁷

Noteworthy at fol. 61r (Fig. 5.8) are four textual interventions, occurring in close succession and inspired by a single principle: filling in the *loci fenestrati* of the manuscript by inserting Homeric quotes, which could explain the grammatical phenomenon illustrated by the author. In this section (111,19–27 Bachmann), Planudes deals with specific uses of the enclitic particle περ and the conjunctions

55 The wrong reading ἀντὶ παρακειμένων also occurs in Vat. gr. 97 (199v), Vat. gr. 113 (41v), Laur. 56.3 (5v), Urb. gr. 152 (275v), Laur. San Marco 314 (38r), and Par. Coislin 192 (188r).

56 Noteworthy in this respect is the graphic situation of the manuscript Par. gr. 2562 (113r), in which the abbreviation is not interpreted and the text simply reads ἀντὶ παρα (*sic, spat. post παρα relicto*).

57 Andronikos' intervention has no parallel in the manuscripts I have employed for the comparison: Bonon. 2638 (88v), Vat. gr. 97 (232v), Vat. gr. 113 (66v), Urb. gr. 152 (306v), Laur. 57.24 (106r), Par. gr. 2562 (129r), Par. Coislin 192 (243r), Matr. 4639 (45v).

ἦτοι and μέν. A comparison with other manuscripts of the work leads one to believe that also in this case the textual interventions were made *ope ingenii*.

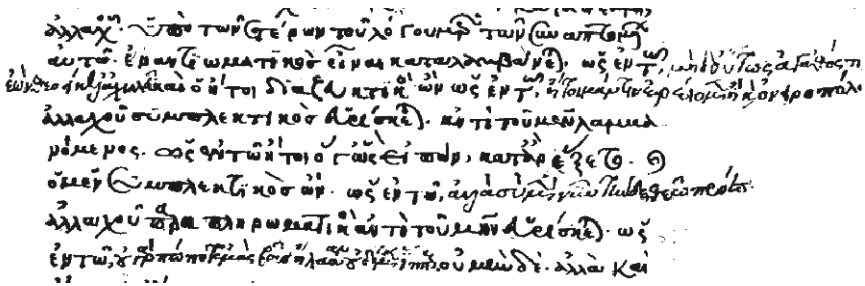


Fig. 5.8: Urb. gr. 151, fol. 61r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

In the case of the enclitic *περ*, Andronikos inserts the line *μη δ' οὕτως ἀγαθός περ ἔων θεοείκελ' Ἄχιλλεῦ*, which occurs twice in Homer (at *Il.* 1,131 and 19,155, but with the form *δή*) and had a discreet fortune in the Greek and Byzantine grammatical treatises.⁵⁸ Most of the manuscript transmission presents a *lacuna*⁵⁹ in this passage, like the Urbinas, whereas in the edition by Bachmann, based on Par. Suppl. gr. 70, one reads part of another Homeric line having ostensibly the same explanatory function: *Νέστορα δ' οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἰαχὴ πίνοντά περ* (= *Il.* 14,1).⁶⁰ Shortly thereafter, the manuscript transmission displays a *lacuna* also in the case of the line that was originally selected for the conjunction *ἦτοι*.⁶¹ In this case, Kallistos decided to add *ἦτοι μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον* (see *Il.* 1,63–64); also this line frequently occurs in the exegetical tradition.⁶² The same situation occurs in the two examples of the use of *μέν* (111,25 and 111,27 Bachmann). The

58 See Mich. Sync. *De synt.* 202 (1741–1745 Donnet); Choerob. *Proleg.* 276,22–26 Hilgard.

59 It is the case with Bonon. 2638 (91r), Vat. gr. 97 (234r), Vat. gr. 113 (67v), Urb. gr. 152 (308r), Laur. 57.24 (107v), Par. Coislin 192 (245r).

60 Other manuscripts have different corrections of the passage: for instance, mss. Par. gr. 2562 (130r) and Matr. 4639 (47v) contain a different Homeric quote in this passage (*ἀλλὰ φίλον περ ἔοντα καὶ αἰδεῖα μενέλαον | νευέσω [Il. X 14–15]*), which also enjoyed, albeit for different reasons, a discreet fortune within the grammatical tradition (see Herodian, Eustathius, Choeroboscus).

61 In addition to the Urbinas, the *lacuna* also appears in the following manuscripts: Bonon. 2638 (91r), Vat. gr. 97 (234r), Vat. gr. 113 (67v), Urb. gr. 152 (308r), Laur. 57.24 (107v), Par. gr. 2562 (130r), Par. Coislin 192 (245r), Matr. 4639 (47v; however, in this case Konstantinos Laskaris filled the *lacuna* by writing *ἦτοι ἀγαθὸν ἢ φαῦλον*).

62 It will be enough here to make reference to the *scholia vetera* (A 62-63ab Erbse).

two *fenestras* of the Urbinas⁶³ were filled in by Andronikos by means of portions of other two Iliadic lines (respectively, ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν τήνδε θεῶ πρόες [= 1,127] and οὐ γὰρ πώποτ' ἑμὰς βοῦς ἤλασαν οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππους [1,154]), of which the first was known to Greek and Byzantine grammarians.⁶⁴

At 127,26–34 Bachmann (fol. 69v), the text deals with an issue related to the expression of the partitive. Planudes shows the use of the nominative instead of the genitive: ἡ μέντοι τῶν ἀρχαίων αὐτονομία καὶ ἀντὶ γενικῆς πληθυντικῶν εὐθειᾶν ἐνίστε προσέθηκαν, ὡς Ὅμηρος (= *Od.* XII 73) 'οἱ δὲ δύο σκόπελοι' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'δύο σκοπέλων'. In this case, the Urbinas stops after σκόπελοι and has a blank space roughly corresponding to one line and a half.⁶⁵ Andronikos proceeded to complete the line by adding the words ὁ μὲν, εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἰκάνει, in which the preposition εἰς is also present; this explicitly expresses the local meaning of the complement but does not fit into the structure of the hexameter. The error was not caused due to the text of the manuscript of the *Odyssey* belonging to Andronikos.⁶⁶ Furthermore, one can observe that Konstantinos Laskaris made the same mistake, when he analogously restored the second half of the line in his Matr. 4639 (55v), containing the treatise authored by Planudes: even in this case, one can rule out that Konstantinos found the reading in his Homeric manuscript.⁶⁷ It is noteworthy that the presence of the preposition εἰς within the Homeric line is attested in the recent exegetical tradition of Theocritus (see *schol. recent. ad Id.* 1, 48–49 Ahrens), and that the same reading also occurs in the manuscript, belonging to Kallistos, containing the scholia to Theocritus.⁶⁸ In the case of both Andronikos and Konstantinos, the error may have been caused by a mnemonic process,⁶⁹ by which the preposition was naturally explicit, but on which also the

63 Shared by the Bachmann edition and the other witnesses: Bonon. 2638 (91r), Vat. gr. 97 (234r), Vat. gr. 113 (67v), Urb. gr. 152 (308r), Laur. 57.24 (107v), Par. gr. 2562 (130r), Par. Coislin 192 (245rv), Matr. 4639 (47v; one should observe how Laskaris inserted also in this case one Iliadic line, ἄλλοι μὲν ῥὰ θεοί [= 2,1], which is different from that chosen by Andronikos, but which also occurs in grammatical works).

64 See Herod. *De prosod. cath.* III 430,26–431,3 Lentz; Choerob. *Proleg.* 24,24–31 and 362,8–10 Hilgard.

65 The same blank space is found in the following manuscripts: Vat. gr. 97 (241r), Vat. gr. 113 (72v), Urb. gr. 152 (314r), Laur. 57.24 (113r), Par. gr. 2562 (133r), Par. Coislin 192 (255v), Matr. 4639 (55v).

66 Mutin. α P.5.19 (fol. 97r).

67 Matr. 4565 (fol. 173r).

68 Lips. gr. 34 (fol. 43v).

69 After all, the phrase εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν is a frequent Homeric *clausula*: see *Il.* 3,364; 5,867; 7,178; 7,201; 19,257; 21,272; 21,522.

reading coming from the exegetical tradition to Theocritus may have exerted its influence.

Finally, the light correction made shortly later, at the end of the *exemplum* (127,34–35) of the use of the partitive, seems to be of conjectural nature. The text of the Urbinas reads: ὁμοίως γὰρ καὶ εἰ τίς λέγοι ‘δύο ἀδελφοί, ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος’ κακίαν ποιεῖ. By interpreting also the words κακίαν ποιεῖ as included in the *exemplum*, Andronikos considered it appropriate to insert *supra lineam* the word ἀρετὴν after πρεσβύτερος, by thus corroborating the polar opposition between the κακίαν of the νεώτερος and the ἀρετὴν of the πρεσβύτερος.⁷⁰

5.2.3.3 Plato

It is perhaps not inconvenient to close this section with Par. gr. 1811 (fourteenth century), a manuscript provided with a bilingual title added by Chrysoloras and of which the temporary inclusion within the library of Palla Strozzi — considered to be possible but never conclusively demonstrated — is still debated. The manuscript,⁷¹ a witness to the text of Plato’s *Dialogi* copied by the so-called ‘scribe F’ and annotated during the fifteenth century, in order, by Manuel Chrysoloras, Francesco Filelfo, Andronikos Kallistos,⁷² and Carlo Valguglio, attracted on several occasions the attention of various scholars of the transmission of Platonic works. Scholars unanimously identified this manuscript as the model of the Aldine edition (1513) prepared by Markos Musuros, on par with another manuscript, Marc. gr. Z. 186, Bessarion’s ‘working copy’. As is known, the results of Bessarion’s philological activity, carried out with the help of the hieromonk Gregorios, would end up in the definitive copy of the Platonic text, which Bessarion had transcribed by Iohannes Rhosos during the second half of the 1450s:⁷³ this is the manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 184.

By temporarily suspending judgement about the inclusion of the manuscript within the library of Palla Strozzi, one can try to answer other questions. Indeed, scholars debated the potential connection between Andronikos’ annotations in

⁷⁰ The word ἀρετὴν is absent from all the manuscripts that I employed for the comparison: Vat. gr. 97 (241r), Vat. gr. 113 (72v), Urb. gr. 152 (314r), Laur. 57.24 (113r), Par. gr. 2562 (133r), Par. Coislin 192 (255v), Matr. 4639 (55v).

⁷¹ See the bibliography summarised *infra*, § 6.2 (catalogue entry no. 91).

⁷² The identification is in Brockmann 1992, 27.

⁷³ The dating is easily obtained by combining the biographical elements related to the movements of Rhosos, who worked on behalf of Bessarion in Rome around 1457; one should also take into consideration the titles of Bessarion, who is therein called ‘cardinal of Tusculum’ (see *supra*, § 2.1.3).

the margins of Par. gr. 1811 and Bessarion's manuscripts, as suggested by Stefano Martinelli Tempesta.⁷⁴ The analysis of Andronikos' annotations, compared with the text transmitted by mss. Marc. gr. Z. 185, 186, and 189 and by the Aldine edition, could not rule out that Kallistos found the corrections within the manuscripts of Bessarion. A few significant examples will be shown here.⁷⁵

In the margins of fol. 69v (*Politicus* 277d 10) Andronikos pointed out that the variant δεδέηκε was preferable to the one transmitted by the manuscript, δεδήλωκε. Marc. gr. Z. 185 (fol. 130v) reads in the main text δέδηκεν, which was corrected at a later stage with δέδηκεν by another hand; and a third hand annotated in the margin γρ. καὶ δεδήλωκεν. The reading δεδέηκε occurs in mss. Marc. gr. Z. 186 and 189 (respectively at fol. 109v and fol. 108r) and was eventually opted for in the Aldine edition.

At fol. 73r (*Politicus* 286b 5), the passive indicative aorist ἐμνήσθημεν is corrected by μνησθῶμεν (a correction accepted by modern editors of the work). The reading μνησθῶμεν is present in both Marc. gr. Z. 185 (132r) and Marc. gr. Z. 186 (112r), in the latter as a correction from ἐμνήσθημεν. Marc. gr. Z. 189 also contains ἐμνήσθημεν (111r). In this case, Musuros' choice in the Aldine edition, in which the reading ἐμνήσθημεν was printed, does not correspond to Andronikos' choice. At the same time, there are no elements on the grounds of which one could maintain that the sources employed by Andronikos for the textual supplementation of Par. gr. 1811 were surely the Marciani manuscripts. At least in principle, small clues may support different scenarios.

In the case of the supplementation of an erroneously omitted passage at *Symposium* 190d 1–2 (113r, νῦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦς, ἔφη, διατεμῶ δίχα ἕκαστον, ἅμα μὲν ἀσθενέστεροι ἔσονται), the correspondence between the *marginale* by Andronikos and the text of the Marciani is not perfect. All of Bessarion's manuscripts, indeed, read the conjunction καὶ before ἅμα;⁷⁶ the same also applies to the Aldine edition. It is not possible to establish if the omission was due to Kallistos or was caused by the consultation of a model which also lacked the καὶ. Analogously, in the supplementation of the text omitted due to a *saut du même au même* (γένος–

74 See Martinelli Tempesta 1997, 184 n. 13. The hypothesis of a connection was spontaneously formulated also because in Marc. gr. Z. 186 – composed of codicological units datable to different periods – Andronikos himself was responsible for the copy of *Phaedrus*.

75 In this short note I deal with a few cases of simple restorations of portions of text that were erroneously omitted in Par. gr. 1811. In the margins of fol. 72r Andronikos filled the *lacuna* occurring at *Politicus* 284a 8–b 1 because of a *saut du même au même* (μετρίου–μέτρον). Analogously, at fol. 110bisv is supplemented the omitted text corresponding to *Philebus* 49e 6–8 (in this case, the *saut du même au même* runs from γε to γε).

76 See Marc. gr. Z. 185 (187r), Marc. gr. Z. 186 (190r), Marc. gr. Z. 189 (192v).

γένος) at *Phaedo* 82b 6–7 (ἢ που μελιττῶν ἢ σφηκῶν ἢ μυρμηκῶν, καὶ εἰς ταυτόν γε πάλιν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος),⁷⁷ the disjunctive ἢ, unanimously present in the Marciani⁷⁸ and the Aldine edition, is absent from the *marginale* added by Kallistos at fol. 264v before καὶ εἰς ταυτόν.

Particularly interesting, albeit for different reasons, is a supplementation at *Charmides* 167b 2–3, which has already been pointed out by David J. Murphy. The text of the Parisinus (fol. 174r), ὅτι οἶδε κ' οἶδεν, was corrected by Andronikos to ὅτι οἶδε <καὶ ὅτι οὐ>κ οἶδεν, a phrasing which — one may suspect — is of conjectural nature and which has no parallels in the manuscript transmission,⁷⁹ on which both the text of the Aldine and the Latin translation authored by Marsilio Ficino (*ut quae quisque novit et quae non novit nosse et item non nosse cognoscat*) depend.⁸⁰ Martinelli Tempesta significantly emphasised the close proximity of the text of Par. gr. 1811 to the Latin translation of *Lysis*, also authored by Ficino.⁸¹ These details lead the discourse towards another aspect of the study of the Parisinus. As far as its history in the Quattrocento is concerned, everything would suggest that it was kept in Florence during the last quarter of that century. This hypothesis is based on the combination of philological, palaeographic, and prosopographic observations. Par. gr. 1811, whether it belonged to Palla or not, could have ended up in the Aldine *milieu* after passing through Florence, and Andronikos, who taught in that city from 1471 to 1474, could therefore be the common denominator of all these elements.

If this hypothesis were proven correct, one could make sense of the fact that the manuscript was owned by the Brescian humanist Carlo Valgulio (for a reproduction of an annotation in his hand see below [Fig. 5.9]).⁸² Having strong ties to

⁷⁷ In the passage, ταυτόν is not provided with a coronis, according to the custom of Byzantine orthography.

⁷⁸ See Marc. gr. Z. 185 (37r), Marc. gr. Z. 186 (36v). The entire passage 81e 2–82c 1 is missing in Marc. gr. Z. 189.

⁷⁹ See the situation in the manuscripts of Bessarion: Marc. gr. Z. 186 (306r) originally read ὅτι οἶδεν κ' οὐκ οἶδεν before the phrase κ' οὐκ οἶδεν was deleted; Marc. gr. Z. 189 (329r) reads ὅτι οὐκ οἶδεν; in Marc. gr. Z. 185 this dialogue is missing.

⁸⁰ See Murphy 2002, 151–152 and Murphy 2007, 223.

⁸¹ See Martinelli Tempesta 1997, 171

⁸² To the Latin annotations at fols 98r, 158r, 240r, 258r, 259r ascribed to Valgulio by Speranzi — see the record published online for the website of the project *Philelfiana* (<<http://philelfiana.unimc.it/>>, accessed on 27 March 2023) — we shall add the Greek *marginalia* found at fols <117v, 142v, 202r>. This handwriting displaying similarities with that of Demetrios Chalkondyles can be easily compared with Valgulio's autograph Vat. lat. 5671 (see e.g. fol. 57r); the palaeographic connection between the handwriting of Valgulio and that of Chalkondyles is discussed in Vorobyev 2016, 53–54, 227, 297.

the Florentine context and the Medici family, Valgulio was a fellow student of Ficino and the dedicatee of a Greek epigram composed by Poliziano⁸³ (a former student of Andronikos). A few years later he also established close contacts with Ianos Laskaris,⁸⁴ who took over at least two manuscripts belonging to the collection of Andronikos, namely the manuscript Par. gr. 2038, another manuscript used as *Vorlage* of the Aldine edition (in this case that of Aristotle), and Par. gr. 2715.⁸⁵

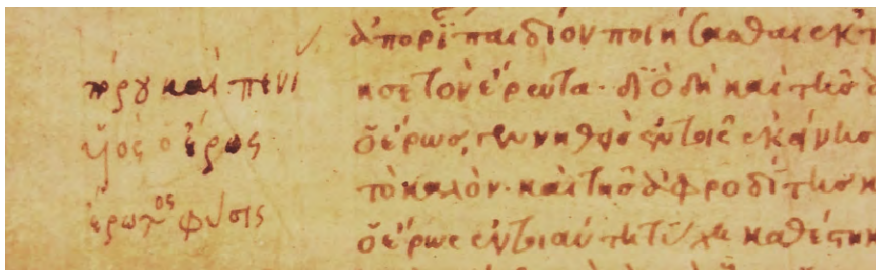


Fig. 5.9: Par. gr. 1811, fol. 117v; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

A previously neglected element can support this hypothesis. It is certain indeed that at least another manuscript, which ended up on Andronikos' desk (perhaps it was owned by him) went at a later stage to the collection of Valgulio. It is the case of Perus. H 19, a manuscript of the fifteenth century which transmits Oppian and was copied in the middle of the century by a Byzantine scribe who, I believe, should be identified with that <Antonios> already registered in reference catalogues.⁸⁶ On this occasion, <Kallistos> proceeded to add, with dark red ink, the title of the work (Ὀππιανοῦ Κυνηγετικῶν ἄ^{ου}) at fol. 2r (Fig. 5.10).⁸⁷

⁸³ See Pontani 2002, 10–16.

⁸⁴ See Pontani 1992, 407–408, 415–416. The role played by Valgulio and Laskaris in the events related to the text of Plato and to the manuscript Par. gr. 1811 was already highlighted by Martinnelli Tempesta 1997, 182–184.

⁸⁵ See *supra*, § 3.6.1.2.

⁸⁶ See RGK III 45 (with a *specimen* coming from Vat. gr. 912).

⁸⁷ For another reproduction, see Proietti 2016, plate XXI. Another scribe wrote the titles occurring at fols 21r (Ὀππιανοῦ κυνηγετικῶν δεῦτερον), 51r ([...] τρίτον) and 58v ([...] τέταρτον) with a lighter red ink.

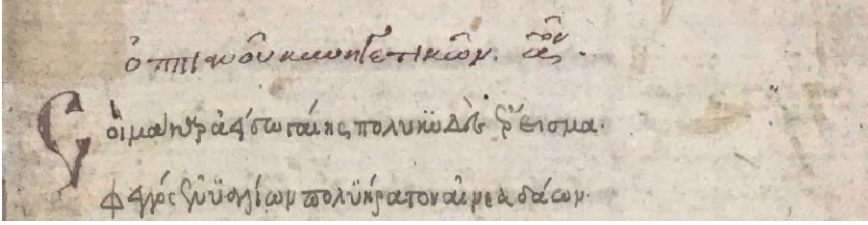


Fig. 5.10: Perus. H 19, fol. 2r; © Biblioteca Comunale Augusta.

It is easy to identify the name of the last known owner of the fifteenth century, who was precisely <Carlo Valgulio>, as attested by the *ex libris* at fol. 73r χαρόλου βαλγουλίου.⁸⁸ We do not know the circumstances in which the manuscript ended up in Perugia, where it was already mentioned in the old inventories (such as the one dated to about 1634). However, it is known that several other manuscripts, which are today kept at the Biblioteca comunale Augusta, come from the monastery of San Pietro in Perugia; it might be relevant that at least another manuscript of the collection of that monastery, namely the current Vat. gr. 1585, belonged to Ianos Laskaris.⁸⁹

5.3 Editing texts

5.3.1 Theocritus

The paramount role of the work of Theocritus within the didactic and philological activity of Andronikos has been mentioned on more than one occasion in the previous pages. First, I made reference to his contemporaries, who enthusiastically testified to his teaching activity in Bologna in the 1450s and 1460s.⁹⁰ The recent discovery of the handwriting of Andronikos in the *recollectae* of Laur. 66.31 — which transmit, besides commented translations of Homer and Demosthenes, the

⁸⁸ In this case, one must correct the data provided by Proietti 2016, 159 (in which the person is not identified and the name is given in the wrong form χαρέλου βαλγουλέου, with *epsilon* instead of *omicron* [in the name] and *iota* [in the surname]). The connection of the manuscript with Valgulio can be now explicitly stated. For the correctness of the spelling Χάρολος with initial *chi* and aspirated pronunciation, see also the epigram by Poliziano quoted *supra*.

⁸⁹ Identification by Canart 1979, 147–148; on the manuscript see now also Stefec 2012d, 504–506, 510, 523.

⁹⁰ See *supra*, § 1.1 and 1.4.

notes taken by an anonymous disciple about the text of the *Idylls* I–VIII of Theocritus (fols 404r–411v)⁹¹ — has further shed light on the teaching activity of Kallistos concerning the poems of Theocritus also in the 1470s of the fifteenth century during his sojourn in Florence (1471–1474).⁹²

Scholars have shed light on the relationship between Andronikos and an interesting fifteenth-century stage of the manuscript transmission of the *Idylls*. The starting point was Carlo Gallavotti's research on some *recentiores*. In his preliminary studies,⁹³ which culminated with the 1946 critical edition (of which the updated and corrected versions were published in 1955 and 1993) and more briefly in the pages of the *Appendix* to the edition itself,⁹⁴ Gallavotti identified a homogeneous group of manuscripts (all of which, grouped as *familia Parisina*, were copied after the first half of the fourteenth century), bearing only the text of *Idylls* I–XVIII and characterised by the contamination of the *recensio Planudea* and the *recensio Moschopulea*.⁹⁵

The main exponent of this *familia* is Par. gr. 2758, a manuscript connected with Kallistos for various reasons, as previously shown.⁹⁶ Gallavotti also identified a group of more recent manuscripts, all dating back to the second half of the fifteenth century, which lack any scholia and bear a text close to that of the *editio princeps*, printed in Milan in 1480/81 (*siglum* Med) by Bonaccorso Pisano.⁹⁷ Gallavotti considered as the most representative member of this group the manuscript Ambr. P 84 sup., which in the catalogue Martini-Bassi is attributed to the hand of Giorgio Valla.⁹⁸ On the grounds of this attribution, Gallavotti decided to name the entire group *genus Vallianum*.

91 These folios are mostly occupied by a Latin translation of the text; the first *Idyll* is also commented up to line 63. The contents are divided as follows: I (fols 404r–406r); II (406r–407v); III (407v–408r); IV (408rv); V (408v–409v); VI (409v); VII (409v–410r); VIII (lines 1–24) (410v).

92 See Orlandi 2014a.

93 Gallavotti 1934, Gallavotti 1936, Gallavotti 1939; see also Gallavotti 1980–1981.

94 Gallavotti 1993, 334–338.

95 For further details on the text of Moschopulos' *recensio*, see in particular Gallavotti 1934.

96 See *supra*, § 2.2.5.

97 *ISTC* it00143000. For this study I consulted the copy of the Milan edition kept in the Vatican Library, bearing the shelf mark Stamp. Ross. 553 and available at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>>.

98 Martini and Bassi, II, 1906, 715.

The eight other manuscripts of this *genus* identified by Gallavotti (of which I collated the first *Idyll* for the purposes of the present study) must be mentioned here:⁹⁹

Marc. gr. Z. 480 (Marc), copied in Rome by Georgios Tribizias for Bessarion, in all likelihood between 1468 and 1471;¹⁰⁰

Placent. 10 (Landi 6) (Placent), consisting of three codicological units: the first two units, coeval and produced by Iohannes Rhosos (who copied the text of Theocritus), are independent from the third one, which is the work of Giovanni Crastone;¹⁰¹

Gothan. membr. II 64 (Goth), dating back to the early 1480s and copied entirely by Iohannes Rhosos. The text of Theocritus occupies fols 87–130 within the fourth codicological unit of the manuscript, that was produced in October 1482 in Venice;¹⁰²

99 Gallavotti 1993, 335–336. Par. gr. 2726 must be added to the list, albeit only for *Idylls* XV, XVII, and XVIII.

100 The attribution to Tribizias is due to Mioni 1985a, 272 (who thus corrected the erroneous indication involving Iohannes Rhosos). The dating was suggested on the grounds of four elements: 1. known biographic data of Georgios Tribizias, from which results that he was still in Crete in September 1465 (see Speranzi 2016a, 143–158); 2. the title of Bessarion, who in the index named himself *episcopus Sabinensis* (a position held from October 1468); 3. the absence of the manuscript from the inventories of Biblioteca Marciana already in 1468 (see Labowsky 1979, 443); 4. the sojourn of Andronikos Kallistos in Rome (which lasted, as is known, until 1471), with which the origin of this manuscript is necessarily connected (see *infra*).

101 See Mioni 1965, II, 331. Rhosos, whose subscription is in fol. 13v, copied fols 3–101, which are subdivided as follows: unit I (= fols 3–13, *Batrachomyomachia*); unit II (= fols 14–101, Theocritus [14–73] and Hesiod [74–101]). The third codicological unit of the manuscript (= fols 102–129), containing the *Orphic Argonautica* and realised by Crastone, was dated by Mioni and by subsequent scholars to 1437 (see e.g. Gualdo Rosa 1984) because of an erroneous interpretation of the numbers (which perhaps should be read as ‘2437’) that are placed at the end of the text of the *Argonautica*. Moreover, Mioni’s dating does not seem to be correct in the light of the known biographical information about Giovanni Crastone; see the remarks made by Eleuteri and Canart 1991, 158.

102 The manuscript consists of four units, all of which are potentially independent and more or less coeval. They were assembled by Iohannes Rhosos, who placed in the centre of the inferior margins a running quire numeration provided with Greek letters (α – $\iota\delta$). The first codicological unit (= fols 1–45, Chrysoloras’ *Erotemata*) was completed, as evidenced by the subscription of Rhosos (see fol. 44v; fol. 45rv is blank), on 24 September 1481 in Venice; for the text of Chrysoloras in the Gotha manuscript see Rollo 2012, 52 (with further bibliography). The second unit (= fols 46–67; fol. 67rv is blank), containing Aesop’s *Fables*, and the third unit (= fols 68–86), containing Hesiod’s works, are not subscribed. The fourth unit (= fols 87–130), as previously said, was completed in October 1482 (see fol. 130v), that is to say about one year later than the first one.

- Laur. 32.46 (Laur), wholly copied by Iohannes Skutariotes in the early 1470s (probably in Florence) and belonging to Angelo Poliziano, who annotated it copiously;¹⁰³
- Vat. gr. 1380 (Vat), the handwriting of which I would hereby ascribe to <Georgios Tzangaropoulos>, datable on codicological grounds to the middle 1460s;¹⁰⁴
- Salm. 230 (Salm), also datable to the 1460s and subscribed in the Theocritean section by Matthaïos Sebastos Lampudes, a scribe native of Peloponnese and surely active in Ferrara and Florence;¹⁰⁵
- Par. gr. 2834 (Par2834), copied in the last quarter of the fifteenth century by a scribe who was certainly not a Greek. The same hand is also found in the margins of <Laur. 31.16> (see e.g. fols 2r, 12v, 35v, 68rv), a ‘Florentine’ manuscript of Aristophanes copied by Iohannes Skutariotes;¹⁰⁶
- Par. gr. 2596 (Par2596), also copied by a scribe that was non a Greek (see fols 239–259 for Theocritus), whose subscription, written in 1475, displays the name ‘Iohannes’.

In a study on the manuscript production of Iohannes Skutariotes published in a miscellaneous volume, Stefano Martinelli Tempesta rejected the identification (which was formulated by Martini and Bassi in their catalogue and then endorsed by Gallavotti) of Giorgio Valla as the copyist of Ambr. P 84 sup. Martinelli Tempesta correctly identified Andronikos Kallistos as the scribe of the whole manuscript.¹⁰⁷ Wishing for a new stemmatic investigation of the relations between the

103 The identification of the handwriting of Skutariotes, as well as a proposal for a dating based on a fresh codicological investigation of the manuscript, are discussed in Martinelli Tempesta 2012, 526 ff.

104 Indeed, in the manuscript two watermarks typical of the volumes copied in Rome around the middle of 1460s within the milieu of cardinal Bessarion are found: a drawing *Arbalète* (folded *in-octavo*; see e.g. fols 8, 12, 13, 33, 55) and, in a single case (namely in bifolium 54/57, folded *in-quarto*), a *Huchet* very close to type 18 Harlfinger (approximately dated to 1461–1468). I will include here some information about the manuscript. It is a small paper manuscript (mm 206 × 143), with a written area containing 29 lines, sized about mm 145 × 90. However, only 15 lines are dedicated to the text: the remaining free spaces, at intervals of one line, are devoted to scholia and annotations. I point out that this *mise en page* closely resembles that of Ambr. P 84 sup. Fol. 26v is inexplicably left blank, since there is no loss of text between the words αἱ δὲ γυναικες, the last ones at fol. 26r, and αἰαῖ παντὶ Φιλῆνε, the first words of fol. 27r (= *Idyll* VII, vv. 120–121).

105 On the origin of this manuscript, dated to the 1460s, in which the handwriting of Rhosos is also present, see Martínez Manzano 2015a, 170–171.

106 See *supra*, § 2.3.2.2. Remarks on this manuscript are now found in Muttini 2019a, 8, 15, 28.

107 See Martinelli Tempesta 2012, 531–534.

Ambrosianus and the other manuscripts of the *genus* (that Martinelli Tempesta renamed *Andronicianum*), such as Laur. 32.46, that was copied by Skutariotes and ended up in the hands of Poliziano, Martinelli Tempesta went so far as to hypothesise that Andronikos Kallistos played a crucial role in the establishment of the textual typology of the *genus* itself, on which, as previously said, the first printed edition was based.

The open questions can be summarised as follows: 1. what is the role of manuscript Ambr. P 84 sup. within the *genus* described by Gallavotti? 2. Could Andronikos Kallistos actually have played a main role in the formation of this text? 3. If so, what were the sources accessible to Andronikos, from which this textual typology shared by so few *recentiores* originated, all of which are datable starting from the 1460s?

These questions need to be answered by approaching the whole range of interests of Andronikos towards the text of Theocritus. After all, we have already mentioned the numerous Greek manuscripts variously related to Kallistos, as well as the Latin translation included in the *recollectae* of Laur. 66.31. In this case, I managed to preliminarily demonstrate the proximity of the Latin version to the Greek text of the *genus*. A few examples will follow, in which the Latin translation corresponds to the Greek readings that are unanimously transmitted by the witnesses of the group (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: The Greek manuscripts of the *genus* and the Latin translation found in Laur. 66.31.

ed. Gallavotti	mss. of the <i>genus</i>	Laur. 66.31
1.56 αἰολίχον θάημα	αἰπολικόν τι θάημα	caprarium quoddam miraculum
1.57 καλυδνίω	καλυδωνίω	calydonio
1.62 κερτομέω	φθονέω	invideo
1.100 ποταμείβετο	ποταμείψατο	respondit
1.114	<i>post v. 115 trsp.</i>	<i>post v. 115 trsp.</i>

As far as the Greek manuscripts beyond Ambr. P 84 sup. are concerned, one has to mention, first of all, the textual and codicological restorations of two books that were certainly included in Andronikos' collection: the manuscript Lips. 34+33 (fourteenth century, containing also Pindar and Hesiod) and Athos, Μονή Ἰβήρων 161 (a polygenetic composite manuscript, the units of which are datable

from the twelfth to the fourteenth century).¹⁰⁸ Moreover, one should not forget to mention the *marginalia* of Lond. Burney 109, a book that was part of the collection of one of Kallistos' 'Florentine' disciples (the so-called *Anonymus* 51 Harlfinger).¹⁰⁹

The obligatory starting point of the investigation is the Ambrosianus, the only extant source of the text of Theocritus entirely copied by Andronikos, which unfortunately lacks the final section because of the loss of some folios (after *Id.* XV 111). The manuscript is of medium-small size, without annotations and with wide margins, characterised by a spacious *mise en page* displaying only 15 writing lines (although the ruling scheme has 29 lines).¹¹⁰ A palaeographic and codicological analysis leaves no doubt that the manuscript must be dated to the early 1460s of the fifteenth century and localised among Padua, Ferrara, and Bologna.¹¹¹

As far as the text is concerned, I firstly tried to explain the nature of the textual relations among this sample and the other manuscripts related to Andronikos, starting from the annotations in the margins of Lond. Burney 109, the dating of which can be safely established: indeed, it is quite certain that Kallistos could consult (and correct) this manuscript only at the time of his Florentine stay (1471–1474).¹¹²

108 The Athos manuscript (*sigla* N₁ and N₂ in Gallavotti 1993) is composed of six codicological units, attributable to different epochs (see *infra*, § 6.2 [catalogue entry no. 61]). The Theocritean section (thirteenth century, copied by a single scribe) currently occupies folios 86–106 and transmits the *Idylls* in the following order: I, V, VI, IV, VII–IX, II, X–XV, III. On the grounds of a direct inspection, the irregular composition of the quires of this section can be specified here. Folios 86–106 (–87 +104^{bis}) correspond from a codicological point of view to three quires: the first two quires are complete (86–94; 95–102); the third one (103–106+104^{bis}) lacks three folios (= nos 1, 7–8 of the original quire). To sum up: 1–2⁸, 3⁸⁻³. The loss of the first folio of the third quire (between current fols 102 and 103) brought about a small textual loss (*Id.* XII,23–XIII,56), as already pointed out by Gallavotti 1993, 301. In the view of Gallavotti (1993, 301; for a more detailed discussion see also Gallavotti 1939), the manuscript would transmit the text in a mixed *recensio*, in which are contaminated materials from the *familia Vaticana* (Va) and materials from the *familia Laurentiana* (La): the scholia, which precede the text, are said to derive from the *familia Vaticana*, as well as *Idylls* IX–XV and III (= N₂), whereas *Idylls* I, V, VI, IV and VIII (= N₁) present a text consistent with the members of the *familia Laurentiana*.

109 See *supra*, § 4.1.3; on the *Anonymus* 51 Harlfinger see also Orlandi 2020c, 463–481.

110 For the manuscripts of Andronikos having the same *mise en page* see *supra*, § 2.2.6.

111 The handwriting is compatible with other samples datable to the same years. Moreover, the watermark *Couronne* is recurring in the folios of the Ambrosianus (this drawing was extensively mentioned above, see *supra* § 2.2).

112 See Orlandi 2020c, 472–472, 481.

Thus, I verified the possibility that the notes of the London manuscript, chronologically subsequent to manuscript Ambr. P 84 sup., depend precisely upon the Ambrosianus itself (the *siglum* employed here is Ambr). Secondly, I verified whether the notes can be explained in the light of other Theocritean books included in the library of Andronikos, such as Lips. gr. 34 (Lips) and Athos 161 (Athos). A few examples of the results of this investigation are listed here:¹¹³

Id. I 11 = Kallistos wrote in the margin a variant, *al(ias)*¹¹⁴ ἄξι, as an alternative to the reading ἄξεις, transmitted by the London manuscript. This is the situation of the other manuscripts: ἄξι Ambr Athos: ἄξεις Lips.

Id. I 135 = the entire line, erroneously omitted in the London manuscript, was thus restored by Kallistos: δάφνης ἐπεὶ θνήσκει καὶ τῶς κύνας ὠλαφος. The reading θνήσκει is found in Ambr and Athos, against θνάσκει of Lips. The reading ὠλαφος is found only in Lips (≠ ἔλλαφος Ambr: ἔλαφος Athos).

Id. II 5 = the entire line, omitted in the London manuscript, is recovered in the margin by Andronikos: οὐδ' ἔγνω πότερον τεθνάκαμες ἢ ζοοὶ εἰμές. The reading τεθνάκαμες is only attested in Lips (≠ τεθνήκαμες Ambr Athos).

113 The comparison cannot be systematic, since the Leipzig manuscript terminates at *Id.* VIII. Anyway, I will list here some relevant cases for the relation among the London, Athos, and Milan manuscripts. a) At *Id.* X 7–11, Kallistos is responsible, first of all, for the reordering of these lines, which are transmitted by the London manuscripts in the wrong order: 7, 10, 9, 8, 11. Regardless of the restoration of the correct order of the lines, it is noteworthy that Andronikos did not introduce in the London manuscript any peculiar variants of the other manuscripts: at line 10 (οὐδαμᾶ συνέβά τοι ἀγρυπνήσαι δι' ἔρωτα Lond) he did not add νῦν after οὐδαμᾶ, as Ambr and Athos would have suggested to do. He preferred to 'move' in that position the particle τοι, which was already present in the text of the London manuscript. The particle γε (not present in Ambr Athos) of line 11 (μῆδέ γε συμβαίη. χαλεπὸν χορίω κύνα γεῦσαι) was not expunged from the text of Lond. b) At *Id.* XI 18, Andronikos corrected ἀείδε (which is the reading of Lond) by writing ἄειδεν. This is the situation of the other manuscripts: ἦειδεν Ambr: ἀείδε Athos. c) At *Id.* XI 23, Kallistos restored in the margin the omitted line: οἴχη δ' εὐθύς ἰοῖσα ὄκα γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆ με. This exact sequence corresponds to the reading of Ambr and Athos. d) This is the situation at *Id.* XI 32: ποτὶ ἐποτὶ Lond, ἐπὶ scr. s.l. Kallistos: ποτὶ Ambr Athos. e) *Id.* XIII 39: ἔγχος Lond, in ἄγγος corr. s.l. Kallistos: ἄγγος Ambr: deest Ambr. f) *Id.* XIV (titulus) αἰσχίνας ἢ θυώνιχος] ἢ θυώνιχος (Lond) is expunged and corrected by Kallistos in ἡ κυνίσκας ἔρωτος. The title is missing in Athos, but in the synopsis put before the text one can read the noun θυώνιχος; Ambr has the title αἰσχίνας ἢ κυνίσκας ἔρωτος. g) *Id.* XV 68: ἀμῶν] δμωῆς Lond, supra δμωῆς scr. γρ. ἀμῶν Kallistos: ἀμῶν Ambr Athos: deest Lips.

114 I adopted the expansion of the abbreviation described in the *Dizionario di Abbreviature latine ed italiane* by Adriano Cappelli (Milan: Hoepli, 1912, p. 12). I am aware of the possibility that the same abbreviation can be also understood as *aliter*.

Id. VIII 28–29 = the correction by Andronikos involves the last two words of the line: ἦνθ' ἐπακοῦσαι (probably instead of ἦνθ' ἐπακούσας). The aorist infinitive ἐπακοῦσαι is the reading of Ambr and Athos against the present ἐπακούειν of Lips. Also in the following line, that was omitted by the scribe of the London manuscript and restored by Kallistos (χοί μὲν παῖδες ἄειδον ὁ δ' αἰπόλος ἤθελε κρῖναι), the aorist is maintained: κρῖναι (Ambr Athos) against κρίνειν (Lips).

As is evident, it is possible to demonstrate that Andronikos' corrections of the text of Theocritus transmitted by the manuscript Burney 109 *do not depend uniquely* on the text of the Ambrosianus: they actually disagree with it more than once. The nature of these variants can be explained only by taking into account, in addition to the Ambrosianus, the text of the two oldest Theocritean books possessed by Kallistos, namely the Leipzig and the Athos manuscripts, with which they alternately agree.

It follows that manuscript Ambr P 84 sup. reflects only one stage of Andronikos' reflection on the text of Theocritus: a stage which, as suggested by the codicological remarks, is datable to the 1460s. Moreover, the Ambrosianus was not apparently part of the library of Kallistos, for no historical evidence would support this claim: the manuscript was not part of any known routes of dispersal of his collection.¹¹⁵ Judging by the *facies* itself of the manuscript — characterised by a *mise en page* predisposed to include marginal and interlinear annotations¹¹⁶ — one could hypothesise that it was produced in a school context, on the basis of a model made available by the master.

It seems unlikely that Andronikos amended the London manuscript in Florence by looking *simultaneously* at various manuscripts he owned, namely Lips. 34 and Athon. 161. Perhaps it would be easier to assume that the source, which he employed for the correction of Lond. Burney 109, was a different manuscript in his hand, in which all of these variants, preliminarily selected by Kallistos himself, were already present. In other words, one can imagine that Andronikos' activity on both the Ambrosianus and the Londinensis was based on a working model, the text of which was open to the addition of new variants, and in which

115 I cannot say how it ended up in the hands of Demetrios Chalkondyles, to whom the abundant marginal notes identified by Antonio Rollo are due (identification in Martinelli Tempesta 2012, 533 n. 72).

116 See *supra*, § 2.2.6.

the readings of the two older manuscripts, and possibly of other manuscripts, were inserted in the space among text, margins, and interline.¹¹⁷

One can demonstrate that the text of the Ambrosianus, the eponymous manuscript of the *genus*, is the result of a selection of variants coming from the two old manuscript owned by Andronikos, i.e. Athos. 161 and Lips. 34. The following examples from the first *Idyll* (Table 5.4) will prove this:

Table 5.4: A comparison between the text of Ambr. P 84 sup., Athos Ἰβήρων 161, and Lips. gr. 34.

ed. Gallavotti	Ambr. P 84 sup.	Athos Ἰβήρων 161	Lips. gr. 34
1.19 αείδες	αείδε	αείδες	αείδε
1.20 μοίσας	μώσας	μώσας	μοίσας
1.36 γέλαισα	γελῶσα	γελεῦσα	γελῶσα
1.50 ἀνησεῖν	ἀνήσειν	ἀνήσειν	ἀνάσειν
1.65 ἄδέα φωνά	ἄδ' ἀφωνά	ἄδε ἀ φωνά	ἄδ' ἀφωνά
1.81 Πρίηπος	Πρίαπος	Πρίαπος	Πρίηπος
1.91 ταῖσι	τῆσι	τῆσι (<i>e corr.</i>)	ταῖσι
1.94 πάλιν	φίλαι	πάλιν	φίλαι
1.100 ποταμείβετο	ποταμείψατο	ποταμείψατο	ποταμείβετο
1.108	<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>	<i>habet</i>
1.114	<i>post v. 115 trsp.</i>	<i>post v. 115 trsp.</i>	<i>suo loco habet</i>

117 In addition to the readings that can be explained on the grounds of the two manuscripts owned by Kallistos (Athos and Lips), in the witnesses of the *genus* readings are found, albeit more rarely, belonging to other lines of transmission, which are necessarily due to the consultation of other manuscripts. I will list here some examples, starting from the lemmata of the edition by Gallavotti 1993: 1.77 πράτιστος] πρώτιστος Athos Lips → Marc Par2596 Goth Med : πρώτιστος *i.t.*, -α *s.l.* Par2834 : πράτιστος Ambr Salm Placent Vat Laur, 1.113 βούταν] βώταν Athos Lips → Ambr Marc Par2596 Par2834 Goth Med : βούταν Salm Placent Vat Laur, 1.125 λίπε] λίπε Athos Lips → Marc Goth Med : λίπε *i.t.*, -ον *s.l.* Par2596 : λίτον Ambr Salm Placent Vat Par2834 Laur. Among the other important Theocritean manuscripts known to me, which Andronikos could have consulted, there is above all Par. gr. 2758, made by Isaak Argyros, which I have already mentioned in the previous chapters (see *supra*, § 2.2.5). One cannot rule out in principle the possibility that Kallistos resorted, albeit sporadically, to Marc. gr. Z. 466 (owned by Bessarion), to Vat. gr. 915 (which circulated in the milieu of Bessarion, and from which Andronikos himself copied some writings; see *supra* § 1.2.2), and to the ancient Ambr. C 222 inf. (which belonged to his student, Giorgio Merula).

ed. Gallavotti	Ambr. P 84 sup.	Athos Ἰβήρων 161	Lips. gr. 34
1.134 ἄναλλα	ἔναλλα	ἄναλλα	ἔναλλα
1.135 ὦλαφος	ἔλλαφος	ἔλαφως	ὦλαφος
1.135 θνάσκει	θνήσκει	θνήσκει	θνάσκει
1.138 ἀνεπαύσατο	ἀπεπαύσατο	ἀνεπαύσατο	ἀπεπαύσατο
1.147 τρώγοις	τράγοις	τράγοις	τρώγοις

Further clues about the role played by the two main manuscripts of Andronikos in the formation of the text of the *genus* come from the investigation of other manuscripts of this group. M. Sanchez Ruipérez, who authored a detailed monographic study of the manuscript Salm. 230 (copied by Matthaios Sebastos Lampudes), emphasised the contaminated nature of the Salamanca manuscript and the impossibility of tracing its readings back to a single line of transmission: ‘es de suponer que el original fue un códice del *genus Vallianum* con lecciones interlineales o marginales [...] que Lampudes — o el copista de su modelo — contaminaron’.¹¹⁸ One can now add that also the variants of the Salamanca manuscript, as in the case of the Ambrosianus, can be explained, alternately, on the grounds of the text of Athos and Lips (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: A comparison between the text of Salm. 230, Athos Ἰβήρων 161, and Lips. gr. 34.

ed. Gallavotti	Salm. 230	Athos Ἰβήρων 161	Lips. gr. 34
1.19 αἰίδες	αἰίδε	αἰίδες	αἰίδε
1.20 βουκολικᾶς	βωκολικᾶς	βουκολικᾶς	βωκωλικᾶς
1.20 μοίσας	μώσας	μώσας	μοίσας
1.21 τὰν	τὴν	τὴν	τὰν
1.36 γέλαισα	γελῶσα	γελεῦσα	γελῶσα
1.49 φοιτῆ	φοιτᾶ	φοιτᾶ	φοιτῆ
1.50 ἀνησεῖν	ἀνήσειν	ἀνήσειν	ἀνάσειν
1.65 ἀδέα φωνά	ἄδ' ἀφωνα	ἄδε ἀ φωνά	ἄδ' ἀφωνα
1.85 ζάτεισ'	ζητοῖσ'	ζητοῖσ' (e ζα- corr.)	ζατεῦσα
1.98 ἧ ρ'	ἄρ'	ἄρ'	ἧ ρ'

¹¹⁸ Sanchez Ruipérez 1950, 88.

ed. Gallavotti	Salm. 230	Athos Ἰβήρων 161	Lips. gr. 34
1.100 ποταμείβετο	ποταμείψατο	ποταμείψατο	ποταμείβετο
1.114	<i>post v. 115 trsp.</i>	post v. 115 trsp.	<i>suo loco habet</i>
1.134 ἄναλλα	ἔναλλα	ἄναλλα	ἔναλλα
1.135 ὄλαφος	ἔλλαφως	ἔλαφως	ὄλαφος
1.135 θνάσκει	θνήσκει	θνήσκει	θνάσκει
1.138 ἀνεπαύσατο	ἀπεπαύσατο	ἀνεπαύσατο	ἀπεπαύσατο
1.140 μοιρᾶν	μοιρῶν	μοιρῶν	μοιρᾶν

Beyond the mere textual issues, a new investigation of the Salamanca manuscript decisively reinforced the connection between this witness of the *genus* and Andronikos. No one has previously observed that the person responsible for some of the titles written in red ink is none other than <Andronikos Kallistos> himself (see Fig. 5.11), who in all likelihood had to supervise the copying operations.

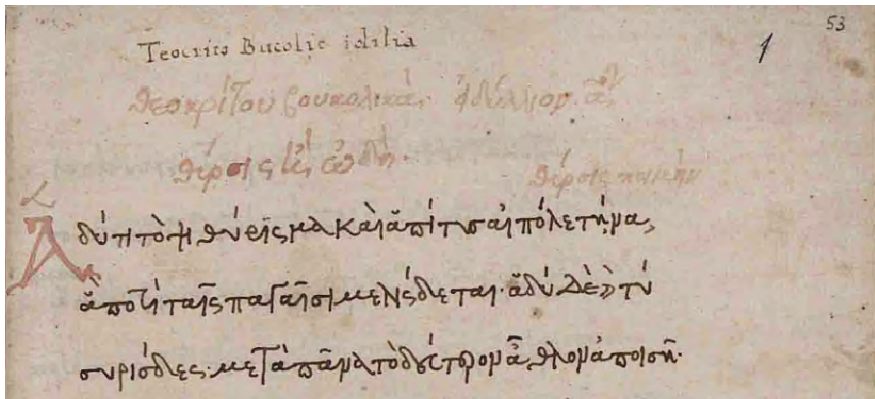


Fig. 5.11: Salm. 230. fol. 53r; © Biblioteca Universitaria.

Salm. 230 is made of four codicological units, independent and distinguished from one another, which, however, were soon assembled as a single volume. The first unit, in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos, contains the *Fables* of Aesop; the second one, copied by Matthaios Sebastos Lampudes, contains Theocritus' *Idylls*;

the third and the fourth one, copied by Michael Lygizos, contains the *Orphic Argonautics* and *Batrachomyomachia*.¹¹⁹ The identification of the handwriting of Kallistos in the Theocritean section comes in addition to other data, already known to previous research, which had led scholars to assume a connection between the whole manuscript and the teaching activity of Andronikos.¹²⁰

As far as the text of Theocritus is concerned, it is known, thanks to the research of Teresa Martínez Manzano, that manuscript Salm. 230 represented the basis of the Latin translation which Martínez Manzano herself discovered in Salm. 71, a manuscript which had been already related in another way to the Bolognese school of Kallistos (1462–1466).¹²¹ Furthermore, I point out that the watermarks of the Theocritean section, copied by Lampudes, point to Ferrara and Bologna,¹²² i.e. to cities in which Kallistos sojourned in the early 1460s. Unfortunately, we are not well informed about Lampudes' movement in Italy. On the grounds of a complete examination of the manuscripts attributed to him, many of which are not provided with *subscriptio*,¹²³ it is possible to identify two geographic and temporal coordinates: his activity as a scribe during the 1460s and 1470s; his sojourn in central Italy, between Emilia-Romagna (where the first contact with Kallistos might have occurred) and Florence. Finally, further clues on the connection between Salm. 230 and Andronikos come from research on textual criticism. For the *Orphic Argonautics*, the Salamanca manuscript turns out to be

119 See Martínez Manzano 2015a, 170–171 (merging the third and the fourth parts in the hand of Lygizos in a single unit).

120 I point out that, in other manuscripts of the *genus*, a selection of recurrent authors is combined with the text of Theocritus, such as the *Fables* of Aesop (Salm and Goth), the *Batrachomyomachia* (Salm, Goth, and Placent), Hesiod's *Works and days* (Goth and Placent), and the *Orphic Argonautics* (Salm and Placent).

121 See Martínez Manzano 2009. For further details on the scribe of Salm. 71, who has been recognised as a student of Andronikos, see *supra* § 4.1.5.2.

122 See Martínez Manzano 2015a, 171 n. 251.

123 In addition to (1) Salm. 230, subscribed (fol. 120v), one must mention: (2) Pal. gr. 246, paper, of Homeric content (*Ilias*), subscribed in Ferrara (fol. 323v); (3) Mutin. α U.2.11, parchment, bearing the text of the *Compendium* of Chrysoloras' *Erotemata*; (4) Monac. gr. 330, parchment, subscribed in Florence (fol. 166r), belonged to Demetrios Chalkondyles and after to Daniele Gaetani, of Aristotelic content (it is a copy of Laur. 87.25, kept in the monastery of San Marco); (5) Utin. 257, parchment, also subscribed in Florence, of the same content as Monac. gr. 330; (6) Par. gr. 2835 (second unit), parchment, containing the *Idylls* of Theocritus, subscribed in Florence (fol. 96v); (7) Vind. Phil. gr. 127, parchment, of miscellaneous content (Chalkondyles' *Grammatica*, excerpts from Moschopulos, ps.-Aristotle's *De virt. et vit.*, excerpts from Xenophon, some *Idylls* of Theocritus [VI–XIV, XVI–XVIII]); (8) Olomouc. M 73 (first part), of Demosthenic content. A new manuscript can be added here to those already known: (9) <Barb. gr. 105>, paper, containing Aesop's *Fables*.

a book of Kallistos' library: it is the fourth codicological unit of Mutin. α T.9.2 (= fols 99–130, also in this case copied by Lygizos).¹²⁴

Sample collation confirm that the considerations made about Ambr. and Salm. can be extended to all the other manuscripts of the *genus*, such as, for instance, Marc. gr. Z. 480 — of which the connection with Kallistos has been demonstrated more than once¹²⁵ — and the Milan edition of 1480/81, printed by Bonaccorso Pisano, who — and this is no minor consideration — took over Kallistos' book collection.¹²⁶

The basic text, so homogeneous that it allows us to isolate this group from the extant Theocritean witnesses, bears variants in each manuscript which are traceable in most cases either to manuscript Athon. 161 or to manuscript Lips. 34. In addition, one can demonstrate that the intermediary between the two old manuscripts and the *recentiores* of the *genus* is a manuscript, now lost, in which all these potentially 'active' variants were written in the interline and margins (as Sanchez Ruipérez assumed for Salm. 230), since indecision between *adiaphorae* variants is reproduced with accuracy in certain manuscripts in the form of interlinear annotations. I will show here (Table 5.6), for instance, the cases of mss. Par. gr. 2596 and Par. gr. 2834. In these two manuscripts the scribes, instead of transcribing only one of the two variants they read in the antigraph, decided in several cases to copy both.

Table 5.6: Variant readings of the manuscripts Par. gr. 2596 and Par. gr. 2834.

ed. Gallavotti	Athos'Ιβήρων161	Lips. gr. 34	Par. gr. 2596	Par. gr. 2834
1.11 ἀξῆ	ἀξῆ	ἀξῆ	ἀξεῖς, ἀξῆ s.l.	ἀξῆ
1.22 τᾶν	τᾶν	τῶν	τῶν, -α- s.l.	τᾶν
1.49 φοιτῆ	φοιτᾶ	φοιτῆ	φοιτῆ, -ᾶ s.l.	φοιτῆ
1.77 ὄρεος	ὄρεος	οὔρεος	οὔρεος, -ω- s.l.	οὔρεος, -ω- s.l.
1.81 Πρίαπος	Πρίαπος	Πρίηπος	Πρίηπος, -α- s.l.	Πρίηπος, -α- s.l.
1.98 ἦ ρ'	ἄρ'	ἦ ρ'	ἦρ', α- s.l.	ἄρ'
1.100 ποταμείβετο	ποταμείψατο	ποταμείβετο	ποταμείβετο, -ψα- s.l.	ποταμείψατο
1.106 ἀγγίσαν	ἀγγίσαν	ἀγγίσην	ἀγγίσην	ἀγγίσην, -α- s.l.

¹²⁴ See Vian 1979, 29.

¹²⁵ See *supra*, § 2.3.1.

¹²⁶ See *supra*, § 3.2.

ed. Gallavotti	Athos'Ιβήρων ¹⁶¹	Lips. gr. 34	Par. gr. 2596	Par. gr. 2834
1.135 ὄλαφος	ἔλαφος	ὄλαφος	ὄλαφος	ὄλαφος, ἔ- s.l.
1.136 κήξ	κάξ	κήξ	κήξ, -α- s.l.	κάξ
1.138 ἀνεπαύσατο	ἀνεπαύσατο	ἀπεπαύσατο	ἀπεπαύσατο, -ν- s.l.	ἀνεπαύσατο (ex ἀπ- corr.)
1.139 μάν	μάν	μῆν	μῆν, -α- s.l.	μάν ex μῆν corr.
1.147 τρώγοις	τράγοις	τρώγοις	τρώγοις, -α- s.l.	τρώγοις, -α- s.l.

Unlike what has been observed in the case of Ambr. P 84 sup. and Salm. 230, two manuscripts datable to the first half of the 1460s, it is noted that the later manuscripts Par. gr. 2596 and Par. gr. 2834 prefer, as far as the choice between variants is concerned, the readings of Lips, whereas the readings traceable to the Athos manuscript are systematically added *supra lineam*. One could now wonder if, in the light of this circumstance, it is possible to obtain more information on the structure of the antigraph at a more advanced stage of Andronikos' study of the text of Theocritus. In other words, was this a free choice of the scribes of both Parisini (in the case of Par. gr. 2596, a Westerner called Iohannes, active during the last quarter of the century), or rather a reflection of the selection made in the model, in which, over time, the readings of Lips supplanted those of Athos?¹²⁷

In particular, one has to take into consideration another reading that occurs in the manuscripts of the *genus*, which attests to the 'open' character of the text, which from a graphic point of view displayed *adiaphorae* variants in the interline.

In a letter dated 14 October 1492,¹²⁸ Antonio Urceo Codro, ideal successor of Andronikos as Greek teacher in Bologna, friend and collaborator of Manuzio, wrote to Aldo about the reading ἕνας (*Id.* XVIII 14), which in the text available to Manuzio was ostensibly corrupt. Codro suggested a correction to his friend:

Versum Theocriti, qui est in Helenae epithalamio, corruptum habes, ideo intelligere non potes. Ego integrum habeo et manu Andronici, viri doctissimi et eloquentissimi. Sic autem iacet: παῖσδειν ἐς βαθὺν ὄρθρον. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἕναν καὶ ἐς ἁῶ, ubi ἕναν legis positum pro ἔννην,

¹²⁷ I point out that the preference for the readings of Lips is shared in most cases also by Marc. gr. Z. 480, copied in Rome by Tribizias for Bessarion under the supervision of Andronikos. A few examples will follow: 1.15 μεσαμβρινόν] μεσημβρινόν Lips Marc; 1.50 ἀνησεῖν] Lips Marc; 1.75 δὲ] δ' αὖ Lips Marc; 1.98 ἀργαλέω] ἀργαλέου Lips Marc; 1.148 τύγα] τύγε Lips Marc.

¹²⁸ Published in Schück 1862, 117–118. See now the commented digital edition available at the address <<https://latlab.org/letter-6/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

dorice. ἔνη autem significat finem et principium mensis, vel lunae. Dicitur tamen conjunctim ἔνη καὶ νέα, sed Theocritus primam tantum partem posuit. Lege Aristophanis *Νεφέλας*: εὐθὺς μετὰ ταύτην ἔστ' ἔνη τε καὶ νέα et infra etiam saepe. Julius quoque Pollux haec dicit primo libro, ubi de partibus mensis loquitur: ὁμοίως ἄχρι τῆς τριακάδος, ἦν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καλοῦσιν ἔνην τε καὶ νέαν. Hoc autem est quando luna vetus est ac nova, ut dicere nunc solemus. Plura super hac re scriberem, nisi te plura apud Aristophanis commentaria lecturum existimarem. Pulcher certe est hic Theocriti locus et ratio metri quadrat.

Theocritus' verse, which occurs in the *Epithalamium of Helen*, is corrupt in your copy, so that you cannot understand it. In my copy it is sound, copied by the hand of Andronikos, a most learned and eloquent man. The verse lies like this: παῖσδεν ἐς βαθὺν ὄρθρον. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔναν καὶ ἐς ἄω, in which you read ἔναν in doric instead of ἔνην. Ἔνη means beginning or end of solar and lunar month. However, the joint expression is ἔνη καὶ νέα, although Theocritus placed here only the first part. Read Aristophanes' *Clouds*: εὐθὺς μετὰ ταύτην ἔστ' ἔνη τε καὶ νέα [= *Nub.* 1134] and further down even frequently. Julius Pollux [= *Onom.* I 63 (8–9 Bethel)] says the same thing in the first book, in the passage in which he talks about the parts of months: ὁμοίως ἄχρι τῆς τριακάδος, ἦν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καλοῦσιν ἔνην τε καὶ νέαν. It is like this when the moon is 'old' and 'new', as one usually says nowadays. I would write more on this topic, if I did not think that you are going to read more in the commentaries to Aristophanes. This passage from Theocritus is certainly beautiful and the metre works.

Eventually, in the Aldine edition of Theocritus published in February 1496, the verse was printed in this fashion: παῖσδεν ἐς βαθὺν ὄρθρον. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἕνας καὶ ἐς ἄω,¹²⁹ and this is how we read it today in the critical text by Gallavotti. It is known that Aldo employed as a model for his edition the eighteen *Idylls* that he read in the Milan *editio princeps* printed in 1480 by Bonaccorso Pisano.¹³⁰ The *editio princeps* — which, while worth remembering, belongs in its own right to the same branch of transmission of the manuscripts of the *genus* — bears in this *locus* the inexplicable reading ἕνας, which justifiably must have raised Aldo's suspicion, leading him to ask his friend for help.¹³¹ However, Codro bears witness that the

129 *ISTC* = it00144000, fol. DVIIIv.

130 The basic text of the *princeps* was later enriched with materials coming from a witness very close to Vat. gr. 1311 (since the latter does not display traces of printer's activity, it is believed that the model was a copy of it); the second Aldine edition could have been further enriched with materials coming from Vat. gr. 1379 and from other sources. For all this data I refer to Sicherl 1997, 341–347.

131 It is important to observe that the interpretation difficulties arising from this verse did not involve only Aldo; indeed, among modern scholars, all the editors of Theocritus of the nineteenth century dwell on the sense and plausibility of this unusual reading, by displaying it (and sometimes commenting on it) in their critical apparatuses. I carried out surveys in some of these editions, among which there were those by Heindorf (Berlin 1810, I, 217), Gaisford (Leipzig 1823, 145), Kiessling (London 1826, 219), Gail (Paris 1828, II, 247), Wordsworth (Cambridge 1844, 160), and Meinecke (Berlin 1856, 321).

manuscript at his disposal, copied by Andronikos, suggested in this passage the reading ἔναυ.

Now, precisely in the light of what has been said and observed in the previous pages, it is possible to explain what occurred in the genesis of the word ἔναυαϑ. In correspondence to the reading ἔναυ (which Codro still read in a manuscript at his disposal, copied by Andronikos), Kallistos must have annotated the alternative ending –αϑ in his reference model at a later time, by placing it in all likelihood above –αυ, in the interlinear space. At this point, one can imagine that the graphical structure of the reading ἔναυ^{αϑ} might have caused misunderstandings in the manuscripts derived from the antigraph copied by Andronikos. The confirmation that it was a fully-fledged misunderstanding, caused by the interpretation of –αϑ as an extension of the word in the interlinear space instead of an alternative ending, comes from the occurrence of the *vox nihili* ἔναυαϑ not only in the Milan edition, but also in almost all the manuscripts of the *genus*. Thus, Par. gr. 2596 and gr. 2834 have a particular position: the scribe of Par. gr. 2834, who had initially written ἔναυὰς (*sic*), having noticed the inconsistency, opted for the deletion of the ending –αϑ, whereas the scribe of Par. gr. 2596 simply decided to write ἔναυ.¹³²

However, it is what happened in Laur. 32.46 that arouses the greatest interest. The copyist of the manuscript, Iohannes Skutariotes, reproduced in the passage what he was likely to find in front of his eyes, ἔναυ^{αϑ}, without dissolving the ambiguity related to the ending –αϑ (extension of the word in the interlinear space or alternative ending to –αυ?). No one has previously observed that <Andronikos Kallistos> himself added in Laur. 32.46, at exactly this point, a tiny marginal note which does not only provide the correct reading, but also clarifies its

132 Unfortunately, no comparison with Athos and Lips (which do not transmit *Idyll* XVIII) is possible, nor with Ambr. P 84 sup., as it is mutilated from the end of the fifteenth *Idyll* on. The erroneous reading ἔναυαϑ ended up being inserted into other later manuscripts of Gallavotti's *recensio Parisina*, such as Par. gr. 2763 (Niccolò Leonico Tomeo; [see Gamba 2014, 347]) and Par. gr. 2833 (Demetrios Damilas). In Par. gr. 2726 Zacharias Kallierges corrected the reading ἔναυ with ἔναυ, by writing the letter sigma *supra lineam*. I could not consult Cant. Univ. Libr. Dd.X.42, a manuscript dated from the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, nor Oxon. Canon. gr. 86 (displaying annotations by Tomeo and belonged to Luca Bonfiglio; see Gamba 2014, 329 [attribution by David Speranzi] and Giacomelli 2016b, 74–75, n. 137).

meaning: γρ(άφεται) καὶ ἕνας ἤγουν εἰς νεομηνίας (Fig. 5.12).¹³³ Thus, on this occasion one is allowed to observe Kallistos' stance in favour of the reading ἕνας,¹³⁴ which, as previously said, must have been present in the reference model as an alternative to ἕναν, ending up replacing the latter over time.

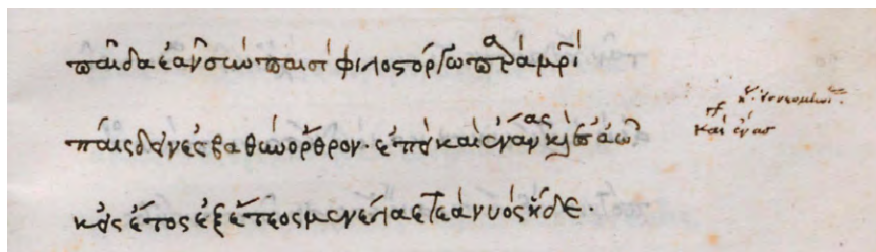


Fig. 5.12: Laur. 32.46, fol. 72r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

In summary, the following conclusions can be considered as answers to the initial questions:

1. The author of the *recensio* which is 'upstream' of the *genus* must have been, like Andronikos, a deep expert of the text of Theocritus, and must have had several models at his disposal.
2. The main sources of the peculiar readings merged in the *genus* are apparently two manuscripts that were part of the library of Kallistos, namely Lips. gr. 34 and Athos Ἰβήρων 161. Furthermore, the *genus* inherited from the *recensio Moschopulaea*, to which Lips. belongs, also the new order of *Idylls* I–VIII, as we read them today in the edition by Gallavotti.
3. There are no manuscripts of the *genus* that can be dated before the period in which two manuscripts produced in the school of Kallistos, Ambr. P 84 sup. and Salm. 230, were produced.

¹³³ I point out that the interpretation provided by Andronikos in the Laurentianus (ἤγουν εἰς νεομηνίας) recalls that found at fol. 40r of Par. gr. 2832 in the shape of interlinear annotation (κοινῶς νεομηνίας).

¹³⁴ I verified the presence of this reading in other Theocritean manuscripts. ἕνας occurs, for instance, in Vat. gr. 44 (fourteenth century), Par. gr. 2812 A (late fifteenth–early sixteenth century). It also appears, in a form which displays the geminate *ny* sound (ἕννας), in at least two old manuscripts, Vat. gr. 42 (thirteenth century) and Vat. gr. 1825 (thirteenth century), as well as in Laur. 32.43 (possibly copied by <Petros Hypselas>), Par. gr. 2781 (Aristobulos Apostoles) and Vat. gr. 1311 (Antonios Damilas).

4. From an historical and geographical point of view, the extant copies belonging to the *genus* apparently reflect the path, between the 1460s and the 1470s, of a learned man such as Kallistos, who was active in cities such as Padua/Ferrara/Bologna (Ambr. P 84 sup. and Salm. 230), Rome (Marc. gr. Z. 480 and, possibly, Vat. gr. 1380), and Florence (Laur. 32.46, Par. gr. 2834 and Par. gr. 2596) (see Fig. 5.13).

Thus all the clues lead to the conclusion that, if the production of the *recensio* has to be attributed — as everything suggests — to the intellectual activity of a Byzantine master who was active in Italy since the middle of the fifteenth century, this competent philologist and deep expert of the Theocritean text can only be, beyond all reasonable doubt, Andronikos Kallistos.

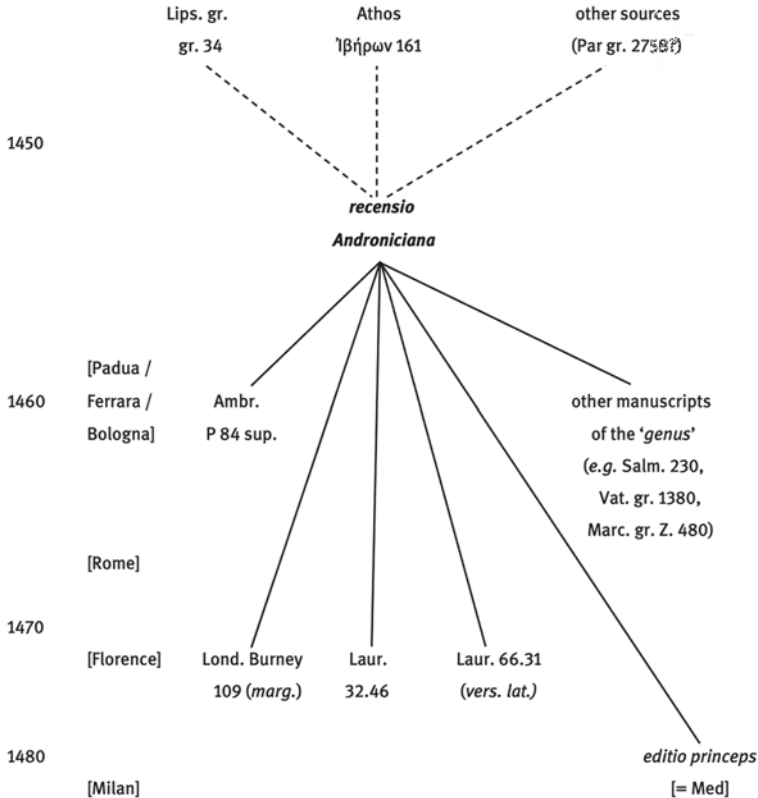


Fig. 5.13: Theocritus' *Idylls*. *Stemma codicum* of Andronikos' *recensio*.

5.3.2 Xenophon's minor works

de Mutinensis origine et auctoritate magna orta est controversia. eius codicis patrocinium suscepit Kalinka: sed plerique censent omnia quae propria sibi habet — et sunt multa — ad ipsum librarium esse referenda, ita ut bonae quas praebet lectiones nihil sunt nisi viri docti tentamina.

E. C. Marchant, *Xenophontis Opera*, V, *Hiero, Praefatio*

The discovery of so far unnoticed annotations in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos> within the manuscript Vat. gr. 1950 (Fig. 5.14) gives to modern scholars two opportunities: on the one hand, to closely observe a Byzantine philologist at work, amending a few passages of Xenophon's text; on the other hand, to reconsider the stemmatic relations between the Vaticanus itself and other witnesses to the manuscript tradition of Xenophon's *Opuscula*.

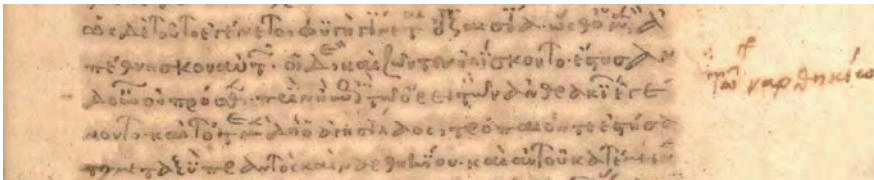


Fig. 5.14: Vat. gr. 1950, fol. 230r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

We will come back at a later stage to this second point. Let us first present and analyse the interventions Kallistos made in the manuscript.¹³⁵

Traces of Andronikos' activity in Vat. gr. 1950 (*siglum B* in all the modern studies on Xenophon) are all found in the section transmitting the *Agesilaus* (fols 226r–239v).

The first intervention is at fol. 230r, corresponding to the passage 2,4 Marchant:

ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἄγησίλαος τρώπαιόν τε ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ Πράντος καὶ Ναρθακίου.

¹³⁵ I give here the *sigla* of the manuscripts mentioned in these pages: **A** (Vat. gr. 1335), **a** (Vat. gr. 1335 *post instaurationem*), **B** (Vat. gr. 1950), **C** (Mutin. α V.7.17), **H** (Lond. Harley 5724), **J** (Laur. Conv. soppr. 112), **M** (Marc. gr. Z. 511), **L** (Laur. 55.22).

Nor was a halt made until they (the pursuers) reached Mount Narthacius. And here, midway between Pras and Narthacius, Agesilaus erected a trophy.

The words τῷ Ναρθακίῳ represent a correction by Marchant, as the readings handed down by the extant manuscripts (τῶν ἀνθρακίων **ABH** τῶν ἀνθρακέων **M**) are apparently wrong. Kallistos annotated on the outer margin of **B** γρ(αφεται) τῷ ναρθηκίῳ. The intervention may have been inspired, in theory, by some *loci paralleli* (especially Xen., *Hell.* 4,3,8–9, Plut., *Ag.* 16, Plut., *Ap. Lac.* 211; highly unlikely Ptol., *Geogr.* 3,12,43),¹³⁶ but it is perhaps easier to think that the solution to the problem came from the manuscript itself: in fact, just one line below, **B** displays the reading ναρθηκίου.¹³⁷

On fol. 232r (*Ag.* 2,21) one reads in the text edited by Marchant:

Ἀγησίλαος ἀντεῖπε τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἕως τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας Κορινθίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἠνάγκασε τὰς πόλεις οἴκαδε καταδέξασθαι.

It was Agesilaus who spoke against the peace, until he had forced the Corinthians and Thebans to welcome back those of them who, for Lacedaemon's sake, had suffered banishment.

With regard to the words ἕως τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας, the situation of the manuscripts is the following: the preposition διὰ is omitted by the main sources **ABM**; though, it was added by a later hand working on **A** (= **A**²) and it is found thence also in **H**, the latter being an apograph of **A** *post correctionem*. In **B** Kallistos adds in his hand the preposition διὰ + the article τοὺς, thus completing the sentence in a way that is not found elsewhere: ἕως τοὺς <διὰ τοὺς> Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας. The intervention could be explained assuming that he consulted **A** or one of its apographs; but one cannot rule out the possibility of a conjectural intervention.

The correction found at fol. 232v is most likely conjectural. The passage *Ag.* 2,27 was printed by Marchant as follows:

Μαύσωλός γε μὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ πολιορκῶν ἀμφοτέρω τὰ χωρία ταῦτα οὐκέτι δείσας ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε. <...> ἄξια θαύματος διεπράξατο

Once more, Mausolus, who was besieging by sea both these places with a hundred ships, yielded not to terror but to persuasion, withdrew his fleet. <...> He made admirable things

136 We are not aware of manuscripts that definitely belonged to Andronikos' library containing Xenophon's *Hellenicae* or Plutarch's *Agesilaus*. For *Apophth. Lac.* Kallistos may have consulted a manuscript from his own library, the Mutin. α U.9.3.

137 The same in **A**, while Marchant opted for ναρθακίου.

thus signalling a *lacuna* before ἄξια. The need for at least one particle or a conjunction to split the two periods is felt. All the readers and editors of the work tried to amend the text by proposing different solutions. The addition of κἀνταῦθα οὖν before ἄξια is a correction *in rasura* made by another Byzantine scholar, Alexios Keladenos (1450–1517), on fol. 9v of manuscript L. This reading was to be added at a later time by Pier Vettori in the margin of his own copy of Xenophon Aldina (1525), now kept at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. The addition of ἄ δὲ was Reiske's proposal (1756), whereas ἄ γε has been suggested by Breitenbach (1847); finally, καὶ ταῦτα δὲ is the slightly stronger correction by Sauppe (1896). Kallistos' intervention, which consists of the insertion of the particle δὲ between the words ἄξια and θαύματος, is not particularly demanding and might represent the result of his own understanding of the text.

An analogous amendment on fol. 234v (Ag. 5,6 Marchant) appears to be conjectural:

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὀλίγων εἰδότην πολλοῖς ἔξεστιν ἀπιστεῖν· τὰ δὲ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ἥκιστα μὲν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λανθάνουσι ὃ τι ἂν ποιῶσιν.

But such incidents, though known to a few, can be discredited by many; still, we all know that the more illustrious a person is, the less their actions can go unnoticed.

Kallistos' correction of τὰ δὲ in τάδε, along with the addition of another δέ, produces the sentence τάδε δὲ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι [...], in which τάδε happens to be a proleptic element to ὅτι. The situation of the manuscripts is the following: **ABH** read τὰ δέ, while **M** bears ἄ δέ. The *ratio* of Andronikos' intervention is very simple and does not imply a comparison with other witnesses: it is the restoration of a -δε-, whose absence in the manuscript tradition is probably due to haplography.

Somehow inexplicable and not indispensable is Kallistos' intervention on fol. 235v (Ag. 7,1):

ὡς δ' ἐν βραχεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπου ᾤετο τὴν πατρίδα τι ὠφελήσειν, οὐ πόνων ὑφίετο, οὐ κινδύνων ἀφίστατο, οὐ χρημάτων ἐφείδετο [...]

To put it briefly, we all know that where Agesilaus expected in any way to benefit his country there was no toil he shrank from, no danger he avoided, no money he stinted [...]

Kallistos corrects in this case ὑφίετο into ἐξίετο. I did not find a reasonable explanation leading to the replacement of the syntagma πόνων ὑφιέναι with πόνων ἐξιέναι.

The last case is that on fol. 236r (Ag. 7,5):

ἐκεῖνος τοῖνον, ἀγγελίας μὲν ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν τῇ <έν> Κορίνθῳ μάχη ὀκτῶ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐγγὺς δὲ μύριοι τεθναῖεν <τῶν πολεμίων> οὐκ ἐφησθεις φανερός ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εἶπεν ἄρα [...]

Yet that (man), when a message was brought to him concerning the battle <at> Corinth, in which but eight Lacedaemonians had fallen, but <of their opponents> nearly ten thousand, showed no sign of exultation, but said [...]

The addition of the words <τῶν πολεμίων>, which can be read today in the text, was inspired to Marchant by some *loci paralleli*, as the editor himself pointed out in the apparatus.¹³⁸ If Andronikos had also resorted to these *loci*, he would have comfortably amended the text by means of the same addition <τῶν πολεμίων>. The invention of the reading <τῶν ἐναντίων> that we now read in **B** in the hand of Kallistos — which is neither registered in the critical apparatus nor to be found in other witnesses to the text — shall therefore be ascribed to him.

The inspection of the interventions to the *Agésilas* ends with this last case. We mentioned before, however, the possibility of benefiting from the discovery of Kallistos' writing in the Vaticanus to shed new light on a particular aspect of the manuscript tradition of Xenophon's text. The quotation cited at the beginning is taken from one of the *Praefationes* by Marchant himself; it is only one of many references to a *vexata quaestio* that has dragged on for many decades, more specifically concerning the origin of the particular readings which can be found in the manuscript Mutin. α V.7.17 (*siglum C*).

As for the Mutinensis itself, we recall here that this is a composite manuscript, made up of several codicological units,¹³⁹ which was included with certainty in Andronikos' book collection.¹⁴⁰ The unit that has aroused most interest is the last one (= fols 104–133) containing *Hiero*, *De republica Lacedaemoniorum*, *De republica Atheniensium*, *De vectigalibus*, and *Apologia Socratis*. Scholars who dealt with the textual transmission of these *Opuscula*¹⁴¹ and were faced with the problematic nature of the readings found in the Mutinensis were forced to put forward a series of hypotheses. On the one hand, they had to assume (but could not prove) contamination with other branches of the tradition; on the other hand,

¹³⁸ Xen., *Hell.* 4,3,1; Plut., *Ag.* 16; Prisc., 18,180.

¹³⁹ For a description see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 27).

¹⁴⁰ It ended up in the collection Valla-Pio collection; see *supra*, § 3.3.

¹⁴¹ For the *Hiero* see Jackson 1988 and the newly published edition by Bandini and Dorion 2021; for the treatise *De republica Lacedaemoniorum* refer to Muratore 1997 and Muratore 2022; in the case of *De republica Atheniensium* see Serra 1979–1880 and Lenfant 2017; *De vectigalibus* has been inspected by Jackson 1990; finally, for the *Apologia Socratis*, see Schmoll 1990.

they suggested that some of these particular readings were the result of corrections *ope ingenii*. Edward A. Schmoll, while giving insight into the transmission of Xenophon's *Apologia Socratis*, summarised the issue as follows: 'This enigmatic manuscript has long exercised scholars, some of whom claim that its good readings represent an independent mediaeval tradition and others who attribute its good readings to conjecture'.¹⁴²

The fact that Kallistos consulted the Vat. gr. 1950 (**B**) will reasonably prompt scholars of Xenophon's works to reconsider some of their judgements in the future, as the following discussion is meant to show.

In the study of the manuscript tradition of *Poroi* (also known as *De vectigalibus*) by Donald F. Jackson,¹⁴³ manuscript **C** has been inscribed in the 'A-family', whose ancestor is indeed the *vetustissimus* Vat. gr. 1335 (**A**). I reproduce below (Fig. 5.15) the *stemma* of this family as reconstructed by Jackson.¹⁴⁴

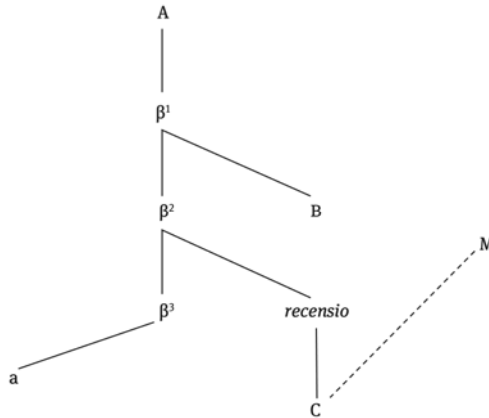


Fig. 5.15: Xenophon's *Poroi*. *Stemma codicum* of the 'A-family'; © Jackson 1990.

The existence of the *interpositus* β^1 between **A** and **B** will not be questioned here, as it has already been proven by the findings of other *Opuscula*. It is much more problematic instead to accept the existence of two intermediaries (β^2 and β^3), which would correspond to different *diorthoseis* carried out on β . According to

¹⁴² Schmoll 1990, 320.

¹⁴³ Jackson 1990.

¹⁴⁴ Jackson 1990, 173. Something similar has been drawn with regard to same branch of transmission for the *Apologia Socratis*; see Schmoll 1990, 321.

Jackson, a lost intermediary would stem from the second stage of corrections (β^2), from which in turn the manuscript **C** derives, whereas the text of **a** (= Vat. gr. 1335 *post instaurationem*) would descend from the third stage of corrections (β^3). In addition, it is believed that before **C** was copied, an unknown philologist active between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries carried out philological work aimed at improving the text through massive collations with other witnesses as well as making some corrections *ope ingenii*. Finally, **C** is said to have been contaminated with **M**.

We can see now, step by step, whether it is possible to modify Jackson's reconstruction in light of the newly discovered annotations in **B** in the hand of Kallistos.

As highlighted by Jackson, manuscript **C** (in its original form) shares with other witnesses of the 'A-family' (namely **B** and **a**) a large *lacuna* covering the last thirty words of the text. Some readings contrast **C** and **B** with **A** and **M** (the latter being a representative manuscript of the so-called 'second family'). These are the cases selected by Jackson:

- 1,1 δικαιοτάτων **BC** δικαιοτάτα **aM**
- 1,2 οίας **BC** οία **aM**
- 4,5 δεῖ **B** δεῖν **C** δῆ **aM**
- 4,28 νῦν hab. **BC** om. **aM**
- 4,46 πλείω **BC** πλεῖον **aM**

Nevertheless, as observed again by Jackson, **C** and **a** bear (against **B**) some readings which are typical of the 'second family' and are found in **M**. This is demonstrated by the following occurrences:

- 1,1 ἀδικώτερον **B** ἀδικώτεροι **aCM**
- 2,5 εὐνεστέρους **B** εὐνουστέρους **aCM**
- 3,5 ἀφίκνοιτο **B** ἀφικνοῖντο **aCM**
- 4,7 οὐδέίπω **B** οὐδεῖς πω **aCM**
- 4,48 κίνδυνον **B** κίνδυνος **aCM**
- 6,1 μεγαλοπέστερον **B** μεγαλοπρεπέστερον **aCM**

The presence of some readings of **M** in **C** — as noticed by Jackson himself — could easily be explained on the basis of the consultation of **M** by the copyist of **C** (the scholar did not mention the name of Kallistos, despite the fact that his hand had already been identified in the Mutinensis): '[...] Further evidence that the scribe

of **C** saw **M** may be found in the fact that **C** now begins with ten *Moralia* of Plutarch in the same order and with the same titles and running count as begin **M** [...].¹⁴⁵

However, the fact that these readings are also common to **a** seemed to be non-coincidental to Jackson. He categorically excluded the possibility that a contamination occurred in **a** from witnesses belonging to the ‘second family’ (i.e. from a manuscript such as **M**): ‘Such contamination from the second family in *Poroi* cannot have occurred. The λ -group never contained *Poroi* and the γ -group had only a few lines of *Poroi*. If an **M** witness had been available for the introduction of new readings, it would also have been used to provide the last thirty words which are lacking in **BaC**¹ and certainly were lacking in **A** and β ’.¹⁴⁶ The explanation given by Jackson assumed, therefore, the existence of two additional phases of correction *ope ingenii* on β (= β^2 and β^3): the first would explain the commonality of readings between **C** and **a** against **B**; the second the divergence of **a** from **C**. The scholar was also reluctant to believe in any form of derivation of **C** on **B**¹⁴⁷ nor to attribute any role to the scribe of **C**: ‘What must be emphasized is that the ingenious editorial work evident in all opuscula of **C** was accomplished before **C** was ever written’.¹⁴⁸ However, it is the presence of Andronikos’ hand in **B** that compels one to reconsider the possibility of a direct dependence of **C** on **B**, which had already been hypothesised and argued about in the text of the treatise *De republica Atheniensium*.¹⁴⁹

Be that as it may, we cannot add anything new to the issue of the first phase of correction (β^2). As far as the genesis of **C** and the second phase of corrections (β^3) are concerned, the original absence of the last thirty words pointed out by Jackson is only partly problematic. In fact, it could be explained by admitting that the text of *Poroi* originally copied by Kallistos from **B** remained for some time in provisional (unbound) quires. These would serve as ‘working papers’, thus hosting in the margins and interlinear spaces the readings drawn from other manuscripts and conjectures. If **B** belonged to Palla Strozzi (as suggested some time ago by Mark Sosower),¹⁵⁰ the copying of these quires (now lost) should have taken place in Padua between 1457 and 1462.

¹⁴⁵ Jackson 1990, 172 n. 17.

¹⁴⁶ Jackson 1990, 171.

¹⁴⁷ ‘[...] I doubt that codex **B** was an immediate source for anything in **C**’ (Jackson 1990, 170 n. 13).

¹⁴⁸ Jackson 1990, 170.

¹⁴⁹ See Serra 1979–1980, in part. 85–86. With regard to *De republica Lacedaemoniorum*, see also Muratore 1997, 115–123.

¹⁵⁰ See Sosower 1986, 143, 151.

When in Rome at Bessarion's house, Andronikos may have added to his provisional text the good readings found in **M** and may have conceived the project of making a final copy of Xenophon's minor works.¹⁵¹ Indeed, at the time of the realization of **C** (1466–1471, according to the palaeographic and codicological analysis)¹⁵² Kallistos was working on Xenophon's text, as proved by the consultation of **J** (= Laur. Conv. soppr. 112), which is the source for the *Hiero* copied in **C** within the same codicological unit transmitting the *Poroi*. Finally, the consultation of **M** enabled Kallistos to fill in also the 30-words-blank space **C**.¹⁵³

In conclusion, manuscript **C** reveals from first glance its nature as a 'final copy' of Xenophon's minor works. Despite its heavily contaminated state, it has no erasures nor marginal collation notes. In addition to the collation work, Kallistos adjusted some passages of the text by means of conjectures *ope ingenii*, as demonstrated by Michele Bandini in the case of *Hiero*:¹⁵⁴ these are the good readings ('bonae lectiones') Marchant referred to as attempts undertaken by a learned man ('viri docti tentamina'). It is thus clear that only the final stage of Kallistos' philological work on Xenophon has come down to us and that, on the other hand, the earlier traces of his critical work on the text (maybe preserved for some time on provisional quires) have been lost.

In light of the foregoing, the *stemma* of *Poroi*'s 'A-family' could be more simply re-written in this way (Fig. 5.16):

151 Manuscript **M**, i.e. the main source of the contamination of **C**, was in fact available to Kallistos in Rome in the second half of the 1460s and served as source for the transcription of Plutarch's *Moralia* in the first codicological unit of **C**; see *supra*, § 2.3.1.

152 See *supra*, § 2.3.1.

153 Examination of fol. 126v of the Mutinensis shows that the last thirty words are written in a slightly lighter ink than that used for the rest.

154 See Bandini and Dorion 2021, CXCVIII, CCV, CCXXVIII and Bandini 2022, 19–21, 36–39.

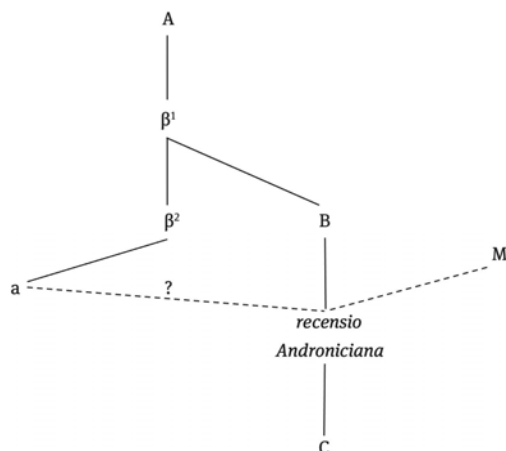


Fig. 5.16: Xenophon's *Poroi*. *Stemma codicum* (proposal).

5.4 Approaching the Latin West: Lectures, translations, retroversions

One of the marginal, but very interesting aspects of the study on Byzantine scholars active in Italian Humanism is the analysis of their degree of permeability to the culture of the country that hosted them. Stopping at a cursory assessment, it can be said that from a cultural point of view, complete integration was never achieved. The mutual distrust between Italians and Byzantines stood as one of the most overwhelming obstacles. Yet, the necessities of adaptation and work brought the Greeks of the diaspora into ever closer contact with the Latin cultural heritage; and the Latin language represented the necessary means for teaching the Greek language to Westerners.

Andronikos' Latin readings included first and foremost the works of authors where he helped to recover conspicuous Greek passages. Recent studies have highlighted Kallistos' contribution to the transcription of the *graeca* in Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*¹⁵⁵ and Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ See Rollo 2006a, 377–380 and Rollo 2020a, 129–130, 144, 148, 159, 189.

¹⁵⁶ See Rollo 2006a, 370–377, Martinelli Tempesta 2016b, 344, 380, 398, and Martinelli Tempesta 2020b, 261, 268–271, 275–281.

Moreover, it is Andronikos himself that inform us — more or less directly — about his readings: the Latin Aristotle¹⁵⁷ of the medieval scholastic tradition and, turning to the Latin classical authors, Virgil and Cicero. I quote here a passage from the *Defensio Theodori Gazae* in which Andronikos comments on the superiority of the style of Latin poets and prosateurs:

As to the Latins, in their own language, a form of speech in verse, Plato, had it been possible, would have said that they are divinely inspired and possessed by the Muses, and that from there, plucking from those fountains and valleys from which the lyrical song flows like honey, they take it away from us, as if one could ever compete with the divine poet Maro. One could observe that they are very skilful, persuasive, and eloquent in prose and able to lift the soul, appease wrath, move to compassion, compose public speeches and speak in complete freedom, that they master grace and the ability to seduce with words, and that they speak not only in a concise and very harmonious manner, but sometimes even in the manner of divine signals, to the point that one cannot help but surrender to the superiority of the very wise Cicero.¹⁵⁸

From the *Praefatio* to the Latin translation of the treatise *De generatione et corruptione* composed for Lorenzo de' Medici by Kallistos, deep knowledge of Ciceronian works emerges such as *De oratore*, *De officiis* and *Academici*.¹⁵⁹

In the course of the discussion, translations from Greek into Latin prepared by Kallistos were also mentioned several times. In most cases these undertakings were part of the teaching activity carried out in the various cities where he resided. It may be useful to provide in this paragraph an overview of the authors translated by Andronikos and the manuscripts in which these materials are handed down (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7: Latin translations by Andronikos Kallistos. Overview.

Author, Work	Manuscripts	Reference
Homer, <i>Iliad</i>	Laur. 66.31 Vat. gr. 1626 Stockholm, Kung. Bibl, Va 19 Bonon. Archig. B 1414	Orlandi 2014a Orlandi, here § 4.2

¹⁵⁷ See the passage from the letter sent to Demetrios <Chalkondyles> printed *infra*, Appendix 5. Speaking of Aristotle's works on physics and ethics interpreted *ῥωμαϊστῶν*, Kallistos seems to refer to extant medieval translations he made use of rather than translations *ex novo*.

¹⁵⁸ For the Greek text, see *infra*, Appendix 1 (lines 442,1–10 ed. Orlandi).

¹⁵⁹ See Hankins 1994.

Author, Work	Manuscripts	Reference
Demosthenes, <i>De corona</i>	Laur. 66.31	—
Theocritus, <i>Idylls</i>	Laur. 66.31	Martínez Manzano 2009 Orlandi, here § 5.3.1
Pindar, <i>Hymns</i>	Magliab. VII 1025	Fera 1997
Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i>	Ricc. 153	Resta 1978
Aristotle, <i>De gen. et corr.</i>	Laur. 84.11 Neap. VIII.E.18	Rashed 2011

An initial approach to the study of the Latin translation of Homer's *Iliad* was conducted in the previous chapter. That translation was intended for teaching purposes; a central testimony is Laur. 66.31, the notebook collecting the notes of a 'Florentine' pupil of Andronikos. However, as we have seen, at some point it began to be copied independently of its use in the classroom.¹⁶⁰ In the same manuscript fragments of Latin translations of other authors fundamental to Kallistos' teaching practice have survived: Demosthenes and Theocritus. In contrast to the case of Homer, no other manuscript evidence has so far emerged of the same Latin translation of Demosthenes' *De corona*. This version still awaits further investigation.

With regard to Theocritus, Teresa Martínez Manzano identified some time ago in a batch of manuscripts preserved in Spain traces of Latin translations of the *Idylls* that trace back to the Bolognese teaching of Andronikos. These materials from the lectures held in Bologna are unique among the surviving documents, most of which come from Florence. This also applies to the Latin translation of Pindar' *Olympians* found in the manuscript Magliab. VII 1025, in the hand of Bartolomeo Fonizio. This version was already studied in detail by Vincenzo Fera:¹⁶¹ rather than a translation, it is a *retractatio* performed by Fonizio and built on an earlier translation by Kallistos.

As mentioned, when in Florence Andronikos lectured on Apollonius Rhodius. Gianvito Resta studied the Latin version transcribed by Bartolomeo Fonizio, transmitted in Ricc. 153.¹⁶² Therein, the first part of a translation *verbum de verbo* of the text originating from the voice of the master ('secundum Andronici interpretationem') is found at fols 90r–95v.

¹⁶⁰ See *supra*, § 4.2.

¹⁶¹ See Fera 1997.

¹⁶² See Resta 1978.

Finally, Andronikos accomplished in the early 1470s the full translation of the Aristotelian treatise *De generatione et corruptione*, which he dedicated — as already mentioned — to the powerful Lord of Florence, Lorenzo de' Medici.¹⁶³

5.4.1 The retroversion of Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo*

One aspect of Kallistos' scholarly activity which as yet remains substantially unexplored concerns his efforts to produce retroversions from Latin to Greek. The starting case, which will provide the basis for future more detailed studies, is that of Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo*. I first summarize here for clarity the main points of the matter.

The *editio princeps* of this commentary is the Aldine published in the year 1526. Amedeo Peyron (1785–1870) is credited with the insight that what is printed in the Aldine is not the original text of Simplicius, but rather a Greek retroversion made from the Latin translation of William of Moerbeke (c. 1215/35–c. 1286). Peyron's verdict was later confirmed by the brilliant Danish philologist Johan L. Heiberg (1854–1928), who authored the modern critical edition of the original Greek text by Simplicius we read today in the *CAG* series.¹⁶⁴ In more recent times, the issue of the identity of the author of the retroversion has drawn the interest of Fernand Bossier, one of the leading scholar dealing with medieval Latin translations of Aristotelian texts. Since no manuscript copies of the Latin-into-Greek-retroversion have survived, the only currently available record is the Aldine edition. According to Bossier, the author of the retroversion capable of this extraordinary achievement (one should keep in mind that the modern edition of the text in the *CAG* series has over 700 pages of Greek) must have been a late Byzantine philologist with a deep knowledge of Aristotelian philosophy. Moreover, the good readings in the Aldine diverging from Moerbeke's translation and leaning closer to the Greek must be regarded as conjecture on the part of the author of the retroversion.¹⁶⁵

Building on a report by Carlos Steel,¹⁶⁶ Bossier explored the inventory of the Grimani book collection — including, as seen in § 3, manuscripts from Kallistos' (via Pico della Mirandola) — and pointed out the presence of some items related

163 See Rashed 2011.

164 See Heiberg 1894, XI–XII.

165 See Bossier 2004, XI–XVII and XCIII–CVIII.

166 See Bossier 1987, 320 n. 45.

to the text of Simplicius.¹⁶⁷ At no. 49 Grimani (= entry no. 455 in Pico's collection),¹⁶⁸ one reads as follows: 'Simplicii commentaria in tertium et quartum de caelo è latina lingua in graecam translata ab Andronico Alexio Bixantio' (= Vat. lat. 3690, fol. 3r lin. 6–7).¹⁶⁹ Based on reasonable evidence, Bossier had advanced the hypothesis that this Andronikos might be Kallistos.¹⁷⁰

That Kallistos is indeed the author of this enormous Greek retroversion is proved now by the inspection of an archival source, which has never been associated with this issue: it is Ferrara, Archivio Bentivoglio, Sezione Patrimoniale, busta 6, fasc. 35, i.e. the document giving account of the execution of Palla Strozzi's testamentary dispositions we spoke about while describing the Latin writing of Kallistos.¹⁷¹ Therein, Kallistos signed the affidavit as follows: *ego Andronicus filius Alexii Constantinopolitanus fui praesens et testor de praesentibus scriptis in die in qua dicta scripta sunt facta*. Thus, we have the confirmation that Kallistos is the author of the retroversion in Greek from Moerbeke's Latin translation.¹⁷²

5.4.2 The manuscript Par. gr. 2038 and the text of Aristotle's *Poetics*: New insights into an old issue

Fully in the hand of Kallistos, the text of Aristotle's *Poetics* transmitted by the manuscript Par. gr. 2038 has for a long time been understood as the result of a process of contamination between that of its antigraph — i.e. Mutin. α T.8.3 (or a lost copy of it) — and other sources. In addition, the presence in the Paris codex of brilliant conjectures and the coincidence of some good readings unknown to all extant Greek manuscripts with those found in both the medieval Latin and the Syriac-Arabic tradition initially led the scholars to the conclusion that there must

167 It is *items* nos 47, 49, and 189 in the manuscript Vat. lat. 3960; see Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 116–117, 138.

168 See Kibre 1936, 180.

169 See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 117.

170 See Bossier 2004, XI–XVII.

171 See *supra*, § 2.4.2.

172 I am preparing a more extensive and detailed study on the characteristics and purposes of this retroversion.

have been another independent Greek source to which Kallistos had access. However, the nature of these readings has been over time the subject of scholarly debate.¹⁷³

In 2016,¹⁷⁴ the discovery of Kallistos' hand in the manuscript Riccardianus 46 (twelfth century) largely contributed to a clarification of at least one of the aspects of this 'contamination'. It was thus possible to explain how some readings of the Riccardianus (*siglum* B) ended up in the final text read in the Parisinus (Par) as displayed in its final configuration, i.e. including later additions/corrections in the written area and in the margins. Indeed, Kallistos had access to B, but only in the last years of his stay in Italy (Florence, 1471–1474). As I have outlined elsewhere,¹⁷⁵ B actually belonged to one of his pupils (still mysterious and anonymous), whose scribal activity has been located in Florence. Moreover, the fact that the section of Par, in which the text of the *Poetics* is copied, was made in Rome (i.e. in 1466–1471) makes it impossible to support the thesis of the direct derivation of the peculiar readings of B and their inclusion in Par at the time of its making.¹⁷⁶ In summary, only some of Andronikos' interventions in the text can be linked to the consultation of B. Palaeographic analysis makes it possible to distinguish them; the type of ink used in some marginals and interlinear interventions is also different.

However, as already noted, not all Par's readings can be explained by reference to B. In other words, the problem of the provenance of the good readings that are unknown to both the branch of the tradition stemming from B and the branch of the tradition referable to A (= Par. gr. 1741), from which Par also descends (indirectly, via Mutin. α T.8.3), has remained open until now. Thus, the usual dilemma returns that has always characterised research on the autographs of Kallistos: did he have access to lost manuscripts or did he make wild conjectures *ope ingenii*?

In response to those who still argue for recourse to lost sources (which is frankly difficult in the midst of Humanism), Leonardo Tarán recently set out the possibility that many of Andronikos' corrections are the result of his philological talent.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the question remains open as to the passages in which the

173 See Lobel 1933, Centanni 1986, Tarán and Gutas 2012, Janko 2013, Tarán 2016, and Martinelli Tempesta 2016a.

174 Martinelli Tempesta 2016a, 227–232.

175 See Orlandi 2020c, 463–481.

176 It should also be noted that the text of the Parisinus is patchy in several passages, whereas the Riccardianus is perfectly readable. This is the case, for instance, with 1454b 22 Bekker (fol. 120r in Par; fol. 101r in B).

177 See Tarán 2016.

reading proposed by Kallistos not only represents the best ecdotic solution, but also coincides with that transmitted in the medieval Latin translation by William of Moerbeke (c. 1215–c. 1286).

As a result of the excellent edition of the *Poetics* by Leonardo Tarán and Dimitri Gutas — which is from a methodological point of view a true masterpiece of modern philological studies —, it has been possible to reconstruct the original Greek source (*siglum* Φ) used for the Latin translation (here indicated with the *siglum* Lat) almost everywhere in the text.¹⁷⁸ Here is a list of some significant cases in which the right reading shows the consensus between the text of Par and the Latin version; this consensus often embraces the Syriac-Arabic tradition, for which Tarán and Gutas have likewise reconstructed the *facies* of the Greek model (Σ), whenever possible:

- 47b 28 οὖν Φ (*igitur* Lat) Σ Par : οὐ A (*deest* B)
- 48a 3 κακία ... ἀρετῆ Φ (*malitia ... virtute* Lat) Σ Par : κακία ... ἀρετῆ A (*deest* B)
- 49a 6 μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα Φ (*maiora et honorabiliora* Lat) Σ Par : μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερον B : μείζον καὶ ἐντιμότερα
- 49a 7 εἰ ἄρ' ἔχει conī. Tkatsch : εἰ ἄρα ἔχει Par : si habet Lat : παρέχει A : ἄρα ἔχει B
- 49a 36 διεστραμμένον Φ (*inversa*) Σ Par : δ' ἐστραμμένον A : ἐστραμμένον B
- 50a 31 ἦ Φ (*que* Lat) Par : ἦ Σ A B
- 52b 19 πρὸ χοροῦ παρόδου Φ (*ante khori parodum* Lat) Par : προχωροῦ παρόδου A : προχόρου γὰρ ὁδοῦ B : (*lacuna*) ...χοροῦ παρόδου Σ
- 55a 17 ἐκπλήξεως Φ (*stupefactione* Lat) Par : πλήξεως AB : πράξεως Σ
- 55a 24 ὀρών Φ (*videns* Lat) Par : ὀ ὀρών Σ A B
- 55b 20 ὑπὸ μνηστήρων Φ (*a ministris* Lat) Σ Par : ὑπομνηστήρων A B
- 55b 27 μεταβαίνει Φ (*transit* Lat) Σ Par : μεταβαίνειν A B
- 56a 4 ἄλλως τε Φ (*aliterque* Lat) Par : ἄλλως γε B (*fortasse* Σ) : ἀλλ' ὡς γε A
- 56b 2 μικρότητα Φ (*parvitatē* Lat) Σ Par : μικρότητας A B
- 57a 17 προσσημαίνει Φ (*consignificat* Lat) Par : προσσημαίνει AB : σημαίνει Σ
- 58b 15 ἀρμόττων Φ (*congruum* Lat) Par : ἀρμόττοντος A : ἀρμόττον πως B : *deest* Σ
- 58b 25 δέ μ' ἐών Φ (*autem me ens*) Par : δέ μεών (μέων B) A B : *deest* Σ
- 60b 17 εἰ Φ (*si* Lat) Par : ἦ Σ A B
- 62a 11 αὐτῆς Φ (*ipsius*) Σ Par : αὐτῆς A (*deest* B).

One must admit that some of these corrections, accepted in the text prepared by the editors, are easily explained by means of the critical sensitivity of a competent

178 See Tarán and Gutas 2012.

Byzantine philologist such as Andronikos. On the other hand, one cannot believe that everything can be traced back to Kallistos' conjectural ingenuity. In this particular case, an explanation must be found that envisages the possibility of access to another source. The solution probably lies beyond the perimeter of the Greek paradosis.

Since Andronikos' consultation of the Arabic text is ruled out, there is in my opinion nothing to prevent us from thinking that, instead, he had direct recourse to Moerbeke's medieval Latin translation. As the case of Simplicius illustrated in the previous paragraph, the consultation of the medieval Latin tradition was for Kallistos an additional resource to recover the authenticity of the original Greek text. If, in the case of Simplicius, Moerbeke's medieval translation was the only way to remedy the severely deficient state of the Greek paradosis, in the case of the *Poetics*, Latin could have helped to ameliorate the text in selected passages. My hypothesis of *direct* recourse to Latin would first of all have the advantage of easily explaining the very high number of cases of consensus between Par and Lat against the rest of the Greek paradosis (= the descent of A and B), significantly reducing the amount of cases for which Kallistos' intervention *ope ingenii* would be presumed.

A first confirmation of this hypothesis comes from the analysis of the common readings between Par and Lat. At the points in the text where the text transmitted by the Greek codices was unsatisfactory or where only the Syriac-Arabic presents the correct reading, a concordance of errors (all the more significant) between Par and Lat can be seen, which cannot be explained except by assuming that Andronikos had the Latin text of Moerbeke before him. Postponing the discussion of the more complex ones to a future and more extensive contribution, I report here a brief selection of simple cases:

- 54b 37 αἰσθέσθαι| αἴσθεσθαι AB : ἔσεσθαι Φ (fore Lat) Par, *postea* ἔσεσθαι in αἰσθέσθαι *corr.* Par
 57a 5 μιᾶς σημαντικῶν *coni.* Robortellus : -ᾶς -κὸν A (*deest* B) : μιὰν σημαντικὴν Φ (unam significativam Lat) Par
 58a 5 ὄψ *coni.* Vettori : ὄης (*sic*) A : ὄης (*sic*) B : *om. spat. rel.* Lat Par
 58a 14 σύνθετα Σ : ταῦτα A B : ταῦτᾶ Φ (eadem Lat) Par.

In the first case, we see that Kallistos initially chose to insert into the text the (incorrect) form ἔσεσθαι, a future infinitive corresponding to the Latin *fore*. Later, he realised the possibility of improving the Greek text more easily by correcting the verb αἴσθεσθαι handed down in the Greek paradosis into αἰσθέσθαι. The third case is inasmuch significant as Andronikos, faced with the *vox nihili* transmitted by the Greek, prefers, as does Moerbeke, to leave a blank space. Finally, the last

case of consensus in error is likewise difficult to explain, unless one admits that Kallistos wrote ταῦτα on the inspiration of the Latin *eadem*. The validation of more complex cases of concordance between Kallistos' Greek text and Moerbeke's Latin translation will hopefully confirm these preliminary data.

5.5 Concluding remarks and new perspectives

What has been described in the preceding pages has shown many aspects of Kallistos' scholarly activity: from the restoration of manuscripts to the insertion of corrections in the margins of the books he consulted, from the search for multiple examples of the same text to the scrutiny of medieval Latin translations of philosophical texts. One of the most interesting aspects is concerned with the editions prepared by Andronikos. The ultimate goal of this activity was, on the one hand, undoubtedly the personal study of the authors who accompanied Kallistos throughout his life. On the other hand, it was his commitment to teaching that stimulated him to establish the most accurate text possible. Building on what has just been seen in the case of Theocritus and Xenophon, it would be worthwhile to undertake a similar study of at least three other authors central to Kallistos' study and teaching activity: Pindar, Apollonius Rhodius, and Demosthenes.

With regard to Pindar, in his masterly study of the manuscript tradition of the *Hymns*, Jean Irigoin isolated a group of *recentiores* characterised by a particular version of the text; he named it *édition moschopoulienne allongée*. An expert Byzantine philologist allegedly prepared this augmented edition. At the basis of this recensio, which contaminates materials from Planudes' and Moschopoulos' work, there would be, on the one hand, a witness of the *édition planudéenne* derived from the manuscript Par. gr. 2403 and, on the other hand, an as yet unidentified manuscript from the Moschopulean family.¹⁷⁹

Hence, we come to explain how the issue of the *édition allongée* could again include Kallistos as one of the protagonists. Among the witnesses of the *édition moschopoulienne allongée*, the oldest is the Laur. Ashb. 1144, a manuscript in the hand of Andronikos. The Laurentianus dates from around 1460 on the basis of the material evidence; however, what is most interesting is its graphic appearance *ictu oculi*. It looks like a fair copy of Pindar's text made for teaching purposes. In addition, there is evidence in Kallistos' library of both a witness to the text of the *Hymns* derived from Par. gr. 2403 (i.e. Mutin. α T.9.14) and a copy of the edition prepared by Moschopoulos (i.e. Lips. gr. 34, *siglum s* by Irigoin). It is

¹⁷⁹ See Irigoin 1952, 286, 376, 390–394.

immediately clear therefore to what extent a more careful investigation of the late phase of Pindar's textual transmission could — as in the case of Theocritus — lead to important achievements.¹⁸⁰

Regarding Apollonius Rhodius, on whom Andronikos lectured at the *Studium Florentinum*, research ought to be undertaken in order to provide a more precise stemmatic setting for the manuscript Mutin. α T.8.13. This represents a fair copy (descending from a model not yet identified) of the text of the *Argonautics*. As already pointed out in recent contributions,¹⁸¹ the old theory of the dependence of the Mutinensis on the Bruxellensis 18170 (in the hand of Aristobulos Apostoles) is no longer plausible on the basis of the new palaeographic and codicological evidence; the latter is in fact later. The relationship linking Mutin. α T.8.13 and the so-called *Protocretensis* (*siglum k* by Fränkel) must be therefore reassessed.¹⁸² The connection, on the one hand, between the *Protocretensis* and the manuscript Par. gr. 2403 (a book which has on several occasions been linked to Andronikos' activity) and, on the other hand, that between the Mutinensis and the *vetustissimus* Laur. 32.9 (tenth century) is likewise in need of further investigation. According to Gianvito Resta, some variants found in the Latin translation of the *Argonautics* prepared in Florence at the school of Kallistos can be explained on the basis of the text transmitted by the Laurentianus.¹⁸³ A not insignificant aspect is the fact that Laur. 32.9 was kept in the fifteenth century at the Convent of San Marco and was therefore accessible to Kallistos in the years of his Florentine sojourn. We have already ascertained that Andronikos consulted the manuscripts of the monastery library.¹⁸⁴

In addition, it is also necessary to reconsider the selection and reorganisation of the exegetical material inherited from the Byzantine tradition and reorganised (apparently for teaching purposes) in the manuscript Mutin. α P.6.13. This is one of the 'only-scholia' witnesses to the *Argonautics*, fully in the hand of Kallistos. On the basis of an initial survey, we can already state that it is datable owing to the watermarks to Andronikos' 'Florentine' years (1471–1474) and stands as the

180 We can sum up all the materials for a comprehensive approach to the issue of Pindar's *Hymns*: Mutin. α T.9.14 (text and scholia, both in Andronikos' hand); Laur. Ashb. 1144 (*mise au net* of the text); Athos Ἰβήρων 161 (ancient witness to the text); Lond. Burney 109 (text consulted by Kallistos in Florence); Lips. gr. 34 (text and scholia, part of Andronikos' collection); Mutin. α Q.5.20 (scholia, in the hand of Kallistos); Magliab. VII 1025 (Latin version accomplished at Kallistos' school).

181 See Schade and Eleuteri 2008, 45–47.

182 See Vian 1974, L–LIX and Günther 1999, 323–324.

183 See Resta 1978, 1081, 1119 n. 96.

184 See *supra*, § 2.3.2.2.

oldest amongst a group of *recentiores* related to the so-called *recensio Parisina*,¹⁸⁵ this might have some significance. All in all, it seems to raise the possibility that — as much for the text of the *Argonautics* as for the scholia — Kallistos may have played a central role in the history of Apollonius Rhodius' fifteenth-century transmission; but the research, in this case, must still be undertaken.

Finally, as far as Demosthenes is concerned, I have made initial examinations of the text found in the two manuscripts in the hand of Andronikos: Sinod. gr. 267 and RGADA, Φ 1607 coll. Matthaei no. 15 (*olim* Dresd. Da 11). These too appear as fair copies, characterised by the presence of readings from different branches of the tradition. The starting point is Par. gr. 2998, one of the most important manuscripts in Kallistos' collection.¹⁸⁶ Among other witnesses consulted by Andronikos before the making of the copies in his hand (now kept in Moscow), there seems to be Marc. gr. Z. 416: this is a very ancient and reliable manuscript, to which Andronikos would have had no difficulty gaining access, for it was available in Rome at Bessarion's residence. I was able to verify from some sample collations that certain readings peculiar to the Marcianus ended up in the text of Kallistos' manuscripts. To get the full picture, one should also take into account the Latin translation of the speech *On the crown* handed down in the *recollectae* of Laur. 66.31, produced at the Florentine school of Andronikos. As is typical in this type of research, therefore, more time and a more exhaustive verification will be required.

185 Wendel 1932, 11–16. This *recensio* (named after the shelfmark of Par. gr. 2727, in the hand of Georgios Alexandros Chomatas) consists of a batch of about 14 manuscripts, which all proved to be later than Mutin. α P.6.13.

186 See *supra*, § 2.2.1 and 2.2.4.

6 Andronikos' Traces in Manuscripts: A Summary Catalogue

This chapter presents a summary catalogue of all primary sources in which it has been possible so far to find traces of Andronikos' hand. The catalogue is divided into four sections: § 6.1 manuscripts copied by Kallistos, i.e. codices in which Andronikos is significantly engaged in the copying process; § 6.2 manuscripts annotated and/or restored by Kallistos; § 6.3 archival sources; § 6.4 incunables. As a result of this subdivision it was deemed appropriate to differentiate the records. For the manuscripts mentioned in § 6.1, the codicological elements necessary to contextualise Andronikos' scribal production in time and space are presented in more detail. Finally, I give here the list of abbreviations used in this catalogue: *Poss(essor/s)*; *Not(es)*; *Wat(ermarks)*; *Quir(es)*; *Writ(ten surface)*; *Lin(es)*; *Rul(ing scheme)*; *Cont(ents)*; *Scr(ibes)*; *Cat(alogue)*; *Bibl(iography)*; *Rem(arks)*.

6.1 Manuscripts copied by Kallistos

Cambridge

1. University Library, Nn.III.18 (2629)

Paper *in-quarto* · Crete · c. 1445–1453 · mm 209 × 133 · fols II+305(–291–294)+III'.

Poss.: Baldassar Migliavacca († c. 1524) [fol. 1v *ex libris* κτῆμα ἐμοῦ Βαλτάσαρος τοῦ Μελιαβακκοῦ].

Not.: –

Wat.: *Enclume sommée d'une croix* similar to Briquet 5956 (1425–1452); see fols 4/55, 57/64, 113/120, 121/128, 147/150. *Fleur* Briquet 6306 (= 80 Harlfinger; 1438–1455); see fols 204/205, 210/215, 228/229.

Quir.: 1–36⁸, 37⁴, 38⁸⁻¹ (wants 8) + one *bifolium* attached between fols 302 and 305 (see explanation below). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–λζ') in the lower central margin of the first and last sheet of the quire, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 19[160]30 × 15[95]23 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.

Cont.: 2r Thucydides.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Diller).

Cat.: Luard 1861, 489–490; RGK I 18.

- Bibl.:* Powell 1938b, 103–108; Alberti 1967, 15–16; Diller 1967, 408; Mioni 1976, 298; Centanni 1984–1985, 208; Sosower 1986, 143; Orlandi 2014b, 149, 151, 187, 189, 193; *Diktyon*: 12248.
- Rem.:* The text was originally incomplete, stopping at fol. 290v at the words εὐθὺς οἱ στρατιῶται (VIII 76,2). The first two leaves of the quire 37 (a *binio* = the fols are numbered '289', '290', '295', and '296') were written at the same time with all the previous quires, probably in Crete; the second two leaves of quire 37, originally left blank, were filled at a later time, when Kallistos had the opportunity in Italy to restore the manuscript, thus collating the text and completing it. He first added a *quaternio* – now lacking the last sheet – which consists of the fols '297', '298', '299', '300', '301', '302', and '305'. Then, having realized that eight sheets were not enough for his purpose, he added while copying another *bifolium* (fols 303–304) within the *quaternio* itself, between '302' and '305'.

2. Emmanuel College Library, 30 (1.2.9)

Paper *in-quarto* · Crete · c. 1445–1453 · mm 220 × 132 · fols II+ 326+II'.

- Poss.:* William Sancroft (1617–1693), archbishop of Canterbury; see the note on the flyleaf: 'Hic liber olim Gulielmi Sancroft Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis a Thoma Galeo sed valde negligenter, longe diligentius in usum editionis Wesselingianae ab Antonio Askew collatus est ut tamen non pauca omiserit, quaedam etiam minus recte notaverit [...]'.
Not.: –
- Wat.:* *Fleur* Briquet 6306 (= 80 Harlfinger; 1438–1455); see fols 2, 5, 10, 12, 23, 28/29, 145, 42, 155/156; *Enclume sommée d'une croix* similar to Briquet 5956 (1425–1452); see fols 50, 64, 85, 97, 108, 135, 147, 172, 196/197, 270.
- Quir.:* 1⁸⁻¹ (wants 1; 8 follows fol. 15), 2⁸ (1 and 8 follow fol. 8), 3–40⁸, 41⁸⁻¹ (wants 5). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–μα') in the lower central margin of the first and last sheet of the quire, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 25[160]35 × 16[93]23 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.
- Cont.:* 4r Herodotus (fols 2r–3v contain short remarks on the Ionic dialect; inc.: ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τῆς ἰάδος διαλέκτου. ἡ ἰὰς τὰ εἰς ἀς λήγοντα ὀνόματα εἰς ἧς τρέπει ἐὰν μὴ ᾧσι δῶρια; expl.: νεοχμῶσαι τὸ νεωστί κινῆσαι τί).

- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Diller); some western hands added marginal annotations: A = fols 5v, 7rv, 8r, 46r; B (in light-brown ink) = fols 5v, 10v–12r, 13r, 14v; C = fol. 46r.
- Cat.:* James 1904, 29; *RGK* I 18.
- Bibl.:* Diller 1967, 408; Mioni 1976, 298; Centanni 1984–1985, 208; Wilson 2015a, IX–X; Wilson 2015b, XVII, XXIII–XXIV, 5, 34, 61, 71, 85, 114, 184; *Diktyon*: 11839.
- Rem.:* As the catalogue by James states, ‘the first two quires are in a disordered state, but the leaves have been correctly numbered (by Mr Bradshaw?)’.

Como

3. Biblioteca Comunale, 1.3.19 (II.2.59)

Paper *in-quarto* · Bologna / Ferrara / Padua · 1456–1466 · mm 242 × 174 · fols II+206+II’.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–150); II (= fols 151–206).

Poss.: Demetrios Chalkondyles (?); Como Jesuit College [fol. 2r *ex libris* ‘Coll. Comens. Soc. Jesu’].

Not.: fol. IVv τῶν ἡμῶν κοινῶν φοινῶν [*sic*].

I (= fols 1–150) · Bologna / Ferrara / Padua · c. 1456–1466

Wat.: *Couronne* similar to the type Briquet 4742 (1470–1477); see fols 42–43; 145, 148. *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 19, 22; *Basilic* vaguely similar to the type Briquet 2681 (±1492); see fols 107, 112, 117.

Quir.: 1–3⁸, 4⁶, 5–19⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α’–ιθ’) in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 36[160]46 × 28[90]56 *Lin.:* 22 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 2r Philostratus, *Heroicus*, 63r *Imagines*.

Scr.: Michael Lygizos (Stefec) fols 2r–149v; Andronikos Kallistos (Stefec) title in red ink at fol. 63r; <Demetrios Chalkondyles> marg. fols 41r, 149v.

II (= fols 151–206)

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 168/173.

- Quir.:* 1–7⁸: Greek letters (κ'–κζ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 35[159]48 × 28[89]57 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 151r Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Stefec) fols 151r–206r; <Demetrios Chalkondyles> marg. fols 157r, 179r. Marginal annotations at fol. 192rv in a not yet identified hand.
- Cat.:* Martini 1896, 291–292.
- Bibl.:* Stefec 2010a, 71, 75–76, 80–81, 86; Stefec 2014, 154–155; Stefec 2016, (*siglum C*); *Diktyon*: 13168.
- Rem.:* The manuscript is now provided with a final quire numeration (1–3⁸, 4⁶, 5–26⁸), in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. It was, though, originally made of two contemporary codicological units, which were put together by Andronikos at a later time. Evidence of the previous quire numeration (restarting from α' at fol. 151r) in the hand of <Kallistos> is still visible.

Erlangen

4. Universitätsbibliothek, A 4 (1227; 89)

Paper *in-quarto* · mid-15th cent. · mm 215 × 144 · fols II+283+I'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–71); II (= fols 72–79); III (= 80–102); IV (= fols 103–208); V (= fols 209–264); VI (= fols 265–I').

Poss.: Johannes Müller von Königsberg (= lat. *Regiomontanus*).

Not.: –

I (= fols 1–71) · Crete? · c. 1445–1453

Wat.: *Fleur* 80 Harlfinger (= Briquet 6306); see fols 25/32, 26/31. *Monts* 84 Harlfinger; see fols 27/30. *Tour* 8 Harlfinger (same drawing in Par. Suppl. gr. 66 and Oxon. Barocci 63); see fols 33/40.

Quir.: 1–8⁸, 9⁸⁻¹ (wants 8, no textual loss). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–θ') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 25[158]33 × 15[93]35 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.

Cont.: 1r Aristotle, *Physica*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger).

II (= fols 72–79)

Wat.: *Monts* 84 Harlfinger.

Quir.: 1⁸. Numeration: Greek letter (α') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 21[159]31 × 14[92]36 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.

Cont.: 72r Simplicius, *in Arist. Phys.* (des. mut.: ὠς ὄταν ed. Diels 1882, 15,21).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger).

III (= fols 80–102) [blanks 100–102] · Constantinople? · c. 1445–1453

Wat.: *Monts* 52 Harlfinger.

Quir.: 1–2⁸, 3⁸⁻¹ (wants 8, no textual loss). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–γ') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 19[158]33 × 17[93]35 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.

Cont.: 80r Aristotle, *de longitudine et brevitare vitae*, 82v *de iuventute et senectute*, 85r *de respiratione* (with scholia of Michael of Ephesos?; see *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 137), 94r *de motu animalium*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger).

IV (= fols 103–208)

Wat.: *Huchet* 18 Harlfinger (Rome, 1461–1467).

Quir.: 1–3¹⁰, 4¹⁴; 5–9¹⁰, 10¹². Numeration: Greek letters in the lower central margin of the first sheet, in the hand of Kosmas Trapezuntios; *Bifolienzählung* with Greek letters (αα – ζδ) in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and the lower inner margin of the first sheet, in the hand of Johannes Müller von Königsberg.

Writ.: mm 12[145]43 × 11[75]43 *Lin.:* 28 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: Astronomical texts (for a detailed description, see Zinner 1968, 332 and Thurn 1980, 25–26).

Scr.: Kosmas hieromonachos Trapezuntios (Harlfinger) fols 103r–146v; Johannes Müller von Königsberg (= *Regiomontanus*) (Zinner) fols 147r–208r; marginal annotations in the hand of *Regiomontanus*.

V (= fols 209–264) · Constantinople? · c. 1445–1453

Wat.: *Monts* 52 Harlfinger.

Quir.: 1–7⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ζ') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 20[160]31 × 16[90]35 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.
Cont.: 209r Plato, *Gorgias*, 246r *Lysis*, 255v *Menexenus*, 262v *Clitopho*.
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger). Marginal annotations in the hand of *Regiomontanus*.

VI = (fols 265–I')

Wat.: *Huchet* 18 Harlfinger (Rome, 1461–1467).
Quir.: 1–2¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–β') in the lower central margin of the first sheet, in the hand of Kosmas Trapezuntios; *Bifolienzählung* with Greek letters (αβ–βε) in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Johannes Müller von Königsberg.
Writ.: mm 18[143]52 × 13[93]39 *Lin.:* 22 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 265r Hesiod, *Opera et dies*.
Scr.: Kosmas Trapezuntios (Harlfinger). Marginal annotations in the hand of *Regiomontanus*.
Cat.: Wartelle 1963, 28; *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 136–139 (description by Harlfinger); Thurn 1980, 24–27.
Bibl.: Zinner 1968, 331–333; Harlfinger 1971, 413; Centanni 1984–1985, 208; Slings 1987, 23–25; Martinelli Tempesta 1995; Martinelli Tempesta 1997; Díaz de Cerio and Serrano 2001, 353–354; Menchelli 2006, 211–212; Bardi 2022; *Diktyon*: 14294.

Firenze

5. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1144

Paper *in-quarto* · Bologna / Ferrara / Padua · 1456–1466 · mm 243 × 170 · fols IX+180+IX'.

Poss.: Baldassar Migliavacca [see fol. IXv *ex libris* ἐμοῦ τοῦ βαλτάσαρος τοῦ μελιβακκοῦ (*sic*) | *Mei Baltasaris meliavaccae*; fol. VI'v *Mei Baltasaris meliavaccae*].
Not.: IIv *pinax*, in the hand of <Baldassar Migliavacca>; IIIr brief notes written at Ashburnham Place (XIX cent.); VIII'r selling price ('ducati 2 e 3').
Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 4/6, 11/14, 36/37, 51/54, 60/61, 83/86, 122/129, 175/176. *Basilic* similar to the type Briquet 2669/2670 (Mantova/Ferrara, 1459–1469); see fols 43/46, 41/48. *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α Q.5.20, α T.9.1, α T.9.2, α T.9.14, etc.); see fols 132/137, 133/136, 140/145, 173/178.

- Quir.:* 1–15⁸, 16¹⁰, 17–21⁸, 22¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–κβ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 34[160]49 × 22[94]54 *Lin.:* 29/15 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r Pindar, *Olymp., Pith., Nem.* I–III; 131r Lycophron, *Alexandra*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Todd).
- Cat.:* Rostagno and Festa 1893, 206.
- Bibl.:* Irigoien 1952, 394; Todd 1994, 67–75; Tessier 2000, 359 n. 51; Orlandi 2014b, 141, 144, 149–151, 155, 178, 180, 182–189; *Diktyon*: 15750.

6. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1599

Paper *in-quarto* (with the exception of fols I, III': parchment) · mid-15th cent. (with the exception of fols 153–175 [14th cent.]) · mm 242 × 166 · fols V+175(+159a–d+163a–d)+III'.

Composite manuscript, assembled by Andronikos Kallistos himself (see the final quire numeration in his hand [= 1–23; α'–κγ']). *Codicological Units* = I (= fols 1–104) Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, 1456–1466; II (= fols 105–112) Bologna, 1453–1455; III (= fols 113–152) Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, 1456–1466; IV (= fols 153–175) Constantinople (?), 14th cent.

Poss.: Baldassar Migliavacca [see fol. Iv (parchment) *ex libris* ΒΑΛΤΑCΑP; fol. Vr ἐμοῦ τοῦ βαλτάσαρος τοῦ μελιαβακκοῦ | *Mei Baltasaris meliavaccae*; fol. VI'v *Mei Baltasaris Meliavaccae*; fol. II'v *Mei Baltasaris meliavaccae*].

Not.: Iv (parchment) *pinax*, in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca; some brief notes written at Ashburnham Place (19th cent.).

I (= fols 1–104)

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence (same drawing in Ashb. 1144); see fols 2/7, 11/14, 41/48, 58/63. *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978; same drawing in Ambr. P 84 sup., Laur. Ashb. 1144, Mutin. α Q.5.20, α T.9.2, α T.9.14 etc.); see fols 81/88, 84/85.

Quir.: 1–13⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ιγ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 34[160]48 × 21[95]50 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r Themistius, in *Arist. de Anima* (ed. Heinze 1899).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Todd).

II (= fols 105–112)

- Wat.:* *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 107/110.
Quir.: 1⁸. Numeration: Greek letter ($\iota\delta'$) in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numeral in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
Writ.: mm 26[159]57 × 16[93]57 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 105r Timaeus Locrus (*cum scholiis*).
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Todd).

III (= fols 113–152) [blanks 151–152]

- Wat.:* *Monts* (small-sized) without correspondence; see fols 125/132, 128/129, 145/152. *Chapeau* without correspondence; see fols 113/120, 114/119.
Quir.: 1⁸, 2⁶⁻² (wants 1, 2), 3–4⁸, 5⁴, 6⁸. Numeration: Greek letters ($\epsilon\iota'$ – κ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
Writ.: mm 32[159]51 × 19[93]54 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 113r Cleomedes, *Caelestia* (ed. Todd 1990).
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Todd).

IV (= fols 153–175)

- Wat.:* not visible.
Quir.: 1⁸⁻³, 2⁸, 3¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters ($\kappa\alpha'$ – $\kappa\gamma'$) in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
Writ.: mm c. 24[185]33 × 21[115]30 *Lin.:* 38 *Rul.:* missing.
Cont.: 153r Maximus Planudes, *Ψηφοφορία κατ' Ἴνδούς ἢ λεγομένη μεγάλη* (ed. Allard 1981).
Scr.: Unknown scribe.
Cat.: Rostagno and Festa 1893, 209.
Bibl.: Marg 1972, 2–3; Allard 1979, 220–223; Todd 1990, IX; Todd 1994, 67–75; Orlandi 2014b, 141–144, 149–151, 153–155, 170, 177, 180–187; *Diktyon*: 15767.
Rem.: The quires of the third codicological unit (containing the text of Cleomedes) have been restored over years by Kallistos; fols 115–118, 121–124, 125–140, and 145–152 bear the original composition. Fols 159a–d and 163a–d are little pieces of paper (containing a short mathematical

text) folded *in-sedicesimo* (mm c. 123 × 84) and bounded within the quire no. 22.

7. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 60.16

Paper (with the exception of fols I, 98, I': parchment) · Rome (with the exception of fols 92–97: Bologna / Ferrara / Padua), c. 1457 · mm 199 × 140 · fols IV+100+I'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–26); II (= fols 27–50); III (= fols 51–91); IV (= fols 92–97); V (= fols 98–100).

Poss.: Gaspare Zacchi of Volterra.

Not.: Ilr *pinax* in the hand of Gaspare Zacchi (Speranzi). Fols I–IV added by Gaspare Zacchi (I/IV folded *in-quarto*, II/III *in-octavo*); see Speranzi 2016a, 43, 45–46, 51, 55–66, 68–70.

I (= fols 1–26) [blanks 24–26]

Wat.: *Échelle* similar to the type 13 Harlfinger (Rome, March 1457, cop. Iohannes Rhosos), folded *in-octavo*.

Quir.: 1–2¹⁰, 3⁶. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–γ', not clearly visible due to the trimming) in the lower central margin of the first sheet + *reclamantes* on the last sheet, in the hand of Kosmas. Latin letters (A–C) in the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Gaspare Zacchi.

Writ.: mm 15[142]42 × 22[90]32 *Lin.:* 24 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r Aristotle, *Poetica*.

Scr.: Kosmas Trapenzuntios; initials and illuminations in red ink in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos (see fols 1r, 23v) (Lobel).

II (= fols 27–50) [blanks 48–50]

Wat.: *Ciseaux* vaguely similar to the type 71 Harlfinger (1439/40), folded *in-octavo*.

Quir.: 1¹⁴, 2¹⁰. Numeration: Latin letters (D–<E>) in the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Gaspare Zacchi.

Writ.: mm 18[142]39 × 18[84]38 *Lin.:* 23 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 27r Dionysius Halicarnasseus, *Ep. II ad Ammaeum*; 34v Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis*; 39r Matth. Ephes., *Prol. in Odysseam*; 42v [Demetrius Phaleraeus], *Typi epistolares*.

Scr.: Manuel Atrapas (Harlfinger); illuminations by Iohannes Rhosos.

III (= fols 51–91) [blanks 90–91]

- Wat.:* *Ciseaux* vaguely similar to the type 71 Harlfinger (1439/40), folded *in-octavo*. *Tenaille* similar to Briquet 14089 (Pisa/Rome, 1454–1457), folded *in-octavo*.
- Quir.:* 1–3⁸, 4¹⁰⁻¹ (wants 10, no textual loss), 5⁸. Numeration: Latin letters (F–K) in the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Gaspare Zacchi.
- Writ.:* mm 20[146]33 × 16[98]26 *Lin.:* 26 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 51r *Disticha Catonis* (Greek version by Max. Planudes); 65v Libanius, *Epistulae* 134, 936; 67r Isidoros Pelusiotes, *Epistulae* (1,203; 1,61; 1,220; 1,151; 1,201; 3,204; 1,102; 1,98; 1,360; 1,185); 75r Leonardo Bruni, Περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῶν Φλωρεντίνων; 78v Gregorios of Corinth, Περὶ συντάξεως; 84v Nikephoros Gregoras, Περὶ ἀπόρων; 86v Kaloiannes, *Epistula ad Chrysocephalum* (inc.: ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἐπιστέλλειν; for the author of this work see Speranzi 2016a, 55–56).
- Scr.:* Gaspare Zacchi of Volterra (Speranzi).

IV (= fols 92–97)

- Wat.:* *Monts* without correspondence (folded *in-quarto*); see fols 92/97.
- Quir.:* 1⁶. Numeration: Latin letter (L) in the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Gaspare Zacchi (Speranzi).
- Writ.:* mm 20[160]24 × 20[97]27 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* Basilius Magnus, *Encomium in Gordium martyrem*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger).

V (= fols 98–100) [blank 100]

- Wat.:* *Échelle* similar to the type 13 Harlfinger (Rome, March 1457, cop. Iohannes Rhosos), folded *in-octavo*.
- Quir.:* 1⁴⁻¹ (wants 4; no textual loss).
- Writ.:* mm 21[135]43 × 23[85]32 *Lin.:* 26 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 98r Diodorus Metrologus, *Expositio de ponderibus et mensuris*.
- Scr.:* Kosmas Trapezuntios (Lobel).
- Cat.:* Bandini 1768–1770, vol. 2, cols 605–607. *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 216–218.
- Bibl.:* Lobel 1933, 20–24; Harlfinger 1971, 409, 413; De Gregorio 2000, 365–366; Speranzi 2016a, 69–70 (with further bibliography); *Diktyon*: 16514.
- Rem.:* A detailed description of the codex is found in Speranzi 2016a, 69–70. Digitized at <<http://mss.bmlonline.it>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

8. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 74.12

Paper *in-quarto* · Rome, 1466–1471 (unit I) / Florence, c. 1470–1485 (unit II) · mm 212 × 144 · fols II+80+IV’.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 3–44); II (= fols 45–80).

Poss.: –

Not.: fol. 1r *pinax*.

I (= fols 3–44) [blanks 22–24, 31–34, 40–42]

Wat.: *Huchet* 25 Harlfinger (Rome, 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos); see fols 3–5, 14–16, 35–44. *Ciseaux* vaguely similar to the type 44 Harlfinger (Rome, 1457, cop. Iohannes Rhosos and Manuel Atrapes); see fols 6–13. *Lettre S* similar to type 54 Harlfinger (1473/1474, cop. Alexios Keladenos); see fols 17–34.

Quir.: 1¹⁴, 2⁸, 3¹⁰, 4⁸, 5². Numeration: missing.

Writ.: variable, c. mm 170 × 85 *Lin.*: variable, c. 23–29 *Rul.*: missing (with the exception of fols 35–44: Sautel-Leroy 20D1, 29 lines, c. mm 160 × 95).

Cont.: 3r Excerpts from Galen (fols 3–21: *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.*, books 2–9, fols 25–30: *Meth. med.*, books 1–2, 7–8, 12–13); 35r other excerpts (Gal., *De usu part.* books 11, 14, 17, *De trem.*; Philostr., *Vita Apollonii*; [Arist.], *De spiritu*; Gal., *De dieb. decr.*, book 2; Xen., *Cyropaedia*, books 4–5; Gal., *De cris.*, book 2 [a single quotation: τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι διαφυγεῖν ἐπήρειαν γράμμα μηδέν, οὕτως ἦν παλαιόν, ὥστε καὶ Πλάτων αὐτοῦ μέμνηται]; Porph., *De abstinentia*, book 4; Gal., *De elem. sec. Hipp.*, book 1; Gal. *De sympt. caus.*, book 2); 43r Andronikos Kallistos (?), Περὶ κοινογαμίας (see Pontani 1989).

Scr.: Theodoros Gazes fols 3r–21r, 25r–30v (Speranzi); Bessarion fols 37r lin. 17–18, 39r lin. 11–14 (up to the words παρὰ γε μὴν), 39v lin. 19–25 and marginal note at fol. 15r (Speranzi); <Nikolaos Sekundinos> fol. 39r lin. 14–25 (I hereby propose to correct the previous identification with Manuel Atrapes by Speranzi); Alexios Keladenos fol. 39r lin. 25–30, 39v lin. 1–18 (Speranzi); Andronikos Kallistos fols 35r–39r, 43r–44v (RGK I 18).

II (= fols 45–80) [blanks 63–64]

Wat.: *Fleur* similar to the type Briquet 6662 (Florence, 1496); see fols 45–64.

Quir.: 1–2⁸, 3⁴; 4–5⁸.

- Writ.:* mm 22[148]42 × 35[85]27 *Lin.:* 25 *Rul.:* Sautel-Leroy 20D1 (fols 45–64); mm 23[140]47 × 20[86]35 *Lin.:* 21 *Rul.:* Sautel-Leroy 20D1 (fols 65–80).
- Cont.:* 45r Lysias, *Orationes* 20–24, 25 (up to 7.6), 65r *Orationes* 25 (starting at 34.22), 26–30.
- Scr.:* Anonymous scribe of ms. Ambr. Trotti 182, fols 45r–64v (Speranzi); Iohannes Skutariotes fols 65r–80v (RGK I 183); *reclamantes* in the hand of <Demetrios Chalkondyles> fol. 64v.
- Cat.:* Bandini 1768–1770, vol. 3, cols 99–101; RGK I 18, 183.
- Bibl.:* Pontani 1989, 139–142; Boter 2014, 30; Speranzi 2011 117–121, 124 (with further bibliography); Speranzi 2012, 353; Orlandi 2015, 272–273; Lorusso 2018, LII; Giacomelli 2021a, 112; *Diktyon*: 16667.
- Rem.:* Digitized at <<http://mss.bmlonline.it>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

Kraków

9. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Berol. gr. qu. 73 (376)

Parchment · Rome (?) · c. 1466–1471 · mm 225 × 165 · fols II+46+II'.

- Poss.:* Petros Hypselas [fol. 1r *ex libris* πέτρου ὑψηλα (*sic*) αἰγινήτου βίβλος].
- Quir.:* 1–4¹⁰, 5⁸⁻².
- Writ.:* mm 19[160]30 × 15[95]23 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel-Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r Porph., *Introductio*; 12r Aristotle, *Categoriae*, 33r *De interpretatione*
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger, *privatim*) fols 1r–23r; <Anonymous pupil of Andronikos Kallistos> fols 23v–44v and marginal annotations throughout the codex. Marginal annotations in the hand of Petros Hypselas fols 1r–2r, 3v, 4v, 6v, 7v, 20v, 27r, 33r, 34r.
- Cat.:* de Boor 1897, 219; Wartelle 1963, 21.
- Bibl.:* *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 49–50; *Diktyon*: 9243.

Milano

10. Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 185 sup. (gr. 78)

Paper · 15th cent. · mm 300 × 215 · fols XVII+243(+98bis)+II'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–149); II (= fols 150–165); III (= fols 166–213); IV (= fols 214–227) (Crete, third quarter of the 15th cent.); V (= fols 228–243) (Crete?, ante 1453).

Poss.: Baldassar Migliavacca.

Not.: —

I (= fols 1–149) + III (= fols 166–213)

Wat.: *Lettre B*, folded *in-quarto*, without correspondence; see fols 4/7, 24/27, 74/77, 177/180. *Fleur* (= *Mailänder Blume*, small-sized); see fols 104/105, 144/145, 168/171; *Fleur* (= *Mailänder Blume*, medium-sized); see fols 133/136.

Quir.: 1–15¹⁰ Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ιε') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + latin letters (a, b, c, etc.) in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of the Baldassar Migliavacca (Unit I).

1⁸, 2–5¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters in the lower inner margin of the first sheet of the quire, in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca (Unit III).

Writ.: mm 32[210]51 × 39[105]67 *Lin.:* 39 *Rul.:* Sautel-Leroy 20D1 (Unit I); mm 35[195]65 × 31[120] 61 *Lin.:* 34–37 *Rul.:* Sautel-Leroy 20D1 (Unit III).

Cont.: 1r Simpl., *in Arist. De anima* (inc. mut. καὶ τῶν νοητῶν θεωρητικὸν γινώσκειν νοῦν ed. Hayduck 1882); 166r [Philoponos], *in Arist. Analytica priora* (inc. mut. ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἡ μείζων λάβῃ τὸ ὑπάρχον; cf. Par. gr. 1919, fols 124r–133v).

Scr.: Baldassar Migliavacca.

II (= fols 150–165) [blanks, later addition]

Wat.: missing.

Quir.: 1¹⁶.

IV (= fols 214–227) [blanks 224–227]

Wat.: *Balance en cercle* similar to Piccard V 481 (Brescia, ±1473), folded *in-folio*; see fol. 224.

Quir.: 1⁶, 2⁸. Numeration: missing.

Writ.: mm 24[193]53 × 37[131]61 *Lin.:* 32 *Rul.:* Sautel-Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 214r Nilos Kabasilas *De Spiritus Sancti processione*.

Scr.: Michael Lygizos fols 214r–218v lin. 24 (Martinelli Tempesta); unknown scribe fols 218v lin. 24–223r (Martinelli Tempesta).

V (= fols 228–243)

Wat.: *Monts* (small-sized, similar to that found e.g. in Bonon. 2638) folded *in-folio*; see fols 228, 229, 231, 238, 243

Quir.: 1–2⁸.

- Writ.:* variable, c. mm 45[195]55 × 25[135]50 *Lin.:* variable *Rul.:* missing.
Cont.: Chronological tables.
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos fols 228v–243r (Martinelli Tempesta).
Cat.: Martini and Bassi 1906, I, 90–91; Wartelle 1963, 64.
Bibl.: Canart 1070, 336; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 108, 133, 136; Orlandi 2014b, 156; Speranzi 2016b, 64; Orlandi 2020c, 458–459; *Diktyon*: 42274.
Rem.: Fols 150–165 (= unit II) have been inserted at a later time and have been left blank with the intent of leaving sufficient space for the missing portion of text.

11. Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 52 sup. (gr. 436)

Paper *in-quarto* · mm 233 × 172 · fols IV+184+II'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units:* I (= fols 1–136) Padua 1457–1462; II (= fols 137–184) · Constantinople (?), 1317.

- Poss.:* Galeazzo Visconti [see fol. II'v *ex libris* 'Galeacij Vicecomitis nec non amicorum. E(m)ptus precio lb. 16. 1502 die 13 Nouembris']; Ludovico Cinzio [see fol. IIIr *ex libris* '25 Maij 1554 emit. Lodouicus Cinctius est possessor huius libri'].
Not.: fol. 184v *subscriptio*: ἐγράφη ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος τῆ χειρὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Εὐφημianoῦ· ἐτελειώθη δὲ τῆ κη' τοῦ ἰουλίου μηνὸς τῆς ιε' ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ρωκε' ἔτους.

I (= fols 1–136) [blanks 134–136]

- Wat.:* *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α Q.5.20, α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc.).
Quir.: 1–17⁸.
Writ.: mm 32[160]41 × 22[95]55 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 1r Lysias, *de caede Eratosthenis*, 6r *Epitaphium*, 15r *in Simonem apologia*, 20r *de vulnere ex industria*, 22r *pro sacrilegio Calliae*, 24v *adversus Andocidem*, 31r *Areopagitica oratio pro sacra olea excisa*, 35r *accusatio de obtrectationibus adversus familiares*, 37r *pro milite*, 39r *adversus Theomnestum I*, 42r *adversus Theomnestum II*, 43v *adversus Eratosthenem*, 53r *adversus Agoratum*, 64r *adversus Alcibiadem I*, 68v *adversus Alcibiadem II*, 70r *pro Mantitheo*, 72v περὶ δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων, 73v *de publicatione bonorum fratris Niciae*, 76v *de bonis Aristophanis*, 83r *pro Polystrato*, 86v *de muneribus acceptis apologia*, 89r *adversus*

frumentarios, 91v *adversus Panoleonem*, 93v *pro invalido*, 96r *de affectata tyrannide*, 102r, *de Evandri probatione*, 104v *adversus Epicratem*, 106r *adversus Ergoclem*, 108r *adv. Philocratem*, 109v *adversus Nicomachum*, 114r *adversus Philonem*, 117v Gorgias, *Encomium Helenae*, 120v Alcidas, *de sophistis*, 125r *Ulysses*, 128v Antisthenes, *Ajax*, 129v *Ulysses*, 131r Demades, *de duodecenniali*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger 1971, 413).

II (= fols 137–184)

Wat.: –

Quir.: 1–6^s. Numeration (continuing the previous: 18–23): Greek letters (ιη'–κγ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Traces of a previous numeration λα'–λζ', in the hand of Theodosios Euphemianos.

Writ.: c. mm 175 × 120 Lin.: 41 Rul.: –.

Cont.: 137r Aelius Aristides, *oratio Rhodiaca*, 143r *in Minervam*, 145v *Asclepiadae*, 147r *in Iovem*, 149r *in Eteoneum*, 150v *adversus criminatores*, 153r *Alexandri oratio funebris*, 156v *in puteum Aesculapii*, 158r *in Serapim*, 161r *in Aegaem mare*, 162v *in imperatorem*, 166r *Isthmica in Neptunum*, 169v *Dionysus*, 170v *de non agendis comoediis*, 173r *Panegyricus Cyzici de templo*, 176r *legatio ad Achillem*, 179v *monodia de Smyrna*, 180r *oratio Eleusinia*, 181r *epistula de Smyrna*, 182v *palinodia de Smyrna*.

Scr.: Theodosios Euphemianos (see *PLP* 6371).

Cat.: Martini and Bassi 1906, I, 526–527.

Bibl.: Harlfinger 1971, 413; Avezzù 1976, 184, 192; Donadi 1976, 240–245; Avezzù 1979–1980, 73, 78, 82, 85; Centanni 1984–1985, 39; Sosower 1986, 143; Sosower 1987, 46, 59–61, 62, 101; Nelson 2006; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 132–133; Donadi 2015, 27–30; Donadi 2016, XX–XXII, XXXVIII; *Diktyon*: 42867.

12. Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 56 sup. (gr. 462)

Paper *in-quarto* (with the exception of fols IV and III': parchment) · Padua, 1456–1462 · mm 237 × 163 · fols IV+248+III'.

Poss.: Baldassar Migliavacca († c.1524) [see *ex libris* fol. IVv (ἔμοῦ Βαλτάσαρος τοῦ Μελιαβακκοῦ | Baltasaris Meliavaccae) and IIv (Baltasaris Meliavaccae)]; Cesare Rovida.

- Not.:* —
- Wat.:* *Flèches* almost identical to the type 6271 Briquet (Venice, c. 1462); see fols 73/80. *Griffon* similar to the type 12 Harlfinger (Venice, Febr. 1465, cop. Immanuel Rhusotas); see fols 65/72. *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 242–II' (= later addition by Migliavacca).
- Quir.:* 1–29⁸, 30¹⁰; 31⁸ (later addition). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–λα') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos (with the exception of quire 31, in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca).
- Writ.:* mm 32[160]45 × 29[95]39 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r Aristotle, *De partibus animalium*, 73r *Historia animalium*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger) fols 1r–242v; Baldassar Migliavacca fols 243r–248v (Orlandi).
- Cat.:* Martini and Bassi 1906, II, 556–557; Wartelle 1963, 68.
- Bibl.:* Harlfinger 1971, 413; Centanni 1984–1985, 210; Sicherl 1997, 43–46, 66, 110; Berger 2005; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 132; Orlandi 2014b, 142, 144–46, 149–151, 187, 189–191 and plates V–VII; Golitsis 2016, 61–62; Orlandi 2022b (forthcoming); *Diktyon*: 42906.

13. Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 35 sup. (gr. 475)

Paper *in-quarto* (with the exception of fol. I: parchment) · 15th cent. · mm 217 × 141 · fols I+160+IV'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–8); II (= fols 9–12); III (= fols 13–48); IV (= fols 49–150); V (= fols 151–160).

Poss.: Thomas Seget (1569–1627) [see *ex libris* 'Thomae Segeti'].

Not.: fol. 160v annotations τύμβος, ἡρίον, μνήμα, τάφος, τύμβος, ἀπὸ τοῦ τύφω τὸ καί in the hand of <Angelo Vadio>.

I (= fols 1–8)

Wat.: *Enclume* similar to the type Briquet 5955 (1418–1453).

Quir.: 1⁸. Numeration: missing.

Writ.: mm 26[160]31 × 18[95]28 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r [Zonaras], Λεξικὸν συνοπτικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον (see Studemund 1886, 117).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Martinelli Tempesta).

II (= fols 9–12, blanks)

Wat.: missing.*Quir.:* 1⁴.

III (= fols 13–48)

Wat.: *Ciseaux* similar to the type 52 Harlfinger (1452, cop. Iohannes Skutariotes).*Quir.:* 1–4⁸, 5⁴. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ε') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet, in the hand of Michael Lygizos.*Writ.:* mm 32[140]45 × 24[75]42 *Lin.:* 25 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.*Cont.:* 13r Hephaestion, *Enchiridion*.*Scr.:* Michael Lygizos (Martinelli Tempesta). Marginal annotation in the hand of <Maximos Margunios?> fol. 29r. Marginal annotation in the hand of Georgios Alexandros Chomatas fol. 30r (Martinelli Tempesta).

IV (= fols 49–150)

Wat.: *Balance* without correspondence.*Quir.:* 1–4⁸, 5⁶, 6¹⁰, 7–8⁸, 9¹⁰, 10–12⁸, 13⁴. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ιγ') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet, in the hand of Michael Lygizos.*Writ.:* mm 27[145]45 × 20[80]41 *Lin.:* 25 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.*Cont.:* 49r Harpocraton, *Lexicon*.*Scr.:* Michael Lygizos (Martinelli Tempesta), with the exception of fol. 116rv, copied by <Angelo Vadio> (see also e.g. some marginal annotations in his hand at fols 13r, 62v–63r, 95v, 96rv).

V (= fols 151–160) [blanks 152–155]

Wat.: –*Quir.:* 1¹⁰. Numeration: missing.*Writ.:* mm 20[155]42 × 20[75]46 *Lin.:* 21 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.*Cont.:* 151r Grammatical annotations, 156r *De accentibus in casibus* (see Martini and Bassi 1906, I, 568).*Scr.:* <Angelo Vadio> fols 151rv, 156r–160r.*Cat.:* Martini and Bassi 1906, I, 567–568.*Bibl.:* Studemund 1886, 117; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 108, 132–133, 138, 140; *Diktyon*: 42945.

14. Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, P 84 sup. (gr. 631)

Paper *in-quarto* · 1459–1466 · mm 240 × 169 · fols II+46+I'.

Poss.: Demetrios Chalkondyles?

Not.: —

Wat.: *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α Q.5.20, α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc.); see fol. 19/22.

Quir.: 1–2⁸, 3–5¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 32[160]48 × 20[95]54 *Lin.:* 15 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: Theocritus, *Idylls* I–XIV, XV (up to verse 111).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Martinelli Tempesta). Marginal and interlinear annotations throughout in the hand of Demetrios Chalkondyles (Rollo *apud* Martinelli Tempesta). Marginal annotations in two anonymous western hands: 'A' fol. 31r and 'B' fols 21v, 38r–39r.

Cat.: Martini and Bassi 1906, II, 715.

Bibl.: Gallavotti 1993, 335, 377; Martinelli Tempesta 2012, 526–534; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 132–133; *Diktyon*: 43108.

Modena**15. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α P.5.19 (gr. 110)**

Paper *in-quarto* · Padua / Ferrara · 1456–1462 · mm 279 × 193 · fols I(numbered '1')+200+I'.

Poss.: Giorgio Valla [fol. 201v *ex libris* Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἔστι τὸ βιβλίον (strikethrough)]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi [fol. 1v *ex libris* τοῦ σοφωτάτου ἀρχοντος Ἀλβέρτου Πίου τὸ βιβλίον, in the hand of Markos Musuros].

Not.: fol. 1r some Latin verses in honour of Homer (Horace, *Ep.* II 3 vv. 140–152; Ovid. *Am.* III 9, vv. 25–26); brief notes about Homer's life; Andronikos Kallistos, *Epigramma in Homerum* (see *infra*, Appendix 7), in the hand of Giorgio Valla.

Wat.: *Monts en cercle* without correspondence; see fols 4/7, 20/23, 44/47, 157/158, 172/175, 197/198. *Monts en cercle* similar to the type Briquet 11885 (Padua 1460); see fols 52/55, 123/128, 179/184. *Monts* without correspondence (folded *in-folio*); see fols 74, 126.

- Quir.:* 1–25⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–κε') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet (not always visible due to the trimming; see e.g. fols 2r, 89v, 98r, 153v, 186r, 193v), in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Traces of a previous numeration are still visible, in the hand of Demetrios Xanthopoulos.
- Writ.:* mm 23[210]46 × 22[78]93; 23[210]46 × 22[92]79 (from fol. 44r onwards)
- Lin.:* 31 (with the exception of fol. 200rv: 39) *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 14E2n
- Cont.:* 2r Homer, *Odyssea*; 200r *Scholia recentiora ad Odysseam* (See Pontani 2011, 282–283).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Gamillscheg) fols 2r–43 and <marginal corrections> (see e.g. fol. 153r); Demetrios Xanthopoulos (Gamillscheg) fols 43v–199v; unknown scribe 'C' (= scribe of Mutin. α V.7.1, fols 80v–86r, 87r–104v [ident. by Gamillscheg], <Mutin. α T.9.11, fols 57r–66v>, and <Mutin. α V.7.13>) fol. 200rv; Iohannes Rhosos (Gamillscheg) titles, initials and decorations in red ink; there are some marginal notes in Greek and Latin by a not yet identified hand. Marginal notes in the hand of Giorgio Valla; see e.g. fols 3v, 30v, 43rv). Marginal notes in the hand of <Giovanni Crastone?>; see e.g. fols 1r–5r, 13r, 23r, 58v–59r, 68v, 89v (Greek) and 2r, 7r, 11v, 27v (Latin).
- Cat.:* Puntoni 1896, 454; RGK I, 18.
- Bibl.:* Gamillscheg 1978, 232, 240; Centanni 1984–1985, 210; Pontani 2011, 368, 378, 381–383, 388, 413; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67; *Diktyon*: 43359.

16. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α P.6.13 (gr. 77)

Paper *in-quarto* · Florence, 1471–1474 (with the exception of fols 138–143: Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, 1456–1462) · mm 238 × 170 · fols 143.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–137); II (= fols 138–143). The second codicological unit has been inserted within the last quire of the first one, between fols 137 and 142.

Poss.: Giorgio Valla [fol. 142v *ex libris* Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἐστὶ τὸ βιβλίον]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi (*ex libris* missing).

Not.: –

I (= fols 1–143) [blanks 141–142]

Wat.: *Chapeau* almost identical to the type Briquet 3387 (Venice/Florence 1464–1476); see fols 3/8, 45/45, 85/86, 94/97; *Échelle* similar to the type Briquet 5910 (Florence, 1473–1474); see fols 105/106, 125/126, 133/142.

- Quir.:* 1–13¹⁰; 14¹⁰⁻³ (= fols 131–137 + 142–143). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ιδ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 28[156]54 × 19[93]58 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r *Scholia in Apollonium Rhod.* [1r–2v *Prolegomena = Apollonii vita* (1,1–2,2 Wendel), *Argonauticorum argumentum* (2,16–4,16 Wendel), *Apollonii vita altera* (2,4–14 Wendel)].
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger). Marginal notes in the hand of Giorgio Valla; see e.g. fols 15r, 61r, 107r, 116v, 125v (Greek), 41r, 123r–125r, 128r (Latin). Marginal notes in the hand of <Giovanni Crastone?>; see e.g. fols 4rv, 8v, 11r, 13r, 14r, 18r, 52v–53v, 65r–71v, 92r, 103r.

II (= fols 138–141)

- Wat.:* *Monts* without correspondence; see fol. 138/141.
- Quir.:* 1⁴. Numeration: Greek letter (α') in the lower inner margin of fol. 139r, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 35[158]45 × 18[96]53 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 138r Astronomical diagrams.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger).
- Cat.:* Puntoni 1896, 436.
- Bibl.:* Wendel 1932, 11–13; Vian 1974, LI n. 3; Harlfinger 1974, 25 (nos 44–46); Gamillscheg 1978, 232; Centanni 1984–1985, 210; *Diktyon*: 43365.

17. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α Q.5.20 (gr. 87)

Paper *in-quarto* · Bologna / Ferrara / Padua 1456–1462 (with exceptions of fols 128–165: c. 1449–1453) · mm 235 × 170 · fols I (parchment) + II–III (paper, watermarked *Huchet*) + 181+I' (parchment).

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–64); II (= fols 65–87); III (= fols 88–127); IV (= fols 128–165); V (= fols 166–173); VI (= 174–181).

- Poss.:* Giorgio Valla [see *ex libris* Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἔστι τὸ βιβλίον fols Iiv and 181v (striketrough)]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi [see fol. Iiv *ex libris* Ἀλβερτου Πίου Καρπαίων ἄρχοντος κτήμα, in the hand of Markos Musuros].
- Not.:* fol. Iiv *pinax* in the hand of Markos Musuros.

I (= fols 1–64)

- Wat.:* *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc.); see fols 19/22, 27/30, 60/61.
- Quir.:* 1–8⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–η') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 30[154]49 × 19[92]59 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r *Scholia in Sophoclem* (1r in *Aiacem*, 19r in *Electram*, 34r in *Antigonem*, 46v in *Oedipum Tyrannum*).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Gamillscheg). Marginal annotations in the hand of <Giovanni Crastone?>; see e.g. fols 11v, 12rv, 44r, 50v, 58v, 61v, 62r, 64r.

II (= fols 65–87) [blanks 86–87]

- Wat.:* *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc.); see fols 67/70, 80/85.
- Quir.:* 1⁸, 2⁸⁻⁵ (wants 1, 5, 6, 7, 8), 3⁸⁻⁶ (wants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8), 4¹⁰ [for the text loss, see more in Tessier 2015b, 196]. Numeration: Greek letters (θ'–β') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 29[159]51 × 18[93]60 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 65r *Scholia metrica Tricliniana in Sophoclem* (65r in *Aiacem*, 71v in *Electram* [up to v. 1381], 76r in *Oedipum Tyrannum* [up to verse 151]); 81r *Scholia perbrevia in Aiacem, Electram et Oedipum Tyrannum*. 83v <Ioannes Charax> *De encliticis*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Gamillscheg)

III (= fols 88–127)

- Wat.:* *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc.); see fols 91/92, 123/124.
- Quir.:* 1–5⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (ιγ'–ιζ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Traces of a former numeration (Greek letters, <α'–ε'>; see e.g. fols

119v–120r) in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos>.

Writ.: c. mm 160 × 93 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 88r *Scholia in Theocritum*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Gamillscheg). Marginal annotation in the hand of <Giovanni Crastone?>; see e.g. fols 89v–90r, 97r, 102r.

IV (= fols 128–165) [blanks 163–165]

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 130/133. *Lettre N* similar to the type Briquet 8439 (1445–1450); see fols 147–148.

Quir.: 1–4⁸, 5⁶. Numeration: Greek letters (ιγ'–κβ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Traces of a former numeration (Greek letters, <α'–ε'>; see e.g. fols 143v, 151v) in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos>.

Writ.: mm 28[170]36 × 16[93]55 *Lin.:* 32 *Rul.:* missing.

Cont.: 128r *Scholia in Platonem*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Gamillscheg); marginal annotations in the hand of Bessarion e.g. at fols 152r, 157r (see Tessier 2015a and Speranzi 2013a), Markos Musuros (Speranzi) and <Giovanni Crastone?> (see e.g. fols 130r, 135r, 144r, 146r, 147v).

V (= fols 166–173) [blank 173]

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence (same drawing in Mutin. α T.9.2 [unit III.] and Mutin. α U.9.22 [units IV–VI]); see fols 169/170.

Quir.: 1⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (κγ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 28[154]50 × 27[94]56 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 166r *Scholia metrica in Pindarum*; 171v *Scholia vetera in Pindari Olymp.* 1,1; Some epigrams (*Anth. Pal.* IX 190, VII 75, VII 169).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Gamillscheg).

VI (= fols 174–181)

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence (same drawing in Mutin. α T.9.2 [unit III] and Mutin. α U.9.22 [units IV–VI]); see fols 177/178.

Quir.: 1⁸.

Writ.: mm 30[155]43 × 29[91]56 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

- Cont.:* 174r Notes on Ptolemy's *Geography* [the notes on Roman emperors after Commodus (179r) and the epigram from *Anth. Gr.* III 288 (179v) are later additions in the blank space].
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Gamillscheg).
- Cat.:* Puntoni 1896, 443–444.
- Bibl.:* Turyn 1952, 79; Gamillscheg 1978, 232, 239–240; Centanni 1984–1985, 211; Günther 1999, 321–326; Tessier 2000, 345–366, tavv. II–IV; Pontani 2011, 371; Speranzi 2013a, 30 n. 13, 122 n. 67, 117, 176–177, 367; Ferreri 2014, 399–400, 552–554; Tessier 2015a, XXVIII–XXXI; Tessier 2015b; *Diktyon*: 43382.
- Rem.:* Modern binding (restoration in year 2009).

18. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α Q.5.21 (gr. 91)

Paper *in-quarto* · Florence, 1471–1474 (fols 1–60); Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, 1456–1462 (fols 61–70) · mm 232 × 160 · fols 70.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–60); II (= fols 61–70).

- Poss.:* Giorgio Valla [fol. 69v *ex libris* Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἐστὶ τὸ βιβλίον (strikethrough)]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi (*ex libris* missing).
- Not.:* –

I (fols 1–60) [blanks 58–60]

- Wat.:* *Chapeau* very similar to the type Briquet 3387 (Florence/Venice, 1464–1476); see fols 2/9, 34/37.
- Quir.:* 1–6¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ζ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet of the quire, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 23[155]53 × 22[91]47 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r *Paraphrasis in Sophisticos Elenchos* (ed. Wallies 1884).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger *apud* Gamillscheg). Marginal annotations in the hand of Giorgio Valla.

II (fols 61–70)

- Wat.:* *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc); see fols 62/67, 64/65.
- Quir.:* 1⁸; 2² (a *bifolium* added by Suliardos). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ζ') in the lower inner margin of the first sheet of the quire, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 27[155]45 × 23[92]48 *Lin.:* 29/15 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

- Cont.:* 61r Musaeus, *Hero et Leander*.
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos fols 61r–68v lin. 11 (Harlfinger *apud* Gamillscheg); Michael Suliardos fols 68v lin. 12–70v (Eleuteri, with additions by De Gregorio) and some corrections at <fols 61r, 63r–64r, 68r>. Marginal annotation in the hand of <Giovanni Crastone?> at fol. 62r.
Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 445.
Bibl.: Gamillscheg 1978, 232, 242; Eleuteri 1981, 9–10, 155–156; Centanni 1984–1985, 211; Avezzù 1989–1990, 86–87; De Gregorio 1993, 142; *Diktyon*: 43383.
Rem.: In the second codicological unit there is no collaboration between Kallistos and Suliardos, the latter having copied the text in Par. gr. 2600 and having thus completed the Mutinensis.

19. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α T.8.13 (gr. 140)

Paper *in-quarto* · Florence, 1471–1474 · mm 285 × 200 · fols II (parchment)+140.

- Poss.:* Giorgio Valla [*ex libris* fol. IIr Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἔστι τὸ βιβλίον]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi [fol. IIv *ex libris* τοῦ φιλανθρωποτάτου ἄρχοντος Ἀλβέρτου Πίου κτῆμα, in the hand of Markos Musuros].
Not.: A record at fol. Iv [*Quintilianus*. | *Apollonius in ordinem a grammaticis datum non venit | quia Aristarchus et Aristophanes poetarum iudices | neminem sui temporis in numerum redegerunt*. | *Non tamen contemnendum edidit opus equali | quadam mediocritate* (= Quintilianus 10,1,54) / τέλος] is written by an anonymous hand.
Wat.: *Chapeau* almost identical to the type Briquet 3387 (Florence/Venice, 1464–1476); see fols 5/6, 25/26, 55/56, 105/106.
Quir.: 1–14¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ιδ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
Writ.: mm 27[202]56 × 31[120]49 *Lin.:* 40/21 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 1r Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*.
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger). Marginal annotations in the hand of <Giovanni Crastone?>; see e.g. fols 1v–3v, 16r 42rv, 57rv (Greek), 8r, 12r, 15r, 18r, 21r, 76v (Latin). Marginal annotations in an anonymous Western hand (<Paolo Canal?>) fol. 7v, 10r.
Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 473–474.
Bibl.: Harlfinger 1974, nos 44–46; Gamillscheg 1978, 232; Centanni 1984–1985, 221; Günther 1999, 316, 333; Schade and Eleuteri 2008, 47–48; *Diktyon*: 43424.

20. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α T.9.1 (gr. 38)

Paper *in-quarto* · Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, 1456–1466 · mm 240 × 167 · fols I (numbered '1') +100 [blanks 98–101].

Poss.: Giorgio Valla [see in his hand at fol. 1v]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi [see *ex libris* fol. 1v Ἀλβέρτου πίου καρπαίων ἄρχοντος κτήμα, in the hand of Markos Musuros].

Not.: fol. 1v: some excerpts from Aristotle's *Magna Moralia* (1187b 7–9; 1205b 34–36; 1187b 14–16; 1182a 32–b 2), in the hand of Giorgio Valla; fol. 98v excerpt from Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 28,8), in the hand of <Giovanni Crastone?>.

Wat.: *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc); see fols 13/14, 29/39, 44/47. *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 5/6, 35/40, 76/79. *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 52/55, 61/62, 76/79.

Quir.: 1–10⁸, 11⁶, 12⁸, 13¹⁰⁻⁵. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ιγ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 32[157]54 × 20[92]56 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 2r Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachaea*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger); Marginal annotations in the hand of <Giovanni Crastone?>; see e.g. fols 4r, 7r, 17v–18r, 57v, 82v–83r, 94v–97r. A single marginal annotation in an anonymous Byzantine hand (= *Anonymus* 14 Harlfinger?) at fol. 15v.

Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 405; Wartelle 1963, 75.

Bibl.: Harlfinger 1971, 413; Gamillscheg 1978, 232; Centanni 1984–1985, 212; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67; Orlandi 2014b, 174; Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 226–227, 229; *Diktyon*: 43433.

21. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α T.9.2 (gr. 39)

Paper *in-quarto* · Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, 1456–1466 · mm 239 × 168 · fols I (numbered '1') +176.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 2–51); II (= fols 52–67); III (= fols 68–98); IV (= fols 99–130); V (= fols 131–177).

Poss.: Giorgio Valla [see *ex libris* fol. 1v and 177v Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἐστὶ τὸ βιβλίον (strikethrough)]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi [see *ex libris* fol. 1v, in the hand of Markos Musuros].

Not.: fol. 1v Latin *pinax* in the hand of Markos Musuros.

I (= fols 2–51)

Wat.: *Flèches* almost identical to the type Briquet 6271 (Venice, ±1462); see fols 5/6, 20/22.

Quir.: 1–5⁸, 6¹⁰. Greek letters (α'–ζ') in the lower central margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos, with the exception of quire no. 6: Greek letter ζ' + Arabic numeral on the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos [= later addition, at the time when he assembled the codex].

Writ.: mm 25[155]58 × 26[90]55 *Lin.:* 25 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 34D1.

Cont.: 2r Phalaris, *Epistulae*; 50v comparison of the names of the months in Greek and Latin (see Botley 2006).

Scr.: Iohannes Rhosos (Gamillscheg).

II (= fols 52–67) [blanks 66–67]

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 60/67, 63/64.

Quir.: 1–2⁸. Greek letters (ζ'–η') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 33[156]51 × 24[95]54 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 52r Brutus, *Epistulae*; 61v Dionys. Halic., *De imitatione*.

Scr.: Georgios Chomatias Alexandros (Gamillscheg).

III (= fols 68–98)

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence (same drawing in Mutin. α Q.5.20 [units V–VI] and Mutin. α U.9.22 [units IV–VI]); see fols 69/74. *Monts* (very small type, same as Mutin. α T.9.14) without correspondence; see fols 71/72.

Quir.: 1–3⁸, 4⁸⁻²+1 single leaf (= to a *quaternio* wanting the last two leaves has been added at a later time a single leaf [fol. 98] watermarked *Huchet* 25 Harlfinger). Greek letters (θ'–ιβ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Traces of a former numeration (Greek letters, α'–δ') in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet of the quire, in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos>.

Writ.: variable, c. mm [205] × [130] (text+scholia), [160] × [70] (text only)
Lin.: 30/16 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 68r Nicander, *Theriaca* (with scholia).
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger 1974).

IV (= fols 99–130)

Wat.: *Couronne* without correspondence; see fols 99/106, 102/103.
Quir.: 1–4⁸. Greek letters (ιγ'–ις') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
Writ.: mm 36[158]44 × 25[95]58 *Lin.:* 22 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 99r *Argonautica Orphica*.
Scr.: Michael Lygizos (Gamillscheg).

V (fols 131–177) [blank 131]

Wat.: *Couronne* without correspondence; see fols 132/137, 146/153.
Quir.: 1⁸, 2⁸⁻¹, 3–6⁸. Greek letters (ιζ'–κβ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Traces of a former numeration (Greek letters, α'–ς') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet of the quire, in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos>.
Writ.: mm 33[157]49 × 25[93]59 *Lin.:* 29/15 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 132r Sophocles, *Antigone*.
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger 1974).
Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 405–406.
Bibl.: Turyn 1957, 79; Harlfinger 1974, nos 44–46; Gamillscheg 1978, 232; Vian 1979, 29–31; Centanni 1984–1985; Günther 1999, 316; Jacques 2002, CLI–CLVII; Muratore 2006, 79–80; Botley 2006, 411–412; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67; Tessier 2015b, 178–179, 181, 193, 195; Tessier 2015a, XXVI–VIII (with a short description). *Diktyon*: 43434.

22. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α T.9.14 (gr. 51)

Paper *in-quarto* · Crete, c. 1445–1453 (with the exception of fols 1–7: Padua / Bologna, 1456–1466) · mm 216 × 150 · fols III+268+III' (= the last three leaves of a *senio*) [blanks 266–268].

Poss.: Giorgio Valla [see *ex libris* Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἔστι τὸ βιβλίον fol. IIIv (strikethrough) and Γr]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi (see *ex libris* Ἀλβέρτου Πίου Καρπαίων ἄρχοντος κτήμα at fol. IIIv and Ἀλβέρτου

Πίου κρατοῦντος Κάρπου καὶ σοφωτάτου ἐστὶ τὸ βιβλίον at fol. Γ'ν, in the hand of Markos Musuros).

Not.: fol. IIIv *pinax* in the hand of Markos Musuros.

Wat.: *Monts* (very small type, same as Mutin. α T.9.2, unit III) without correspondence; see fols 21/24, 30/31, 55/58. Other slightly different drawings *Monts* (a little bigger); see fols 160/161, 167/170, 175/178, 214/219, 239/242. *Tête de boeuf*; see 48/49, 86/91. Another similar *Tête de boeuf*; see fols 88/89, 111/114, 136/137. *Couronne* (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing e.g. in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α Q.5.20, α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc.); see fols 5/6 (= later restoration).

Quir.: 1¹⁰⁻³ + 3 single leaves (= original), 2–4⁸, 5¹⁰, 6–33⁸.

Writ.: variable, c. mm [180] × [105] (text+scholia), [135] × [70] (text only) *Lin.:* 29/15 (average value) *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r Aratus, *Phaenomena* (with scholia); 53v Iohannes Tzetzes, *Iambi*; 55r [Homer], *Hymni* VIII, XVIII, III; 65r Hesiod, *Theogonia* (with scholia); 99r [Hesiod], *Scutum* (with scholia); 116r Lycophron, *Alexandra* (with scholia and *Prolegomena* by Tzetzes); 188r Pindar, *Pythicae* (with scholia); 248v *Nemeae* I–IV (up to verse 68) and VI (verses 37–50).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger). Marginal annotations in the hand of <Giovanni Crastone?>; see e.g. fols 21v, 125r, 128v, 181v, 208r. Marginal annotations to the text of Pindar's *Pythics* in the hand of <Markos Musuros>; see fols 189r–212v.

Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 416–417.

Bibl.: Irigoien 1952, 386–387; Martin 1974, XI–XII; Harlfinger 1974, nos 44–46; Gamillscheg 1978, 232; Centanni 1984–1985, 212; Marcotte 1985–1986, 71; Corrales Pérez 1994, 125–131; Sicherl 1997, 87–88 n. 257; Günther 1999, 316, 320–321, 323, 325; Tselikas 2004, 374; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67; Pontani and Lugato 2017, 284–285; *Diktyon*: 43446.

Rem.: The manuscript endured a restoration in 1997.

23. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α U.5.1 (gr. 123)

Paper *in-quarto* · Padua 1456–1462 (fols 1–201, with the exception of quire 7: Florence, 1471–1474); Florence 1471–1474 (fols 202–398) · mm 270 × 195 · fols 398+I'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–201) · Padua, 1456–1462, with the exception of quire ζ (= fols 49–56; see below); II (= fols 202–398) · Florence, 1471–1474.

Poss.: Giorgio Valla (see a marginal note in his hand at fol. 2r); Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi.

Not.: —

I (= fols 1–201, with the exception of fols 49–56)

Wat.: *Monts* 24 Harlfinger (Padua 1456–1462); see fols 4/5, 33/40, 67/70, 164/165. Other *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 25/32, 81/88, 35/38, 196/198. [Quire 7 (= fols 49–56) is a later restoration, in the hand of Kallistos; it is made of paper watermarked *Chapeau* very similar to the type Briquet 3387 (Florence/Venice, 1464–1476); see fols 52/53].

Quir.: 1–24⁸, 25¹⁰⁻¹. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–κ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos

Writ.: mm 29[204]44 × 25[127]48 *Lin.:* 19 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r Homer, *Ilias* A–M.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Gamillscheg). Illuminations, initials and titles in red ink in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos (Gamillscheg) (his work are also some corrections to the main text; see e.g. fols 17r, 40v, 67r). Marginal annotations in the hand of <Giovanni Crastone?>; see e.g. fols 4r, 110v. A single correction at fol. 132r is in the hand of <Michael Lygizos>.

II (= fols 201–398 + fols 49–56) [blanks 396–398]

Wat.: *Échelle* similar to the type Briquet 5910 (Florence, 1473–1474); see fols 262/271, 296/297, 305/308, 352/361. *Ciseaux* without correspondence; see fols 206/207, 246/247.

Quir.: 1–19¹⁰, 20⁸⁻¹. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–κ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos (not always clearly visible because of the trimming).

Writ.: mm 15[207]48 × 24[125]49 *Lin.:* 21 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 202r Homer, *Ilias* N–Ω.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Gamillscheg).

Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 463.

Bibl.: Gamillscheg 1978, 232, 237, 240; Centanni 1984–1985, 212–213; Pontani 2011, 382; *Diktyon*: 43457.

24. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α U.9.18 (gr. 18)

Paper *in-quarto* · Crete? · c. 1445–1453 · mm 217 × 136 · fols 66.

Poss.: Giorgio Valla, Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi.

- Not.:* —
- Wat.:* *Monts* similar to the type Briquet 11656); see fols 3/6, 44/45.
- Quir.:* 1–7⁸, <8⁸ missing [textual loss: 291,6 ἀντιπέση – 329,1 ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς]>, 9⁸, 10¹⁺¹ (= two single leaves). Greek letters (α'–ι') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Traces of a former numeration in the hand of *Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg; see e.g. fol. 47r.
- Writ.:* mm 21[155]39 × 19[92]35 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 22D1b.
- Cont.:* 1r Nemesius, *De natura hominis*.
- Scr.:* *Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg (same scribe in Mutin. α W.5.5, <Barocci 63>, <Barocci 76> and <Bonon. 2638>); titles in red ink (same colour used in <Bonon. 2638>) by Andronikos Kallistos at fols 1r, 9r, 21r, 24r, 25r, 31r, 32r, 34r, 35v, 36v, 37r, 38v, 39r, 40v, 41r, 43v, 44rv, 45v, 46r, 47rv, 48v, 50v, 51r, 52r, 53rv, 55r, 56v, 57v, 60v (Gamillscheg).
- Cat.:* Puntoni 1896, 392.
- Bibl.:* Gamillscheg 1978, 232, 238; Morani 1981, 9; Centanni 1984–1985, 214–215; Raschieri 2013, 354–355; *Diktyon*: 43485.
- Rem.:* Giovanni Mercati first suggested that Mutin. α U.9.18 and Mutin. α U.9.3 originally formed one volume, referred to as a single item (no. 74) in the inventory of Pio's library. Indeed, the numeration of the quires of this volume (= α'–ι') precedes that of Mutin α U.9.3 (= ια'–κζ).

25. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α U.9.22 (gr. 93)

Paper *in-quarto* · Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, 1456–1462 · mm 228 × 165 · fols I (parchment)+I+213+I' (parchment).

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units* (coeval): I (= fols 1–72); II (= fols 73–80); III (= fols 81–112); IV (= fols 113–160); V (= fols 161–176); VI (= fols 177–194); VII (= fols 195–205); VIII (= fols 206–213).

Poss.: Giorgio Valla [see *ex libris* Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἐστὶ τὸ βιβλίον (fols Iiv, strikethrough), Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἐστὶ τὸ βιβλίον (190v)]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi [see *ex libris* Ἀλβέρτου Πίου Καρπαίων ἄρχοντος κτήμα (fol. Iiv), in the hand of Markos Musuros].

Not.: fol. Iiv *pinax* in the hand of Markos Musuros.

I (= fols 1–72)

- Wat.:* *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc); see fols 3/6. *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 11/14, 20/21, 51/54.
- Quir.:* 1–9⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α' – θ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 28[156]40 \times 24[92] *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r *Scholia in Euripidem* (1r in *Hecubam*, 9v in *Orestem*, 16r in *Phoenissas*); 19v *Scholia in Aristophanem* (19v in *Plutum*, 36v in *Nubes* with *argumentum*, 52v in *Ranas* with *argumentum*).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (RGK I 18). Marginal annotations in the hand of Giorgio Valla; see e.g. fols 3r, 30r, 62r. <Markos Musuros>; see fols 51v, 60v, 64v, 68rv.

II (= fols 73–80) [blanks 78–80]

- Wat.:* *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc); see fols 74/79, 76/77.
- Quir.:* 1⁸. Numeration: Greek letter (ι') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numeral in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 29[155]42 \times 21[91]57 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 73r *Anonymus Cramerii* (= Andronikos Kallistos?), *Prolegomena de comoedia* (see Koster 1975, XXXIV).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (RGK I 18).

III (= fols 81–112) [blank 112]

- Wat.:* *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α T.9.1, α T.9.2, etc); see fols 86/86, 106/111.
- Quir.:* 1–4⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α' – $\iota\delta'$) in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 29[154]44 \times 13[92]55 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 81r *Scholia metrica in Aristophanis Plutum, Nubes, Ranas*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (RGK I 18).

IV (= fols 113–160)

- Wat.:* *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 116/117, 140/141. Another drawing *Monts* without correspondence (same watermark in Mutin. α

Q.5.20 [unit V–VI] and Mutin. α T.9.2 [unit III]); see fols 121/128, 154/159.

Quir.: 1–6⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (ιε'–κ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Traces of a former numeration (Greek letters, α'–ζ'; see e.g. <β'> at fol. 121r) in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet of the quire, in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos>.

Writ.: mm 28[155]45 × 25[92]55 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 113r *Scholia in Odysseam* (especially to books α–δ), with *argumenta* of books α–ω) (see Pontani 2011, 374 and Chinellato 2018).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (RGK I 18).

V (= fols 161–176) [blanks 170–176]

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence (same watermark in Mutin. α Q.5.20 [unit V–VI] and Mutin. α T.9.2 [unit III]); see fols 162/167, 171/174.

Quir.: 1–2⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (κα'–κβ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 29[156]43 × 22[92]56 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: *Scholia in Odysseam* (books ξ–ς).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (RGK I 18).

VI (= fols 177–194) [blanks 190–194]

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see 178/183. Another drawing *Monts* without correspondence (same watermark in Mutin. α Q.5.20 [unit V–VI] and Mutin. α T.9.2 [unit III]); see fols 179/182.

Quir.: 1⁸, 2¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (κγ'–κδ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 27[155]43 × 20[90]55 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: *Scholia in Iliadis libros A–B, Ψ–Ω*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (RGK I 18). Annotation in the hand of <Markos Musuros> ('Σωκράτης, Σωκράτου, πόθεν γίνεται άποτου' [sic]) at fol. 194v.

VII: (= fols 195–205)

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 198/199.

- Quir.:* 1⁸ + three single leaves. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–β') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 28[152]44 × 20[92]51 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* *Lexicon syntacticum* [inc.: ἰστέον ὅτι εἰσὶ τινὰ ῥήματα ἐνεργητικά; expl.: καὶ τὰ ἐναντία, ἐκδημῶ].
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (RGK I 18).

VIII (= fols 206–213) [blanks 211–213]

- Wat.:* *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 209/210.
- Quir.:* 1⁸. Numeration: missing.
- Writ.:* mm 29[155]44 × 23[90]45 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 206r Excerpts from Tzetzes' *Versus de poematum generibus* and *Scholia in Lycophronem*; 207v Excerpts from *Scholia vetera in Theocritum* (= *Anecdoton Estense*); (see Orlandi 2014a).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (RGK I 18).
- Cat.:* Puntoni 1896, 446; RGK I 18.
- Bibl.:* Turyn 1952, 202–203; Koster 1974, LXI–LXII; Koster 1975, XXXIV–XXXVI; Smith 1975, 81–105; Gamillscheg 1978, 232; Schartau 1981; Smith 1981–1982, 256–258; Gamillscheg 1983 (reply to Smith 1981–1982); Centanni 1984–1985, 213–214; Günther 1995, 133, 160–171; Günther 1999, 321–326; Koster 1975, XXXIV–XXXVI; Avezzù 1989–1990, 76; Pontani 2011, 279–280, 371–380; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67; Orlandi 2014a, 169–170, 175; Tessier 2015a, XIV, XXVII, XXX, XXXI, XLII; Tessier 2015b, 169–170, 177, 179–180, 187–188, 194–195; Chinellato 2018; Gioffreda 2020, 200–201; *Diktyon*: 43489.
- Rem.:* Digitized at <<https://edl.cultura.gov.it/>> (accessed on 23 March 2023).

26. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α V.7.1 (gr. 173)

Paper *in-quarto* (with the exception of fols 87–104, *in-folio*) · Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, 1456–1462 (fols 1–56 and 59); Florence, 1471–1474 (fols 57–86 and 105–144, with the exception of fols 58–59 [1456–1462]); Venice (?), last quarter of 15th century (fols 87–104) · mm 293 × 218 · fols I (parchment) +144.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (fols = 1–56 and 58–59); II (= fols 57, 60–86 and 105–144); III (= fols 87–104).

- Poss.:* Giorgio Valla [see *ex libris* Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἔστι τὸ βιβλίον on fols Iv (strikethrough) and 144v], Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi (see *ex libris*

fol. Iv Ἀλβέρτου Πίου Καρπαίων ἄρχοντος κτῆμα, in the hand of Markos Musuros).

Not.: fol. Iv *pinax* in the hand of Markos Musuros.

I (= fols 1–56 and 58–59)

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 4/5, 19/22, 52/53.

Quir.: 1–7⁸ + two single leaves (58–59) now belonging to quire no. 8 (= the first of the n). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ζ') in the lower inner margin of the first and last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 31[215]49 × 24[138]60 Lin.: 39 Rul.: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r Manuel Bryennios, *Harmonica I–III*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (RGK I 18). Corrections and annotations in the hand of <Iohannes Rhosos>; see fols 13r, 16v, 26v, 39v, 43r, 49r, 52r (see also illumination at fol. 43r).

II (= fols 57, 60–86 and 104–144) [blanks 142–144]

Wat.: *Chapeau* very similar to the type Briquet 3387 (Florence/Venice, 1464–1476); see fols 71/72, 61/62, 129/130.

Quir.: 1¹⁰⁻² (= two single leaves [fols 58–59] originated from the first codicological unit); 2–7¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (η'–ιδ') in the lower inner margin of the first and last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. *Reclamantes* in the hand of <Alphonsos Dursos>.

Writ.: mm 29[198]67 × 25[131]63 Lin.: 37 Rul.: Sautel–Leroy 20D1

Cont.: Musical works: 1. (fols 60r–80v lin. 5) Aristides Quintilianus, *De musica* (up to 2,11 [ἁφώνων τὰ μὲν διὰ τῶν]); 2. (fols 80v lin. 5–85v) Aristides Quintilianus, *De musica* (from up 2,11 [χειλῶν ἠχεῖται μόνων] to 3,1 [καὶ μηδαμῆ στερεόν]); 3. (fol. 86r) *Anonyma de musica scripta Bellermanniana* from 93 [-λαμβάνεται ἀναπαύουσα] to 104 (= end); 4. (fol. 86v) Bacchius, *Introductio* 292–295,13 Jan; 5. (fols 105r–108r) Bacchius, *Introductio* 295,13–316,7 Jan; 6. (fols 108r–110r) [Bacchius], *Introductio* (see Jan 1895, 454); 7. (fols 110r–111v) Mesomedes, *Hymni (in Musam, in Solem, in Nemesin)* (see Jan 1895, 454–473); 8. (fols 112r–119r) [Herodotus], *Vita Homeri*; 9. (fols 119v–141r) Julian, *Caesares*, 129r *De Constantii imperatoris rebus gestis* (des. mut.).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos 60r–61r (Gamillscheg) and titles in red ink (see e.g. fols 108r and 124r); Alphonsos Dursos fols 61v–80v lin. 5, 86v, 105r–141r (Gamillscheg); anonymous scribe of Mutin. α P.5.19 (fol.

200rv) fols 80v lin. 5–86r (thus filling in the *lacuna* in the text of Aristides Quintilianus at a later time) (Gamillscheg; but see more *infra*).

III (= fols 87–104)

Wat.: *Monts* very similar to the type Briquet 11806 (Veneto, 1482–1513) (folded *in-folio*); see fols 94, 103.

Quir.: 1¹⁸. Numeration: missing.

Writ.: mm 28[226]40 × 30[137]53 *Lin.:* 38/34 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 87r Aristides Quintilianus, *De musica* (from 3,1 [ὅπερ διὰ τῆς ἐκ νεότητος; see above] to the end); 100v *Anonyma de musica scripta Bellemanniana* (from 83 up to 93 [καὶ τῆς κρουματογραφίας παρα-]; see above, unit II)

Scr.: Anonymous scribe of Mutin. α P.5.19 (fol. 200rv) (Gamillscheg), <Mutin. α T.9.11 (fols 57–66)>, and <Mutin. α V.7.13>.

Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 493–494.

Bibl.: Jan 1895, in part. L; Jonker 1970, 38, 44–47; Gamillscheg 1978, 242; Centanni 1984–1985, 214; Cortesi 2000, 408; Pontani 2011, 382; Martínez Manzano 2006, 242; Vasiloudi 2013, 42–43; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67; Weddigen 2020, 394–395; *Diktyon*: 43504.

Rem.: The third codicological unit is a later addition and was not part of the codex at the time of its inclusion in Kallistos' collection.

27. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α V.7.17 (gr. 145)

Paper *in-quarto* · Rome, 1466–1471 · mm 281 × 205 · fols I (numbered '1') +132.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 2–51), II (= fols 52–73) and III (= fols 74–103) Rome, 1466–1471; IV (= fols 104–133) Florence 1471–1474.

Poss.: Giorgio Valla [see *ex libris* fol. 133v Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἐστὶ τὸ βιβλίον]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi [see *ex libris* fol. 1v Ἀλβέρτου Πίου Καρπαίων ἄρχοντος κτῆμα, in the hand of Markos Musuros].

Not.: fol. 1v *pinax*, in the hand of Markos Musuros.

I (= fols 2–51)

Wat.: *Arbalète* identical to the type 746 Briquet (Rome, 1469–1473); see fols 15/18, 36/37 (see also the type 21 Harlfinger [Rome, 12 Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos]). *Enclume* similar to the type 5959 Briquet (Rome, 1471–1472); see fols 45/48. *Échelle* typologically similar to the drawing 13 Harlfinger (Rome, March 1457, cop. Iohannes Rhosos); see fols 24/29.

- Quir.:* 1–5¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ε') in the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Georgios Tzangaropoulos.
- Writ.:* mm 37[182]63 × 34[117]54 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 34D1.
- Cont.:* 2r [Plutarch], *De virtute et vitio*, 3r *De liberis educandis*, 11r *Quomodo quispiam sentiat in virtute se profecisse*, 18r *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate*, 22r *De amicorum multitudine*, 24v *De fortuna*, 26v *De cupiditate divitiarum*, 30r *De superstitione*, 34v *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 48r *Cato Maior*.
- Scr.:* Georgios Tzangaropoulos (Harlfinger). Marginal annotations in the hand of Giorgio Valla.

II (= fols 52–73) [blanks 58–59]

- Wat.:* *Arbalète* almost identical to the type 746 Briquet; see fols 54/57, 66/67 (see also the type 21 Harlfinger [Rome, 12 Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos]).
- Quir.:* 1⁸, 2¹⁴. Numeration: missing.
- Writ.:* mm 40[198]44 × 27[130]47 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 52r [Alex. Aphrodisiensis], *Problemata* (see Kapetanaki and Sharples 2006); Cassius Iatrosophista, *Problemata* (1 – 21,2).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger).

III (= fols 74–103) [blanks 101–103]

- Wat.:* *Enclume* similar to the type 5959 Briquet (Rome, 1471–1472); see fols 74/83, 98/99.
- Quir.:* 1–3¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–γ') in the inner lower margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 29[197]53 × 26[122]56 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 10D1m.
- Cont.:* 74r [Plutarch], *Phys. quaestiones*, 79r *Placita philosophorum*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger). Marginal annotation in the hand of Giorgio Valla at fol. 83r.

IV (= fols 104–133) [blanks 130–133]

- Wat.:* *Chapeau* very similar to the type 12 Harlfinger (Venise, 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos) (same drawing in Par. gr. 1878 and Par. gr. 1879); see fols 118/119, 128/129; *Arbalète* almost identical to the type 746 Briquet; see fols 104/113, 108/109 (see also the type 21 Harlfinger [Rome, 12 Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos]).
- Quir.:* 1–3¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–γ') in the inner lower margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 32[200]52 × 29[120]54 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 10D1m.

- Cont.:* 104r Xenophon, *Hiero*, 111r *De republica Lacedaemoniorum*, 117v *De republica Atheniensium*, 121v *De vectigalibus*, 127r *Apologia Socratis*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger).
- Cat.:* Puntoni 1896, 478–479.
- Bibl.:* Harlfinger 1974, nos 44–46; Gamillscheg 1978, 232; Serra 1979–1980; Centanni 1984–1985, 214; Sosower 1986, 143; Jackson 1988; Jackson 1990, 166–173; Schmoll 1990; Vendruscolo 1992; Muratore 1997, in part. 41–42; Garzya and Masullo 2004, 16; Kapetanaki and Sharples 2006, 38, 47, 84; Lenfant 2017, CXXVII–CXXXIII; Ieraci Bio 2021; Bandini and Dorion 2021, CXCVIII, CCV, CCXXVIII; Bandini 2022, 19–21, 36–39; Muratore 2022, 14, 255, 273–276; *Diktyon*: 43513.
- Rem.:* Digitized at <<https://edl.cultura.gov.it/>> (accessed on 23 March 2023).

28. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α W.5.5 (gr. 165)

Paper *in-folio* · Crete · c. 1445–1453 · mm 291 × 214 · fols 245+III'.

- Poss.:* Giorgio Valla [see *ex libris* fol. 245v Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἐστὶ τὸ βιβλίον]; Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi.
- Not.:* fols 244r–245r some images of the human body are drawn by the hand of Giorgio Valla (Gamillscheg).
- Wat.:* *Monts* similar to the type 11689 Briquet (1411–1421); see fols 1, 49, 66, 78, 90. *Enclume* similar to the type Briquet 5955 (1418–1453); see fols 68, 71, 74, 107, 138, 158, 242. *Balance* similar to 2415 Briquet; see fols 123, 173.
- Quir.:* 1–7⁸, 8¹⁰, 8bis⁸, 9–10⁸, 11⁸⁻¹ (wanting 1), 12–30⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–η' and θ'–ιβ') in the lower outer margin of the first and the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos (fols 1–66, 75–106); missing in the quire 8bis (= fols 67–74); Greek letters (ιβ'–λ') in the lower outer margin of the first and the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos (fols 107–149 and 150–end).
- Writ.:* mm 34[213]48 × 28[135]52 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 34D1 (fols 1–66, 75–100); mm 28[216]50 × 25[146]52 *Lin.:* 38 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 30D1 (fols 67–74, 101–149); mm 33[202]59 × 29[137]52 *Lin.:* 35 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1 (fols 150–173); mm 29[217]48 × 23[146]145 *Lin.:* 38 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1 (fols 174–245).
- Cont.:* 1r Iohannes Zonaras, *Lexicon*; 206v λέξεις ἀναγκαῖαι μερικαὶ (ed. Pontani 2014, 160–165).
- Scr.:* *Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg (see also Mutin. α U.9.18 and Bonon. 2638) fols 1r–9v lin. 19, 10r–19v lin. 32, 20r–21v lin. 35, 22r–24v lin. 12, 24v lin.

16–26v lin. 29, 91r–98v lin. 17 (Gamillscheg, <with additions and corrections>); Emmanuel Zacharides fols 9v lin. 19–37, 19v lin. 32–37, 21v lin. 35–37, 24v lin. 12–16, 26v lin. 29–66v, 75r–90v (Gamillscheg, <with additions and corrections>); Andronikos Kallistos fols 67r–74v, 98v lin. 17–101v lin. 14, 102r–109 lin. 17, 109v–123v lin. 4, 123v lin. 16–138v lin. 8, 139r–149v, 166r lin. 20–241r (Gamillscheg <with additions and corrections>); <Unkwown scribe> fols 101v lin. 14–41, 109r lin. 17–38, 123v lin. 4–15, 138v lin. 9–38; Georgios Tzangaropoulos fols 150r–166r lin. 19 (Gamillscheg, <with corrections>). Initials in red ink (the same used in Bonon. 2638 and Mutin. α U.9.18) and marginal annotations in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos (see e.g. corrections and additions at fols 6v, 22r); marginal annotations in the hand of Giorgio Valla and <Giovanni Crastone?> (see fols 1r, 4v).

Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 488–490.

Bibl.: Gamillscheg 1978, 232, 241; Centanni 1984–1985, 215; Pontani 2014, 153–165; Ieraci Bio 2017; *Diktyon*: 43543.

Rem.: Modern binding (restored 1962).

Moskva

29. Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Sinod. gr. 267 (Vlad. 475)

Paper *in-quarto* · 1466–1471 · mm 288 × 212 · fols II+148+II' [blanks 143–148].

Poss.: Baldassar Migliavacca; Giambattista Rasario [see *ex libris* fol. 1v *Rasarius*, (twice in the middle of the page) and fol. 2r ἦν τοῦ ῥασαρίου (upper margin)]; Maximos Margunios [see *ex libris* fol. 2r ἐκ τῶν Μαξίμου ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων (lower margin)]; Monastery of Iberon (Mount Athos) [see provenance record τῶν Ἰβήρων fol. 2r].

Not.: fol. IIv (parchment) content table in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca, similar to Laur. Ashb. 1144 and Par. Suppl. gr. 541; fol. 1r (parchment) content indication 'Demosthenis et Aeschynis orationes', in the same hand of Ambr. H 52 sup. (fol. IIIr), Mutin. α T.9.2 (fol. 1r) and Par. gr. 3011 (fol. IIr) = <Bonaccorso da Pisa>; fol. 1r list entry number '151' by Arsenij Sukhanov ('αρσενιῦ ρη').

Wat.: *Couronne*, without correspondence; see fols 4/7, 11/16. *Arbalète* almost identical to the type 21 Harlfinger (Rome, 12 Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos); see fols 18/27, 21/24.

- Quir.:* 1–2⁸, 3–15¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 32[200]56 × 22[135]55 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1
- Cont.:* 2r Demosth., *De falsa legatione*; 31v Aeschines, *De falsa legatione*; 72r Demosth., *De corona*, 104r *In Midiam*, 126r *Adversum Leptinem*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Fonkič 1981); marginal annotations in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca (fols 48r, 49r), title and rubrication at fol. 2r in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos (Orlandi 2014b).
- Cat.:* Vladimir 1894, 709; Canfora 1968, 44; Fonkič and Poljakov 1993, 156.
- Bibl.:* Fonkič 1981, 124–125; Pietrobelli 2009, 110–114; Orlandi 2014b, 147–150, 159, 164, 187; Orlandi 2019a, 124; *Diktyon*: 43892.

30. Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov, Φ 1607 coll. Matthaei no. 15 (*olim* Dresd. Da 11)

Paper *in-quarto* · 1471–1474 · mm 274 × 208 · fols II+61 [blanks 59–61].

- Poss.:* Baldassar Migliavacca; Giambattista Rasario; Maximos Margunios; Monastery of Iberon (see Orlandi 2014b).
- Not.:* –
- Wat.:* *Monts* without correspondence, identical to that found in Par. gr. 2715 and Par. gr. 1644; see fols 1/8, 4/5. *Chapeau* very similar to the type Briquet 3387 (Florence/Venice, 1464–1476); see fols 40/41.
- Quir.:* 1⁸; 2–6¹⁰; 7⁴⁻¹. Numeration: not visible because of the trimming.
- Writ.:* mm 34[200]40 × 28[135]45 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r Demosthenes, *Olinth. I*, 3r *Olinth. II*, 5r *Olinth. III*, 7v *Phil. I*, 12r *De pace*, 14r *Phil. II*, 16v *De Halonneso*, 20r *De Chersoneso*, 25r *Phil. III*, 31v *Phil. IV*, 37v *in ep. Phil.*, 39v *De contributione*, 43r *De Symmoriis*, 47r *Pro Megalopolitanis*, 49v *De Rhod. libertate*, 53r *De foedere cum Alexandro*; 58r *Philippi epistula*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Fonkič 1981) fols 1r–39v lin. 10; Alphonsos Dursos fols 39v (lin. 16)–58r (Orlandi 2014b); marginal annotations by a later unknown hand.
- Cat.:* Richard 1995, 568–569.
- Bibl.:* Fonkič 1981, 124–125; Pietrobelli 2009, 110–114; Orlandi 2014b, 147–150, 163–164, 187, 189; Orlandi 2019a, 124; *Diktyon*: 44394.

Oxford

31. Bodleian Library, Barocci 63

Paper *in-quarto* · mid-15th cent. [with the exception of fols I, 35, 55, 80–81, I' = 16th cent.] · mm 209 × 143 [with the exception of fols 2, 36, 41, 49 198, mm 218 × 150] · fols II+204(–83,101+191bis)+I'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–81) Crete? · mid-15th cent.; II (= fols 82–119) Crete · mid-15th cent.; III (= fols 120–183) Crete · c. 1445–1453; IV (= fols 184–191) Crete · mid-15th cent.; V (= fols 191bis–204) Crete? · second half of the 15th cent.

Poss.: Francesco Barocci (1537–1604).

Not.: fol. IIv (lower part): 'tavole astronomici [et calendaris]'; fol. 204v: 'fragmenti de poeti marro n° 177'.

I (= fols II–81)

Wat.: *Ciseaux* similar to Briquet 3668 (c. 1453–1462); (see fols 3/4, 9, 11/12, 38, 45). Later additions are fols 35, 55, 80–81 (watermark *Chapeau* without correspondence, 16th cent.).

Quir.: 1⁸ (fols II–7), 2–9⁸, 10¹⁰.

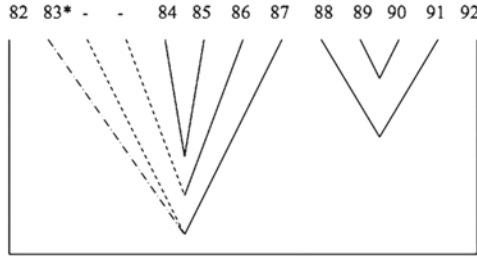
Cont.: Astronomical tables (see Duhoux-Tihon 1987).

Scr.: Scribe A fols 1–31v, 33r–47v, 49r–54v, 56r–79r.

II (= fols 82–119, *according to the ancient numeration)

Wat.: *Griffon* comparable to Briquet 7464 (Rome/Venice, 1461–1464); see fols 82/92 (originally a *bifolium*; see below). *Monts* similar to Briquet 11656 (= 52 Harlfinger; mid-15th cent., to be found also in Erlang. A 4 and Mutin. α U.9.18); see fols 93–113. *Lettre R* comparable with Briquet 8941 (1456–1458); see fols 116/117.

Quir.: 1¹⁺¹⁺⁶⁻²⁺⁶⁻¹, 2⁸ (fols 93–100), 3¹⁺⁴ (fols 101 + 102–105), 4⁴ (fols 106–109), 5⁴ (fols 110–113), 6⁶ (fols 114–119). Explanation of the first quire composition: fols 82 and 88–92 belong to the original *senio*, containing the text of Aristides (see below). In-between different material was added mistakenly: fol. 83 is a single leaf with a different text (Synesius, *Epist.* 57) bound together with four leaves (84–87) forming originally a *senio* (now wanting the first two sheets). The situation can be represented as follows:



- Cont.:* 1. (fols 82rv) Aelius Aristides, *Or.* I (Παναθηναϊκός), 7,1 [inc. Νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν] – 8,16 [expl. τῷ μετὰ πάντα] ed. Lenz-Behr 1978; 2. (fol. 83rv) Synesius, *Epist.* 57 (Κατὰ Ἀνδρονίκου· τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις; see pages 663–664 ed. Hercher 1873), lin. 1 – 52 [expl. mut. δημιουργικῶ δήπου πολέμιον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐ[...]]; 3. (fols 84r–87r) Aelius Aristides, *Or.* I (Παναθηναϊκός), 32,17 [inc. τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας εἶπον, οὕτω] – 40,9 [expl. προσθήκην μικρὰν αὐτῆς ἀπο[...]] ed. Lenz-Behr 1978; 4. (fols 88r–101v) Aelius Aristides, *Or.* I (Παναθηναϊκός), 8,17 [inc. ἐγχειροῦντι, καὶ χωρὶς πρὸς] – 32,17 [expl. προτέρους δεξαμένη κατήγαγε] ed. Lenz-Behr 1978; 5. (fols 102r–105v) Libanius, *Or.* XVIII, chapt. 234 [inc. καὶ αὐτίκα πλείους] – 260 [expl. ὀρίζει τὸ κράτος] ed. Foerster; 6. (fols 106r–109v) Libanius, *Or.* XVIII, chapt. 206 [inc. οὗτος ὁ μέγας ταῖς] – 233 [expl. ὀκνησαι μηδέν] ed. Foerster; 7. (fols 110r–113v) Libanius, *Or.* XVIII, chapt. 179 [inc. νῦν μὲν τὴν γυναῖκα] – 206 [expl. ἀλλ' ὅμως] ed. Foerster; 8. (fols 114r–119r) Libanius, *Or.* XVIII, chapt. 139 [inc. λαβοῦσα, καὶ οὐ] – 179 [expl. ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστάμενος μίξεις] ed. Foerster.

The correct order of the text through the quires would be the following: Aelius Aristides, *Or.* I = #1, #4, #3 (= fols 82, 88–101, 84–87); Libanius, *Or.* XVIII = #8, #7, #6, #5 (= fols 114–119, 110–113, 106–109, 102–105); Synesius, *Epist.* 57 = #2 (= fol. 83).

Writ.: variable, c. mm [140] × [80] *Lin.:* 25 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Scr.: Michael Lygizos fols 82r–100r, 101r–119v.

III (= fols 120–183) · Crete · c. 1445–1453

Wat.: *Char* similar to the type 11 Harlfinger (1460); see fols 123/124. *Tête humaine* similar to Briquet 15616 (1448–1456); see fols 131/132. *Cheval* comparable with the type 30 Harlfinger (1450); see fols 137/142. *Monts* similar to Briquet 11656 (1452–1453); see 147/148, 155/156, *Tour* very similar to 8 Harlfinger (= comparable with Briquet 15908/09 [1449–

1452] and Piccard, *Turm*, II, 617); see fols 160–167 (a similar drawing in Erlangensis A 4 and Par. Suppl. gr. 66).

Quir.: 1^s (fols 120–127), 2–3^s (128–143), 4–5^s (144–159), 6^{s-1} (160–166; the last sheet of the original *quaternio* is fol. 175), 7^s (167–174), 8¹⁺⁸ (175–183; the first sheet, fol. 175, originally belonged to the quire no. 6).

Cont.: [Detailed description] 1. (fols 120r–127v) Aelius Aristides, <Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων> 116,1 – 130,16 Jebb [expl. mut. τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων]; 2. (fols 128r–132r) Libanius, *Declamatio* 4 (ed. Foerster) [inc. mut. 55,6 παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαιτῆσεται τὴν χάριν]; 3. (fols 132r–140v) Libanius, *Declamatio* 6 (ed. Foerster); 4. (fols 141r–143v) Libanius, *Or.* XIII (ed. Foerster) [expl. mut. 28,12 ἐν δὲ ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς]; 5. (fols 144r–159v) Libanius, *Or.* XVIII (ed. Foerster) [inc. mut. 68,5 τὸ μὲν πεπραγμένον εἶναι τῆ σφῶν; expl. mut. 195,3 τῆς πόλεως δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπόρων]; 6 (fols 160r–166r) Libanius, *Declamatio* 26 (ed. Foerster); 7. (fol. 166rv) Libanius, *Declamatio* 3 (ed. Foerster) 1,1 [inc. εἰ μὲν ἐβούλετο Ἀλέξανδρος] – 9,6 [expl. ἐννοῶν ὦν ὕστερον]; 8. (fols 167r–174v) Libanius, *Declamatio* 3 (ed. Foerster) 17,11 [inc. πριάμου λογιζῆται] – (end); *Declamatio* 4 (ed. Foerster) 1,1 – 55,6 [θέαν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ταύτην]; 9. (fols 175rv) Libanius, *Declamatio* 3 (ed. Foerster) 9,6 [ἔπασχον. συναγωγέα γὰρ] – 17,11 [expl. ἐμοῦ τις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ]; 10. (fols 176r–183v) Aelius Aristides, <Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων> 145,14 – 151,13 Jebb [inc. mut. οὐκ ἐστὶ τῶ σεμνοτάτῳ; expl. mut. εὐ φρονεῖν δόξομεν].

The correct order of the text through the quires would be the following: Libanius, *Declamationes* 26, 3, 4, 6 = #6, #7, #9, #8, #2, #3 (fols 160r–166v, 175rv, 167r–174v, 128r–140v); Aelius Aristides, <Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων> = #1, #10 (fols 120r–127v, 176r–183v; incomplete).

Writ.: variable, c. mm [160] × [90] *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1

Scr.: Scribe B (= <scribe of Par. Suppl. gr. 541, fol. 201v>) fols 120r–128v lin. 16, 129r–129v lin. 19, 130v–135r lin. 22, 135v–138r lin. 19, 138v–140r, 141r–143v, 150r–158r, 160r–161r lin. 4, 161v–162r lin. 7, 162v–164r lin. 8, 165r–165v lin. 14, 166v lin. 1–18, 167r–167v lin. 1, 167v lin. 3–11, 167v lin. 20–168r lin. 24, 168v–169v lin. 13, 170r lin. 1–10, 170v–172r lin. 26, 173r–174r, 175v–179r; Andronikos Kallistos (Diller <with additions and corrections>) fols 128v lin. 17–29, 129v lin. 19–130r, 138r lin. 19–29, 140v, 144r–149v, 161r lin. 4–29, 165v lin. 14–166r, 166v lin. 18–29, 167v lin. 1–3, 168r lin. 29, 169v lin. 13–29, 170r lin. 11–29, 174v–175r; Scribe

C (= <*Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg>) fols 135r lin. 22–29; Georgios Tribizias (Liakou-Kropp <with additions and corrections>) fols 162r lin. 7–29, 164r lin. 8–164v, 167v lin. 11–20, 172r lin. 27–172v.

IV (= fols 184–191)

Wat.: unknown drawing.

Quir.: 1⁸.

Cont.: Matthaios Blastares, *De appositione colybi*.

Writ.: variable, c. mm [160] × [85] *Lin.*: 33 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Scr.: Scribe D fols 184r–191v.

V (= fols 191bis–204)

Wat.: *Ciseaux* without correspondence; see fols 193/202, 196/200.

Quir.: 1¹⁴.

Cont.: *Carmina moralia adespota* in vernacular Greek (inc. μὲ κνέφρας ὀψέ-ποτε ζοφερόν καὶ λυγρόν ἀφῆκε; see Liakou-Kropp 2002).

Writ.: variable, c. mm [175] × [95] *Lin.*: 22 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Scr.: Scribe E (likely a western hand) fols 192v–196r, 197v–204r.

Cat.: Coxe 1853, 97–98.

Bibl.: Diller 1967, 408; Mioni 1976, 298; Centanni 1984–1985, 216; Liakou-Kropp 2002, 161–164 (with further literature); Rollo 2014b, 288; *Diktyon*: 47350.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

32. Bodleian Library, d’Orville 115

Paper *in-quarto* · Constantinople (?) · c. 1445–1453 · mm 210 × 144 · fols IV+94+I’ (modern, numbered ‘95’).

Poss.: –

Not.: –

Wat.: *Monts* similar to the type 52 Harlfinger (= Briquet 11656); see fols 4/5, 34/39, 35/38, 82/87, 83/86, 92/93.

Quir.: 1–11⁸, 12⁶. Numeration (starting from 21): Greek letters (κα’–λβ’) in the lower inner margin of the first and last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 17[160]33 × 20[95]29 *Lin.*: 29 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: Eustathios, in *Dionysii Periegetae descriptionem orbis terrarum* (inc. mut.: διά τε τὸν Διονύσιον 207,31 ed. Müller 1861).

- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Diller). Marginal annotation in a not yet identified hand; see e.g. fols 7v–8r, 12v, 42v, 53v.
- Cat.:* Madan 1897, 65; *RGKI* 18.
- Bibl.:* Diller 1967, 408; Diller 1975, 184, 192; Mioni 1976, 298; Centanni 1984–1985, 216; *Diktyon*: 47851.
- Rem.:* The first and the last quire endured some restorations.

Paris

33. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1644

Paper · mid-14th–16th cent. · mm 266 × 195 · fols II+59+I'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–23) first half of the 16th cent.; II (= fols 24–27) mid-15th cent.; III (= fols 28–37) mid-15th cent.; IV (= 38–I') Florence · 1471–1474.

- Poss.:* Giovanni Pico della Mirandola; Domenico Grimani; Jean-Baptiste Colbert (no. 4239).
- Not.:* fols 1r and 59v: seal of the Bibliothèque Royale.

I (= fols 1–23)

- Wat.:* *Fleur* without correspondence; see fols 3/6, 4/5 (folded *in-quarto*).
- Quir.:* 1⁸, 2⁸⁻¹, 3⁸. Numeration: Arabic numerals in the lower margin of the first sheet.
- Writ.:* mm 23[203]40 × 35[110]50 *Lin.:* 27 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r Xenophon, *Resp. Lacedaemonorum*, 14r *Resp. Atheniensium*.
- Scr.:* A = fols 1r–19v.

II (= fols 24–27) [blanks 20–23]

- Wat.:* *Ciseaux* without correspondence; see fols 24, 26 (folded *in-folio*).
- Quir.:* 1⁴. Numeration: missing.
- Writ.:* mm 17[216]33 × 26[144]25 *Lin.:* 34 *Rul.:* –.
- Cont.:* Plotinus 1,2–4 (up to 1,4,6 Herny-Schwyzler [τῆς τοιαύτης· μᾶλλον γάρ]).
- Scr.:* B = fols 24r–27v.

III (= fols 28–37)

- Wat.:* *Couronne* similar to the type 6 Harlfinger (1336/1337); see fols 32, 34, 35, 36 (folded *in-folio*); *Cercle* without correspondence; see fol. 37 (folded *in-folio*).

Quir.: 1¹⁰.
Writ.: mm 18[212]36 × 16[153]26 *Lin.*: 36 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 28r Hermogenes *Id.* (inc. mut.: 2,10,86 Rabe δη]μόσιοι; λόγοι τοῦ ῥήτορος), 33v *Meth.* (up to 24,14 Rabe ἔν τε τοῖς Ὀλυμπιακοῖς).
Scr.: C = 28r–37v.

IV (= fols 38–I')

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence, similar to that found in Par. gr. 2715; see fols 39/46, 41/44, 49/56, 52/53 (folded *in-quarto*).
Quir.: 1–2¹⁰, 3⁴⁻¹. Numeration: Greek letters in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
Writ.: mm 17[204]45 × 25[125]45 *Lin.*: 37 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: Galen, *Ars medica*.
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos fols 38r–59v (*RGK* II 25).
Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, II, 113; *RGK* II 25.
Bibl.: Boudon-Millot 2002, 225–229, 270; Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 124, 137–138, 147, 149; Jackson 2008, 164–169; Lenfant 2017, CXXXVI; Muratore 2022, 18; *Diktyon*: 51267.
Rem.: Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

34. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1878

Paper *in-quarto* (with the exception of fols 1–24, 26, [*in-folio*]) · Rome (with the exception of fols 1–24, 26 [Constantinople?]) · 1466–1471 · mm 285 × 211 · fols IV(parch.)+162+2+III'(parch.).

Poss.: Niccolò Leonicensi; Niccolò Ridolfi; Piero Strozzi; Caterina de' Medici (see Muratore 2009).
Not.: fol. IVv *pinax* in the hand of Matthaios Debares.
Wat.: *Chapeau* very similar to the type 12 Harlfinger (Venise, 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos) (same drawing in Mutin. α V.7.17 and Par. gr. 1879); see fol. 27, 58/59, 88/89, 127/132, 149/150. *Arbalète* identical to the type Briquet 746 (Rome, 1469) and very similar to the type 21 Harlfinger (Rome, 12 Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos; see also Par. gr. 2346); fols 38, 41. *Ciseaux* (folded *in-folio*) without correspondence; see fol. 5.
Quir.: 1–3⁸, 4–17¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ιζ') in the lower inner margin of the first and last sheet, Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
Writ.: mm 25[200]60 × 26[135]50 *Lin.*: 37 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: Alexander Aphr., in *Aristotelis Metaphysica I–IV* (ed. Hayduck 1891).

- Scr.:* Gregorios (hiero)monk (?) fols 1r–24v (Speranzi *apud* Golitsis 2022), 26rv; Andronikos Kallistos fols 25rv, 27r–162v and titles (*RGK* II); marginal annotation in an unknown Western hand fols 2v, 4v, 5v, 7v, 8v, 10v, 25v, 26v, 66r, 77r; annotation in another unknown hand fols 134v, 135v.
- Cat.:* Omont 1886–1888, II, 157; Wartelle 1963, 100; *RGK* II, 25.
- Bibl.:* Jackson 2003, 61; Muratore 2009, II, 29; Orlandi 2014b, 167; Golitsis 2016, 61–62; Golitsis 2022, in part. LV–XCI, CIX–CX; *Diktyon*: 51504.
- Rem.:* The most recent detailed description (Groisard 2009) is available at <<http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/>>. The codex is digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023). Arabic numerals are not always visible because of the trimming; see e.g. quires ζ' and η'.

35. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1879

Paper *in-quarto* · Rome · 1466–1471 · mm 283 × 212 · fols II+191 (+64bis)+6+III' [blanks 92–95].

- Poss.:* Baldassar Migliavacca (Orlandi 2014b); Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola [see fol. 1r *ex libris* 'a mi Jo. Francisco Asulano' (scraped) (Groisard 2009)].
- Not.:* fol. IIv *pinax* by Angelos Bergekios.
- Wat.:* *Chapeau* very similar to the type 12 Harlfinger (Venice 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos; same drawing in Par. gr. 1878 and Mutin. α V.7.17); see fols 5/6, 45/46, 64/65, 94/95, 123/126, 163/166.
- Quir.:* 1–19¹⁰, 20⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–κ') in the lower inner margin of the first and last sheet, Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Quire-and-leaf-numeration in the hand of Gian Francesco d'Asola.
- Writ.:* mm 21[200]62 × 27[135]50 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* [Alexander Aphrodisiensis] (= Michael of Ephesos), in *Aristotelis Metaphysica V–XIII* (ed. Hayduck 1891).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (*RGK* II); marginal annotations throughout the codex (see e.g. 150v–151r) in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca (Orlandi 2014b).
- Cat.:* Omont 1886–1888, II, 157; Wartelle 1963, 100; *RGK* II, 25.
- Bibl.:* Cataldi Palau 1998, 505; Orlandi 2014b, 167–169, 187, 189–190 and plate 16 c–d; *Diktyon*: 51505.
- Rem.:* The most recent detailed description (Groisard 2009) is available at <<http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/>>. The codex is digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023). Arabic numerals are not always visible because of the trimming; see e.g. quires δ' and ζ'.

36. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2038

Paper *in-quarto* · Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, 1456–1466 (fols 1–112); Rome, 1466–1471 (fols 113–130) · mm 227 × 168 · fols I (parch.) +II+130+2+I'(parch., numbered '133').

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–112); II (= fols 113–130).

Poss.: Ianos Laskaris; Niccolò Ridolfi, Caterina de' Medici (see Muratore 2009).

Not.: IIIv *pinax* in the hand of Matthaïos Debares.

I (= fols 1–112)

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 3/7, 28/29, 73/80.

Quir.: 1–14⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ιδ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 25[159]43 × 21[90]57 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, 76r *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, 109v *Poetica* (usque ad 1449b 14 ἐποποιία ἀόριστος τῷ χρόνῳ).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (*RGK* II 25). Some illuminations and initials are work of Iohannes Rhosos (Gamillscheg) (see fols 1r, 17r, 76r) akin to those of Par. gr. 2069 and Mutin. α P.5.19. Marginal annotations in the hand of Ianos Laskaris.

II (= fols 113–130)

Wat.: *Chapeau* similar to the type 12 Harlfinger (Venise, 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos); see fols 113/120. *Huchet* 25 Harlfinger (Rome, Jan./Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos); see fols 116/117, 125/126, 123/128.

Quir.: 1⁸, 2¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (ιε'–ις') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: 224[157]46 × 22[93]53 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: Arist., *Poetica* (ab 1449b 14 καὶ τούτῳ διαφέρει [= follow-up]).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (*RGK* II 25). Marginal annotations in the hand of Ianos Laskaris.

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, II, 182; Wartelle 1963, 109; *RGK* II 25.

Bibl.: Lobel 1933; Kassel 1971, 11–12, 31–51; Gamillscheg 1978, 234 n. 32; Centanni 1986; Sicherl 1997, 109–111, 314–319; Chiron 2000, 30–31, 59–61, 66; Muratore 2009, II, 144; Stefec 2012b, 126 n. 139; Martinelli Tempesta 2016a, 227–232; Tarán and Gutas 2012, in part. 43–47, 149–

151; Janko 2013; Tarán 2016; Giacomelli 2016a, 563; Chinellato 2018, 84; *Diktyon*: 51665.

Rem.: In the first unit (= fols 1–112) Andronikos used the same light-violet ink for initials and illuminations (see e.g. fol. 17r) which is found in Par. gr. 2069. Quires 15–16 (= fols 113–132, dating from the years 1466–1471) are a later addition; see more *supra*, § 2.2.4, 2.3.1, 5.4.2. Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

37. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2046

Paper *in-quarto* · 14th cent. (fols 1–96); Florence, 1471–1474 (fols 97–173, with the exception of fols 126–131 [earlier; see below]) · mm 222 × 145 · fols III+173+IV'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–96); II (= fols 97–173).

Poss.: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola [see *ex libris* fol. 1r 'a mi Jo. Francisco Asulano'].

I (= fols 1–96)

Wat.: *Croix grecque* (without correspondence); see fols 1/8, 3/6, 11/14, 20/21. *Aigle* vaguely similar to the type 79 Briquet (± 1371); see fols 33/40, 36/37, 49/56, 51/54, 66/71. *Enclume* (without correspondence) see fols 43/46. *Croix latine* (without correspondence); see fols 41/48, 81/88, 83/86, 92/93.

Quir.: 1–12^s. Numeration: Greek letters (α' – $\iota\beta'$) in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Quire-and-leaf-numeration in the hand of Gian Francesco d'Asola.

Writ.: variable, c. mm 190/180 × 120/110 *Lin.*: variable, 27–35 *Rul.*: missing

Cont.: Alexander Aphrodisiensis, in *Aristotelis Metereologica* (ed. Hayduck 1899).

Scr.: Anonymous scribe cent. XIV fols 1–96; Andronikos Kallistos titles fols 1r, 45v, *marginalia* (RGK II 25). Marginal and interlinear annotations in an anonymous Western hand (see fols 10v, 39v, 44v, 88v, 89r).

II (= fols 97–173)

Wat.: *Échelle* similar to the type 5910 Briquet (Florence, 1473); see fols 99/104, 110/113, 136/139, 147/148, 169/170. *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 126/131, 127/130.

- Quir.:* 1–2¹⁰, 3–4⁸, 5–6¹⁰, 7¹², 8¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (ιγ'–κ' = follow-up) in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Quire-and-leaf-numeration in the hand of Gian Francesco d'Asola.
- Writ.:* 21[160]41 × 15[103]27 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* Alexander Aphrodisiensis, in *Aristotelis Metereologica* (ed. Hayduck 1899) (follow-up).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (RGK II 25). Marginal and interlinear annotations in an anonymous Western hand (110r, 145v, 155v, 159v, 164v).
- Cat.:* Omont 1886–1888, II, 183–184; Wartelle 1963, 109; RGK II 25.
- Bibl.:* Cataldi Palau 1998, 507–508; *Diktyon*: 51673.
- Rem.:* As already noticed in Cataldi Palau 1998, 507, fols 126–131 (2–7 of quire no. 16 [= ις', a *quaternio*]) show a different *ductus*, comparable with samples of Andronikos' handwriting dating from the late 1450s–early 1460s. Moreover, there are some apparent codicological and palaeographic dissimilarities between fols 126–131 and the rest (= fols 97–125 and 132–173). Fols 126–131 bear a smaller written surface (c. 157 × 92), different ink (brown and not black) and paper (watermarked *Monts* [same drawing in Mutin. α T.9.1]). The text copied in these fols corresponds to that edited by Hayduck 1899, 162,26–174,13–14 (inc.: διὰ τί ἐπὶ κυκλικῆς περιφερείας φαίνεται λέγει; expl.: ὁ τε πόλος ἐστὶ τοῦ κύκλου, καθ' ὄν). Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

38. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2066

Paper *in-quarto* · Rome, 1466–1471 · mm 228 × 166 · fols III+312(+131bis)+VIII'.

- Poss.:* Baldassar Migliavacca (see Orlandi 2014b); Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola [see *ex libris* fol. 1r 'a mi Jo. Francisco Asulano'].
- Not.:* fol. 1r *pinax* in the hand of Angelos Bergekios.
- Wat.:* *Huchet* almost identical to the type 25 Harlfinger (Rome, Jan./Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos); see fols 5/6, 55/56, 73/78, 131/139, 184/185, 221/228, 273/276.
- Quir.:* 1–31¹⁰, 32⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–λβ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 17[160]51 × 22[95]47 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r *Scholia anonyma* in *Aristotelis de generatione animalium* (ed. Hayduck 1903); 178r Michael of Ephesos, *scholia in Arist. de incessu ani-*

malium, 210v in *Arist. de motu animalium* (ed. Hayduck 1904), 219v Michael of Ephesos in *Parva naturalia commentaria* [219v *de longitudine et brevitate vitae*, 227r *de senectute et iuventute*, 260r *de memoria et reminiscientia*, 285v *de somno et vigilia*, 296r *de insomniis*, 306v *de divinatione per somnum*] (ed. Wendland 1903a).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (RGK II 25). Marginal annotations in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca fols 262r, 263v, 264v, 265r (Orlandi); marginal annotation in an anonymous hand fols 21v.

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, II, 186–187; Wartelle 1963, 111; RGK II 25.

Bibl.: Cataldi Palau 1998, 507–508; Orlandi 2014b, 165–166, 187, 189 and plate 16 a–b; *Diktyon*: 51695.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

39. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2069

Paper *in-quarto* · Padua / Ferrara, 1457–1462 · mm 235 × 165 · fols III (parch.) +272+III' (parch.) [blanks 245, 268–127].

Poss.: Niccolò Leonicensi [see *ex libris* fol. 272v 'Liber Nicolai Leonicensi']; Niccolò Ridolfi; Caterina de' Medici (see Muratore 2009).

Not.: –

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 2/7, 20/21, 74/79, 267/270. *Flèches* almost identical to the type Briquet 6271 (Venice, ±1462) and 11 Harlfinger (±1464, cop. Michael Lygizos); see fols 91/94, 114/119, 162/167, 244/245, 249/256.

Quir.: 1–34⁸. Numeration: Greek letters in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 28[160]47 × 24[92]49 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, 128r *De causis plantarum*, 247v [Aristotle], *De plantis*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger). Marginal annotations in an anonymous hand fols 2v, 4v, 5v–11r. Illuminations in the hand of <Iohannes Rhosos>.

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, II, 167; Wartelle 1963, 111; RGK II 25.

Bibl.: Harlfinger 1971, 413; Einarson 1976, 67–74; Centanni 1984–1985, 217; Sosower 1986, 143; Hoffmann 1986, 704; Amigues 1988, XLVIII–XLIX; Drossart Lulofs and Poortman 1989, 578; Mugnai Carrara 1991, 94, 124; Sicherl 1997, 46, 65–71, 110–111, 314–318; Jackson 2003, 70–71; Muratore 2009, II, 41; Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 284 n. 42; Cronier 2020, in part. 190–196; Orlandi 2022b (forthcoming); *Diktyon*: 51698.

Rem.: Fols 90rv, 96r, 198r, 208v show some *lacunae*, due to the fact that the antigraph was damaged in some passages. Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

40. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2346

Paper *in-quarto* · Rome · 1466–1471 · mm 285 × 210 · fols 166+I'.

Poss.: Giorgio Valla (see Rollo 2014b). Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola [see fol. 1r *ex libris* 'a mi Io. Francisco Asulano'].

Not.: –

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 3/6, 13, 20, 39, 62 (folded *in-quarto*). *Huchet* almost identical to the type 25 Harlfinger (Rome, 12 Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos); see fols 102, 123, 125 (folded *in-folio*); *Arbalète* identical to the type Briquet 746 (Rome, 1469) and very similar to the type 21 Harlfinger (Rome, 12 Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos) see fols 136/143, 138/141, 153/158, 154/157 (folded *in-quarto*).

Quir.: 1–7⁸, 8⁸⁻¹ (wants 1), 9–21⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–κα') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Quire-and-leaf-numeration in the hand of Gian Francesco d'Asola.

Writ.: mm 34[200]51 × 25[130]55 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: Euclides.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos fols 1r, 84r lin. 13–166v and 75r (marginal corrections) (*RGK* II 25); Georgios Tribizias fols 1v–16v, 26r (annotation in the lower marg.) (*RGK* II 94); Michael Lygizos fols 17r–84r lin. 12 (*RGK* II 386). Marginal annotations throughout the codex in the hand of Giorgio Valla (Gamillscheg / Rollo). Initials and titles in red ink in a still anonymous hand (see e.g. fols 34r, 41r, 56r, 71v).

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, II, 244. *RGK* II 25, 94, 386.

Bibl.: Cataldi Palau 1998, 508–509; Rollo 2014b; *Diktyon*: 51978.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

41. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2715

Paper *in-quarto* · Florence · 1471–1474 · mm 283 × 193 · fols III (parch.)+I+219+I'+III' (parch.) [blanks 188–190].

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–160); II (= fols 161–190); III (= fols 191–219). These codicological units are coeval (Florence, 1471–1474); see below for this the analysis of watermarks.

Poss.: <Ianos Laskaris?>; Carlo di Ruberto Strozzi [see *ex libris* fol. 1r Καρόλου του Στροζίου]; Niccolò Ridolfi; Caterina de' Medici (see Muratore 2009).

Not.: fol. Iv *pinax* in the hand of Carlo Strozzi (see Muratore 2009, I, 209).

I (= fols 1–160)

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence, similar to that found in Par. gr. 1644; see fols 1/10. *Chapeau* without correspondence; see fols 3/8, 25/26, 41/50. *Chapeau* very similar to the type Briquet 3387 (Florence-Venice, 1464–1476); see fols 45/46, 54/57, 84/87, 115/116, 131/140, 151/160. *Ciseaux* without correspondence see fols 142/149, 144/147, 152/159.

Quir.: 1–16¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ις') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 23[207]53 × 30[121]42 *Lin.:* 21 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r Aristophanes, *Equites*, 31v *Acharneses*, 59v *Aves*, 101r *Vespae*, 137v *Lysistrata* (incomplete).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (RGK II 25). Marginal and interlinear annotations in the hand of <Ianos Laskaris>; see fols 8rv, 9r, 10r, 13r, 32r, 34r, 38v, 39v, 62r, 110v, 130r, 147v, 153v, and initials in red ink. Marginal annotation in a 16th-century Western hand at fol. 87r.

II (= fols 161–190)

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence (but identical to that found in the first codicological unit); see 164/165, 172/179, 183/188.

Quir.: 1–3¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–γ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 23[207]53 × 30[121]42 *Lin.:* 21 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1

Cont.: 161r Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* (up to v. 1135).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (RGK II 25).

III (= fols 191–219)

Wat.: *Chapeau* very similar to the type Briquet 3387 (Florence-Venice, 1464–1476); see fols 191/200, 195/196, 201/210. *Ciseaux* without correspondence (identical to that of the first codicological unit); see fols 205/206, 215/216.

Quir.: 1–2¹⁰, 3¹⁰⁻¹ (wants 10). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–γ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 23[207]53 × 30[121]42 *Lin.:* 21 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

- Cont.:* 191r Aristophanes, *Pax* (verses 1–947 [omissis 223a, 261a, and 896a] and 1012–1300 [om. 1076b]).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (*RGK* II 25). Marginal annotation in an anonymous hand fol. 212v (‘λείπει’, thus indicating that some verses are missing = 948–1011).
- Cat.:* Omont 1886–1888, III, 29; *RGK* II 25.
- Bibl.:* Dunbar 1995, 20–24, 30–31; Sicherl 1997, 123–125, 137–138, 144–151; Douglas Olson 1998, LX; Douglas Olson 2002, LXXVI–LXXVII; Wilson 2007, 12–13; Muratore 2009, I, 209; Orsini 2011, 325; Muttini 2019a, 1; *Diktyon*: 52350.
- Rem.:* Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

42. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. gr. 66

Paper *in-quarto* · third quarter of the 15th cent. · mm 210 × 145 · fols I (parchment) +152+I'(parch., numbered '153').

Composite manuscript, assembled by Andronikos Kallistos; see the final numeration of the quires in his hand, with Greek letters (α'–ιη') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–24); II (= fols 25–36); III (= fols 37–52); IV (= fols 53–60); V (= fols 61–74); VI (= fols 75–90); VII (= fols 91–98); VIII (= fols 99–112); IX (= fols 113–120); X (= fols 121–152).

- Poss.:* Baldassar Migliavacca (see Orlandi 2014b); Jean Bourdelot.
- Not.:* –

I (= fols 1–24) [blanks 22–24]

- Wat.:* *Chapeau* without correspondence.
- Quir.:* 1–2¹².
- Writ.:* mm 16[150]44 × 22[81]42 *Lin.:* 21 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r Lucian, *De morte peregrini*.
- Scr.:* Demetrios Sguropulos (Astruc et al. 2003) fols 1r–20v.

II (= fols 25–36) [blank 36] · Venice c. 1460

- Wat.:* *Monts dans un cercle surmonté d'une croix* similar to Briquet 11882 (Venice/Udine, 1457–1459).
- Quir.:* 1¹².
- Writ.:* mm 20[145]45 × 25[84]35 *Lin.:* 24 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1
- Cont.:* 25r Georgios Gemistos Plethon, *De fato*, 28v *Oracula Chaldaica*.
- Scr.:* *Anonymus* 31 Harlfinger (Orlandi)

III (= fols 37–52) [blank 52] · Venice c. 1460

Wat.: *Balance dans un cercle* similar to Briquet 2472 (Venice and elsewhere, 1463–1482).

Quir.: 1–2⁸.

Writ.: mm 20[145]45 × 19[91]35 *Lin.:* 30 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 00D1.

Cont.: 37r Georgios Gemistos Plethon, *Varia* (see Astruc et al. 2003, 156).

Scr.: <Georgios Tzangaropulos> fols 37r–51v.

IV (= fols 53–60) [blanks 59–60] · Venice c. 1460

Wat.: *Griffon* similar to the type 9 Harlfinger.

Quir.: 1⁸.

Writ.: mm 20[145]45 × 17[83]44 *Lin.:* 24 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 00D1.

Cont.: 53r Georgios Gemistos Plethon, *Epinomis*.

Scr.: *Anonymus* 31 Harlfinger (Orlandi) fol. 53r–58v.

V (= fols 61–74) [blanks 72–74] · Venice c. 1460

Wat.: *Griffon* similar to the type 9 Harlfinger.

Quir.: 1⁸, 2⁶.

Writ.: mm 20[145]45 × 18[83]44 *Lin.:* 24 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 00D1.

Cont.: 61r Georgios Gemistos Plethon, *Oratio I de rebus Peloponnesiacis*.

Scr.: *Anonymus* 31 Harlfinger (Orlandi) fol. 61r lin. 11–62v, 69r–71r; <Iohannes Plusiadenos> fol. 61r lin. 1–10; anonymous scribe fols 63r–68v.

VI (= fols 75–90) [blanks 79–82]

Wat.: *Tour* almost identical to the type 8 Harlfinger (same drawing in Erlangenensis A 4 and Oxon. Barocci 63).

Quir.: 1–2⁸.

Writ.: mm 18[152]40 × 13[91]41 *Lin.:* 26 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 75r Georgios Gemistos Plethon, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*; 83r [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (excerpt from book III; Greek version by Maximus Planudes); 87r Georgios Gemistos Plethon, *Oratio ad Demetrium despotam*; 88v *De syntaxi uerborum* (ed. Bachmann 1828–1829, II, 314–315); 90r Isaak Argyros, Arithmetic problem (A₃) (see Acerbi 2017).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (RGK II 25).

VII (= fols 91–98)

Wat.: *Cloche* similar to the types 22 Harlfinger (1450/51, cop. Demetrios Xanthopoulos) and 3984 Briquet (Venezia/Udine/Palermo, 1435–1468).

Quir.: 1⁸.
Writ.: mm 17[156]37 × 26[93]36 *Lin.*: 29 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 91r *Varia in Demosthenem* (see Astruc et al. 2003, 157).
Scr.: Anonymous scribe (<Georgios Kalophrenas?>).

VIII (= fols 99–112) [blanks 109–112] · Crete?

Wat.: *Tour* without correspondence.
Quir.: 1⁸, 2⁶.
Writ.: mm 22[145]43 × 21[83]41 *Lin.*: 27 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 99r Herodian, *De vocalibus dichronis* (ed. Cramer 1834–1837, III; see Par. gr. 2008).
Scr.: Michael Lygizos (*RGK* II 386) fols 99r–108v.

IX (= fols 113–120)

Wat.: not visible.
Quir.: 1⁸.
Writ.: mm 27[140]43 × 19[76]50 *Lin.*: 25 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 113r [Herodian], *Περὶ τῶν ζητουμένων κατὰ πάσης κλίσεως ὀνομάτων*,
 117v *Περὶ κλίσεως ῥημάτων* (ed. Cramer 1834–1837, III).
Scr.: Michael Lygizos (*RGK* II 386) fols 113r–120v.

X (= fols 121–152) [blanks 151–152] · Venice c. 1460

Wat.: *Flèches* 6271 Briquet (Venice, c. 1462); *Char* similar to Briquet 3544.
Quir.: 1–4⁸.
Writ.: mm 23[145]42 × 21[85]39 *Lin.*: 24 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 121r Cicero, *Cato maior sive de senectute* (Greek version by Theodoros Gazes).
Scr.: Iohannes Plusiadenos (Astruc et al.) fols 121r–150r.
Cat.: Astruc et al. 2003, 155–158; *RGK* II 25.
Bibl.: Orlandi 2014b, 170–171, 187, 189, 192 and plate 18; *Diktyon*: 52836.
Rem.: –

43. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. gr. 541

Paper *in-quarto* · Crete · 1445–1453 (with the exception of fol. 1, 17th–18th cent.) · mm 220 × 146 · fols 353(-238–287)+IX' (blanks 5–10, I'–IX').

Poss.: Baldassar Migliavacca (see Orlandi 2014b).
Not.: fol. 1r *pinax* (17th–18th cent.); fol. 2v *pinax* in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca; at fol. 3r are some remarks about the division of the soul and the nature of virtues, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

- Wat.:* *Fleur* 80 Harlfinger (= 6306 Briquet); see fols 4/7, 139/144, 146/153, 154/161, 162/169, 180/183, 189/190, 194/201, 210/217, 237/288 (*sic!*; see below), 295/296, 303/304, 327/328, VI'–VII'. *Enclume* similar to the type Briquet 5956; see fols 11/16, 21/22, 37/38, 77/78, 93/94, 125/126, 157/158. *Monts* vaguely similar to the type Briquet 11882; see fols 218/225, 219/224, 234/290 (*sic!*; see below), 319/320.
- Quir.:* 1¹⁺⁸, 2–37⁸; <38>⁸⁻¹ (fols III'–IX'). Numeration: Greek letters in the lower central margin of the first and the last sheet (α'–ις', fols 1–130), in the lower outer margin of the first and the lower inner margin of the last sheet (ις'–λζ', fols 138–353; with the exception of fol. 162r, first sheet of quire κ': see the lower inner margin), at any rate in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 25[160]35 × 17[93]36 *Lin.:* 15 (fols 11r–23v); 29 (fols 24r–353r) *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.
- Cont.:* [Detailed description] 1. (fols 11r–23v) Nilos of Ancyra, *Capita Parae-netica* (CPG 6583); 2. (fols 24r–30v) Heron Alexandrinus, *Geodesia*; 3. (fols 30v–32r) Isaak Argyros, *Problema de triangulis* [inc. ἡ τῶν γεωμετρούμενων χωρίων μέτρησις; expl. ὑπὸ τοῦ κύκλου ὑπερέχεται]; 4. (fols 32r–33v) Heron Alexandrinus, *Excerpta* [inc. ἰστέον ὅτι ἡ παλαιστὴ ἔχει; expl. ποδῶν ἢ διάμετρος]; 5. (fols 33v–52r) Iohannes Peditasimos Pothos, *Scholia in Cleomedis Caelestia* [inc. κυκλικῆς μὲν εἴρηται διότι; expl. κρατοῦ μὲν διέταξε]; 6. (fols 52r–53r) Michael Psellos, *Aenigmata ad Michaelem Ducam* [inc. ἔστι τί ζῶον λογικόν; expl. λαλοῦμεν ὡς ὄραν ἔχεις]; 7. (fol. 53rv) Basilios Megalomites, *Aenigmata* [inc. ἃ δὲ βλέπει τίς; expl. ἔναρθρον εὐνηχον δ' ἔχω]; 8. (fols 54r–57v) [Phocylides], *Sententiae* (see Derron 1986); 9. (fol. 57v) *Versus in Septem Sapientes* [= *Anth. Graec.* 9, 366]; 10. (fols 58r–129v) Apollonius Dyscolus, *De constructione (praemissa vita auctoris)* [inc. ἐν ταῖς προεκδοθεῖσαις; expl. προσγενήσεται τὸν παραναγινώσκοντα]; 11. (fols 130r–155v) Albinus (Alcinus), *Sermo doctrinalis de dogmatibus Platonis* [inc. τῶν κυριωτάτων τοῦ Πλάτωνος; expl. καθ' αὐτὰ λέγεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τι]; 12. (fols 155v–169r) Aristotle, *Mechanica*; 13. (fols 169r–200r) [Michael Psellos] *De quattuor mathematicis scientiis* [inc. μέλλον τί μοι περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μαθηματικῶν; expl. τοῦ λογικοῦ σφαλερῶς παρατιμήθη]; 14. (fols 200v–315v) Maximus Planudes, *Boethii De consolatione philosophiae versio Graeca* (see Megas 1996); 15. (fol. 315v) Maximus Planudes, *Macrobii commentariorum in Somnium Scipionis versio Graeca* [des. mut. ἀμέλει καὶ πρὸς τὸ ταῖς ψύχαις; see Megas 1995]; 16. (fols 316r–353r) [Plutarch], *De Homero*.

- Scr.:** Andronikos Kallistos fols 11r–136r, 155r–201r, 202r–353r (Harlfinger, <with corrections>); anonymous scribe A fols 136v–154v; anonymous scribe B (= <scribe B of the codex Oxon. Bodl. Barocci 63>) fol. 201v. Marginal annotations in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca fols 24r, 61r. Marginal annotation in a not yet identified hand fol. 59r.
- Cat.:** Omont 1886–1888, III, 274–275; *RGK* II 25.
- Bibl.:** Harlfinger 1971, 413; Bottecchia 1982, 84; Centanni 1984–1985, 217; Derron 1986, XCV; Megas 1995; Megas 1996; Cataldi Palau 1998, 205; Stefec 2012a, 45; Orlandi 2014b, 169–170, 186–187, 192–193 and plate 17; van Leeuwen 2016, 31, 56, 68; Caballero Sánchez 2018, 122–125, 137–138, 185; *Diktyon*: 53279.
- Rem.:** The numeration of the leaves is correct up to fol. 237. The next folio has mistakenly been numbered ‘288’ instead of ‘238’ (this erroneous numeration going on thereon up to fol. 353). However, there is no textual loss between fols 237 and 288. The codex is digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

Vaticano (Città del)

44. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. gr. 355

Paper *in quarto* · Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, 1456–1466 (fols 1–13); second half of 14th century (fols 14–29); first half of 17th century (fols 30–33) · mm 224 × 145 · fols 33.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–13); II (= fols 14–29); III (= fols 30–33).

Poss.: –

Not.: –

I (= fols 1–13)

Wat.: *Couronne* without correspondence (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α Q.5.20, α T.9.1, α T.9.2, α T.9.14, etc.). *Monts* without correspondence.

Quir.: 1⁰⁺ + three single leaves. Numeration: missing.

Writ.: mm 26[160]38 × 18[93]34 **Lin.:** 29/15 **Rul.:** Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r Aristophanes, *Plutus* (up to verse 347).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (*RGK* III 31).

II (= fols 13–29)

Wat.: *Tête de Boeuf* (?); see Dorandi 2009.

Quir.: 1–2⁸.

Writ.: variable *Lin.:* 30 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 14r Diogenes Laertius, 2, 74–3, 26.

Scr.: Unknown late-fourteenth-century scribe.

III (= fols 30–33)

Wat.: not visibile.

Quir.: 1⁴.

Writ.: variable.

Cont.: 30r Βερνάρδου Φραγελλίου εις Τούρκους ᾠδή (see Dorandi 2009).

Scr.: Unknown scribe.

Cat.: Feron and Battaglini 1893, 184; *RGK* III 31.

Bibl.: Dorandi 2009 (with further bibliography); *Diktyon*: 65598.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

45. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. 1025

Paper *in-quarto* · Crete · 1445–1453 (with the exception of fols 19–20 [later addition]) · mm 220 × 145 · fols X+309.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (fols X–33); II (fols 34–309).

Poss.: –

Not.: fol. Xv † ἐν μὲν τῇ φυσικῇ ἀκροάσει διέλαβεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης | περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν ὅσα ἔδει. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ | πραγματεία περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τοῦδε κόσμου (εἴτε εἷς ἐστὶν | εἴτε πολλοὶ, καὶ εἴτε ἄναρχος εἴτε ὑπ' ἀρχὴν χρονικὴν, καὶ | εἴτε ἄπειρος εἴτε περασμένος, εἴτε φθαρτὸς εἴτε ἀφθαρτος) | καὶ περὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ κινήσεως αὐτοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σώματος (εἴτε | ἀπλοῦν ἐστὶν εἴτε σύνθετον, καὶ εἴτε ἐν τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων | εἴτ' ἄλλο τι παρὰ ταῦτα πέμπτον). ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι συντάγματι τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς τρίτῳ ὄντι τὴν τάξιν, ἐπειδὴ δοκεῖ | σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ὅδε ἔμψυχος εἶναι καὶ ψυχῇ κυβερνᾶσθαι καὶ ἄγεσθαι, διαλαμβάνει περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς οὐσίας τῆς | ψυχῆς ἐν τρισὶ συντάγμασιν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ ἐκτίθεται | τὰς τῶν παλαιότερων δόξας περὶ αὐτῆς, ὧν τὰς μὲν | ἐξελέγχει ὡς ἀκύρους, τὰς δὲ ἀποδέχεται, ἔστι δὲ ἃ | καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθησι παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. ἔπειτα διαλαμβάνει | περὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ψυχῆς. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ συντάγματι | περὶ τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ αἰσθητικῆς ψυχῆς, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ περὶ | τῆς λογικῆς μνεῖαν ποιεῖται ὀλίγην. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, προηγουμένως μὲν περὶ

τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς, κατὰ πάροδον δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀλόγου, ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ καὶ εἰς θεολογικωτέραν ἀρχὴν ἀνάγει τὸν λόγον ~ (see Konstantinides 1887, 216–217).

I (= fols X–33)

Wat.: *Fleur* 80 Harlfinger (= 6306 Briquet); see fols 9/14.

Quir.: 1–4⁸, 5² single leaves Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ε') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and in the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 20[160]40 × 20[95]30 *Lin.:* 29 (with the exception of fols 19–20)

Rul.: Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.

Cont.: 1r Aristotle, *de Anima*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger 1971), with the exception of fols 19r–20v, in the hand of an anonymous scribe.

II (= fols 34–309) [blanks 34–35, 293–309]

Wat.: *Enclume* similar to the type Briquet 5956; see fols 47/52.

Quir.: 1⁴⁺², 2⁶, 3–35⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–λγ') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and in the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 20[160]40 × 20[95]30 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.

Cont.: 37r Iohannes Philoponos, *in Aristotelis de Anima*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger 1971), with the exception of fol. 36v, in the hand of the same anonymous scribe of unit I (some addition [e.g. the last words of fol. 292v] are also written in this anonymous' hand).

Cat.: Wartelle 1963, 147.

Bibl.: Siwek 1965, 14–15, 98, 122, 155, 161–163, 167, 175, 186; Centanni 1984–1985, 218; *Diktyon*: 66459.

Rem.: Quire 22 (κβ', fols 158–165) has mistakenly been bound after quire 16 (ις', fols 150–157). The codex is digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

46. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 249

Parchment · Rome · 1466–1471 · mm 289 × 215 · fols <II>+I'+ 226(+81a+188a).

Composite manuscript, made of two coeval codicological units: I (= fols 1–81a); II (= fols 82–226)

Poss.: Nicholaus of Kotor (c. 1427–1480), bishop of Modruš.

Not.: fol. IIIr: 'physica'; 'n° nuovo 249'.

I (= fols 1–81a)

- Quir.:* 1–7¹⁰, 8¹². Numeration: Greek letters (α'–θ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Quire-and-leaf-numeration in an anonymous hand, not visible at some fols because of the trimming.
- Writ.:* mm 30[200]59 × 25[125]65 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r Aristotle, *Physica*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger).

II (= fols 82–226)

- Quir.:* 1–14¹⁰, 15¹². Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ιϵ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Quire-and-leaf-numeration in an anonymous hand (follow-up; see unit I), not visible at some fols because of the trimming.
- Writ.:* mm 30[200]59 × 25[125]65 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 82r Aristotle, *De caelo*, 128v *De generatione et corruptione*, 154r *Meteorologica*, 200v *De anima*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger); marginal annotations in an anonymous hand fols 132r, 191r.
- Cat.:* Mercati and De' Cavalieri 1923, 327–328; Wartelle 1963, 126; *RGK* III 31
- Bibl.:* Harlfinger 1971, 413; Centanni 1984–1985, 217–218; Siwek 1965, 13, 15, 92, 99, 110, 122, 163, 169–171, 175; Rashed 2001, 222–229; Rollo 2006a, 374; *Diktyon*: 66880.
- Rem.:* Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

47. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 257

Parchment (with the exception of fols I'–II' [paper, 16th cent., watermark *Ciseaux* 78 Harlfinger, 1548/49]) · Rome · 1466–1471 · mm 292 × 214 · fols II+129(+3bis)+II'

- Poss.:* Nicholaus of Kotor (c. 1427–1480), bishop of Modruš.
- Not.:* fol. IIr: 'metaphysica Aristotelis'; 'n° nuovo 257'; fol. IIv *pinax* (in a 16th-century-hand).
- Quir.:* 1–12¹⁰, 13¹⁰⁻² (wants 9, 10; no textual loss). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ιγ') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. Quire-and-leaf-numeration in an anonymous hand, visible e.g. at fols 70–75.
- Writ.:* mm 31[200]61 × 25[125]64 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r Aristotle, *Metaphysica*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger).

- Cat.:* Mercati and De' Cavalieri 1923, 338; Wartelle 1963, 127.
Bibl.: Harlfinger 1971, 413; Centanni 1984–1985, 218; Sicherl 1997, 109; Rollo 2006a, 374; *Diktyon*: 66888.

48. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1314

Paper *in-quarto* · c. 1449 · mm 220 × 146 · fols IV+280 (blanks 271–280).

- Poss.:* Giorgio Valla [see fol. Ir *ex libris* Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἔστι τὸ βιβλίον and fol. 279v (strikethrough)], Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi [see fol. Iv *ex libris* τοῦ πολυίστορος ἄρχοντος Ἀλβέρτου Πίου κτήμα, in the hand of Markos Musuros], Fulvio Ursini [see fol. Ir *ex libris*].
- Not.:* 1v–2r *pinax* in the hand of Markos Musuros; 2v annotation in the hand of Giorgio Valla. Fol. 15v *subscriptio* (= 12 March 1449). Fol. 280v indication of price ('ducato 2 e 3'); see Mutin. α U.9.10 and Laur. Ashb. 1144.
- Wat.:* *Balance* without correspondence; see fols 3/8, 13/14. *Enclume* very similar to the type Briquet 5956 (see fols 70/71, 102/103, 277).
- Quir.:* 1⁸⁻¹(wants 1); 2–7⁸, 8¹⁰⁻¹ (wants 2), 9–34⁸, 35⁸⁻¹ (wants 8). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–λε') in the lower central margin of the first and last sheet.
- Writ.:* variable, c. mm 25[160]35 × 21[92]33 *Lin.:* 15 (fols 1–15); 29 (fol. 16 onwards) *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.
- Cont.:* [Detailed description] 1. (3r–15v) [Homer], *Batrachomachia*; 2. (15v) Andronikos Kallistos, *Epigramma in Homerum* (see *infra*, Appendix 7); 3. (16r) Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina dogmatica*, 12, PG 37, cols 472,8–474,14; 4. (16r–17r) Amphilochius, *Iambi ad Seleucum* 251–321; 5. (17r–20r) Michael Psellos, ἔρμηνεία περὶ ὑετοῦ καὶ πάχνης καὶ χίονος καὶ χαλάξης ἀστραπῶν τὲ καὶ κεραυνῶν καὶ βροντῶν καὶ δρακόντων (inc.: ἠρωτήκατέ με, φίλτατοι παῖδες, ποταμὸν τὸ τῆς ἀστραπῆς πῦρ...; expl.: σοφοῖς ῥηθέντα ὑποτιθέντες); 6. (20v–29v) Aristotle, *De mundo*; 7. (29v–32r) Eustathios Makrembolites, *Aenigmata*; 8. (32r–66v) Georgios Gennadios Scholarios, *Grammatica* I; 9. (66v–70r) *Etymologica varia*; 10. (70v–71v) Georgios Gennadios Scholarios, *Grammatica* II (up to 428,16 [βαιτύκη τὸ τύμπανον]); 11. (72r–86v) [Gregorios of Corinth], Εἰσαγωγή περὶ λογογραφίας ἐπιστολῶν καὶ στίχων (inc. πᾶσα λόγου ἰδέα ἐκ μέρων ὀκτῶ σύγκειται; expl. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις σύντομον; see Corcella 2010); 12. (86v–106v) [Gregorios Aneponymos], Συνοπτικὸν σύνταγμα φιλοσοφίας. σύνοψις τῆς λογικῆς πραγματείας (inc.: ὡσπερ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες πρῶτον μὲν τὰ στοιχεῖα, expl.: καὶ τέχνην ἰχνηλατεῖν; see Rollo 2014a); 13. (106v–177v) Ammonius, *in Porph. Isagogen*; 14. (177v–186r) (inc. ἰστέον ὅτι διαιρητικοὶ τρόποι εἰσὶν ὀκτῶ

δι' αἰτίας τοιαύτην; expl. περιέχει δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ σῶμα ὡς τὸ πῦρ τὸ σίδηρον); 15. (186v–191r) σύνοψις τῆς τοῦ ὀργάνου ὑπολήψεως (incipit: τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἰς δύο διηρημένης); 16. (191r–209v) Cornutus, *De natura deorum*; 17. (209v–213r) <Iohannes Lydos>, *De cometis*; 18. (213v–215v) Plutarch, *Excerpta de placitis philosophorum (liber II)*; 19. (215v–216r) [Orphaeus], *De terrae motibus* (incipit: φράζω δὴ καὶ τόνδε λόγον φίλον...); 20. (216v–220v) Epictetus, *Encheiridion (excerpta)*; see Boter 1999); 21. (221r–266r) Aristotle, *Categoriae* (with scholia); 22. (266r–269r) περὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ ὅτι τριττὰ (inc.: τὰ ὄντα τριττὰ ἐστίν. ἢ γὰρ πάντῃ ἔνυλα εἰσὶ καὶ τῇ ὑποστάσει καὶ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ, ὡς ξύλον, λίθος, σάρξ; expl.: ὅπερ αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐξάιρετον πρόσεστι); 23. (269r–270r) *Pythagoreorum versus aurei*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos; marginal annotations in the hand of Giorgio Valla fols 27v–28r, 77r, 181v. Annotations in another anonymous hand at fol. 45r.

Cat.: Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 30; Wartelle 1963, 132; *RGK I* 18.

Bibl.: Treu 1893, 19–20; Diller 1967, 408; Harlfinger 1971, 413; Harlfinger 1974, nos 44–46; Krafft 1975, 252–253, 278–279, 309–316; Smith 1981–1982, 256–258; Gamillscheg 1983, 334–339; Centanni 1984–1985, 218; Smith 1986, 255–258; Martinelli Tempesta 1995, 131; Boter 1999, 13; Pontani 2011, 372; Rollo 2014a, 119, 124–126; Ferreri 2014, 591; Megna 2021, 321; *Diktyon*: 67945.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

Venezia

49. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 10 (coll. 394)

Parchment · 12th cent. (fols 2–381) / Bologna, 1453–1455 (fols 382–411) · mm 195 × 120 · fols III+411 (fol. III numbered '1').

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 2–381) 12th cent.; II (= fols 382–411) Bologna, 1453–1455.

Poss.: Bessarion (see *ex libris* fol. 1v, as 'cardinal of Tusculum').

Not.: –

I (= fols 2–381)

Quir.: 1–47⁸, 48⁴. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–μῆ') in the lower central margin of the last and the upper central margin of the first sheet.

- Writ.:* mm 20[135]40 × 25[65]35 *Lin.:* 27 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 32A1.
Cont.: 2r *Novum Testamentum* (with the exception of *Apocalypsis*; see unit II); *Actus Apostolorum* (2r–58r); *Epistulae catholicae et Epistulae Pauli* (59v–202v); *Evangelia* (206r–381v).
Scr.: One anonymous 12th-century hand. Fols 201v–200v (= *argumentum Euthalii in Pauli ep. ad Hebraeos*) and copious marginal annotations are in an early 14th-century hand (see e.g. fols 21r, 42r, 44v, 65r, 74r, 123v, 133r); marginal annotations in the hand of Bessarion throughout the codex.

II (= fols 382–411)

- Quir.:* 1–3¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–γ') in the lower outer margin of the first and the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
Writ.: mm 22[138]35 × 25[65]30 *Lin.:* 24 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 382r *Apocalypsis*; 410v–411r annotations in the hand of Bessarion (see Mioni 1981, 15).
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Diller), fols 382r–409r.
Cat.: Mioni 1981, 14–15.
Bibl.: Diller 1967, 408; Mioni 1976, 298; Centanni 1984–1985, 219; Schmid 1956, 285–293; *Diktyon*: 69481.
Rem.: Additional quire-and-leaf-numeration throughout the codex, in the hand of Bessarion.

50. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 186 (coll. 601)

Paper *in-folio* · Bologna / Rome, mid-15th cent. · mm 295 × 220 · fols II+386 (+42bis+275bis)+V'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 10–260); II (= fols 261–279); III (= fols 280–355); IV (= fols 356–381); V (= fols 382–V').

- Poss.:* Bessarion (see *ex libris* fol. 9v, as 'cardinal of Tusculum').
Not.: Frontmatter at fols 1–9 [*Quir.:* 1⁸⁺¹; blanks 5–7; paper watermarked *Lettre N* similar to Briquet 8440 (1451) and *Licorne* (see below, unit I)]; tables of contents and excerpts (see Mioni 1981, 298; fols 1r–2v anonymous scribe; fols 4r and 8v–9r are in the hand of Bessarion). Marginal corrections in the hand of Bessarion and Gregorios hieromonachos throughout the codex.

I (= fols 10–260) [blanks 257–260]

- Wat.:* *Licorne* very similar to the type Briquet 9964 (1453); see fols 28, 142, 252.
- Quir.:* 1–20⁸, 21⁸⁻¹, 22–31⁸, 32⁶. Numeration: Greek letters (α' – $\lambda\beta'$) in the lower central/outer margin of the first and the last sheet of the quire, in the hand of the anonymous scribe charged with the task of copying the text.
- Writ.:* mm 29[225]50 × 24[150]47 *Lin.:* 36 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 30D1.
- Cont.:* 10r Plato, *Dialogi* (see Mioni 1981, 298).
- Scr.:* Anonymous scribe fols 10r–255r; <Bessarion> fols 255v–256r.

II (= fols 261–279) [blank 279]

- Wat.:* *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 264, 265.
- Quir.:* 1–2¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α' – β'), in the lower outer margin of the first sheet of the quire, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 24[215]60 × 30[145]45 *Lin.:* 37–38 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 30D1.
- Cont.:* 261r Plato, *Phaedrus*, 275bisr *Eryxas*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Diller) fols 216r–274v; <Demetrios Chalkondyles> fols 275bisr–278r.

III (= fols 280–355) [blanks 351–355]

- Wat.:* *Lettre N* very similar to Briquet 8440 (1451); see fols 286, 294, 351.
- Quir.:* 1–3¹⁰, 4⁸, 5–7¹⁰, 8⁸. Numeration: *reclamantes*.
- Writ.:* mm 32[215]50 × 28[138]55 *Lin.:* 36–37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 30D1.
- Cont.:* Plato, *Dialogi* (see Mioni 1981, 298).
- Scr.:* Demetrios Xanthopoulos (Brockmann) fols 280r–350r, 351r.

IV (= fols 356–381)

- Wat.:* *Lettre N* very similar to Briquet 8440 (1451).
- Quir.:* 1¹⁰, 2–3⁸. Numeration: *reclamantes*.
- Writ.:* mm 25[223]51 × 35[123]58 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* Plato, *Dialogi* (see Mioni 1981, 298).
- Scr.:* 'Bessarionis scriba A' = *Anonymus* 17 Harlfinger (Mioni) fols 356r–381v.

V (= fols 382-I')

- Wat.:* *Lettre G* similar to the type 14 Harlfinger (1429, cop. Michael Balsamon); see fol. 386.
- Quir.:* 1⁸⁻² (wants 7–8). Numeration: Greek letter $\lambda\gamma'$ (follow-up; see *supra*, unit I).
- Writ.:* mm 27[223]47 × 24[143]45 *Lin.:* 36 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

- Cont.:* Timaeus Locrus, *De natura mundi et animae*.
Scr.: Bessarion fols 382r–385v lin. 17 (Mioni); Alexios Keladenos fols 385v lin. 18–386r (later addition) (Martinelli Tempesta).
Cat.: Mioni 1981, 297–298.
Bibl.: Diller 1967, 408; Marg 1972, 38–39; Mioni 1976; Slings 1981, 277–78; Centanni 1984–1985, 219; Jonkers 1989, 74–75, 252–257; Brockmann 1992, 5, 7, 32–33, 98–100, 186–190; Joyal 1998, 29–32, 48–49; Vancamp 2010, 63–65; Orlandi 2014a, 168–169; Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 271, 305–306, 332; *Diktyon*: 69657.
Rem.: Additional quire-and-leaf-numeration throughout the codex, in the hand of Bessarion.

51. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 190 (coll. 779)

Parchment · Bologna, 1453–1455 · mm 310 × 220 · fols IV+281(+63bis)+VII'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–270) II (= fols 271–VII').

- Poss.:* Bessarion (see *ex libris* fol. IVv, as 'cardinal of Tusculum').
Not.: fol. Iv latin epigrams for the death of Bessarion by <Theodoros Gazes> [see Orlandi 2022a]; IVv *pinax*.

I (= fols 1–270)

- Quir.:* 1–6¹⁰, 7¹⁰⁺¹, 8–27¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–κζ') in the lower outer margin of the first and the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
Writ.: mm 35[210]65 × 27[143]60 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 30D1.
Cont.: 1r Timaeus Locrus, *De natura mundi et anima*; 4v Proclus, *In Timaeum Platonis*.
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos fols 1r–270v (Diller); illumination at fol. 182v in the hand of <Iohannes Rhosos>; marginal annotations and titles in red ink in the hand of Bessarion.

II (= fols 271–VII') [blanks I'–VII']

- Quir.:* 1¹⁰, 2⁸. Numeration: missing.
Writ.: mm 33[212]65 × 32[135]63 *Lin.:* 37 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 30D1.
Cont.: 271r Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem primum* (expl. mut.).
Scr.: Bessarion fols 271rv (Diller, though ascribing him also fols 271v–281r), <Kosmas hieromonachos> fols 271v–281r.
Cat.: Mioni 1981, 302–303.

- Bibl.:* Diller 1967, 408; Saffrey and Westerink 1968, CXIX–CXXVIII; Marg 1972, 41; Mioni 1976, 298; Centanni 1984–1985, 219; Orlandi 2022a, 77–82; *Diktyon*: 69661.
- Rem.:* Additional quire-and-leaf-numeration throughout the codex, in the hand of Bessarion. The codex is digitized at <<https://www.internetculturale.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

52. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 192 (coll. 613)

Parchment · Bologna/Rome, c. 1453–1463 · c. mm 265 × 190 · fols I+371(+281–283bis+286–288bis)+I' (numbered '372').

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: Ia (= fols 1–70) Bologna/Rome, 1453–1455; Ib (= fols 71–144) Bologna/Rome, 1455–1463; II (= fols 145–264) Rome, 1462–1463; III (= fols 265–312) Rome, 1462–1463; IV (= fols 313–372) Rome, 1462–1463.

Poss.: Bessarion (see *ex libris* fol. Iv, as 'cardinal of Tusculum and Latin patriarch of Constantinople').

Not.: fol. Iv *pinax*

I^a (= fols 1–70)

Quir.: 1–7¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ε') in the lower outer margin of the first and the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos; Greek letters (ε'–ζ') in the lower central margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Georgios Tribizias.

Writ.: mm 28[173]67 × 31[93]66 *Lin.:* 27 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 43D1dq.

Cont.: 1r Proclus, *Theologia Platonica*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos fols 1r–44v (Diller); Georgios Tribizias (de Meyer) fols 45r–70v.

I^b (= fols 71–144)

Quir.: 1–4¹⁰, 5–7⁸, 8¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (η'–ιβ' still visibile, <ιγ'–ιε'> missing) in the lower central margin of the first sheet + and additional quire-and-leaf-numeration, both in the hand of Manuel Atrapes.

Writ.: mm 31[175]63 × 29[94]66 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1 (fols 71–114) / mm 27[175]65 × 25[94]70 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 30D1 (fols 115–144).

Cont.: 71r Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (follow-up).

Scr.: Manuel Atrapes (Harlfinger *apud* Liakou-Kropp) fols 71r–114r; Gregorios hieromonachos (Harlfinger) fols 114v–144v.

II (= fols 145–264)

Quir.: 1–12¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α' – $\iota\beta'$) in the lower outer margin of the first sheet (α' – δ' and ζ' – $\iota\beta'$), in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet (ϵ'), in the hand of Iohannes Plusiadenos.

Writ.: mm 28[175]65 × 28[95]65 *Lin.*: 29 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 145r Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (follow-up).

Scr.: Iohannes Plusiadenos (Harlfinger *apud* Liakou-Kropp).

III (= fols 265–312) [blanks 311–312]

Quir.: 1–5¹⁰, 6⁴. Numeration: Greek letters (α' – ζ') in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Iohannes Plusiadenos.

Writ.: mm 27[174]66 × 28[95]67 *Lin.*: 29 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 265r Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (follow-up).

Scr.: Iohannes Plusiadenos (Harlfinger *apud* Liakou-Kropp) fols 265r–310r.

IV (= fols 313–371)

Quir.: 1–5¹⁰, 6¹⁰⁻¹. Numeration: Greek letters (α' – ζ') in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Iohannes Plusiadenos.

Writ.: mm 26[173]68 × 29[94]68 *Lin.*: 29 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 313r *Pythagoreorum versus aurei*, 315r Hierocles, *Comm. in aureum carmen*.

Scr.: Iohannes Plusiadenos (Harlfinger *apud* Liakou-Kropp) fols 313r–314v, 315r–371r.

Cat.: Mioni 1981, 304.

Bibl.: De Meyier 1959, 86–88; Saffrey and Westerink 1968; Diller 1967, 408. Harlfinger 1974, nos 24, 44–46; Centanni 1984–1985, 219; Liakou-Kropp 2002, 255–257; Speranzi 2016a, 46, 63, 141; Despotakis 2020, 154; *Diktyon*: 69663.

Rem.: Additional numeration with Arabic numbers throughout the codex ('1–39') in the lower central margin of the first sheet of every quire.

53. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 198 (coll. 744)

Parchment · Rome 1466–1468 · mm 268 × 190 · fols II+318+II'.

Poss.: Bessarion (see *ex libris* fol. 2v, as 'patriarch of Constantinople').

Not.: fol. 2v *pinax*.

Quir.: <0>⁴ (= fols I–2); 1–15¹⁰, 16⁸, 17–23¹⁰, 24¹², 25–31¹⁰, 32⁶. Numeration: Greek letters (α' – $\lambda\gamma'$) in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

- Writ.:* mm 33[166]69 × 68[95]26 (fols 1v-2v) / 34[168]66 × 60[98]32 (rest)
Lin.: 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r Andronikos Kallistos, *Epigramma in Bessarionis librum In Calumniatorem Platonis* (see *infra*, Appendix 8); 3r Bessarion, *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, 243r *Correctio interpretationis Georgii Trapezuntii in libros Platonis de legibus*, 294v *De natura et arte contra Trapezuntium*.
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Diller) (initials in red ink for chapter identifiers are also his work); marginal annotations in the hand of Bessarion (see e.g. fol. 9r).
- Cat.:* Mioni 1981, 310.
- Bibl.:* Diller 1967, 406–408; Mioni 1976, 296–299; Fiaccadori 1994, 462; Mariiev, Marchetto and Luchner 2015; Cattaneo 2020b, XXXIV; *Diktyon*: 69669.

54. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 223 (coll. 532)

Parchment · Bologna, 1453–1455 · mm 378 × 270 · fols I+222(-27, 85, 97, 112, 158–159, 164, 172, 183).

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units:* I (= fols 4–117); II (= fols 118–228).

Poss.: Bessarion (see *ex libris* fol. 3v, as ‘cardinal of Tusculum’).

Not.: –

I (= fols 4–117)

- Quir.:* 1–11¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ια') in the lower central margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Georgios Tribizias.
- Writ.:* mm 35[253]90 × 40[168]62 *Lin.:* 46 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 30D1
- Cont.:* 4r Simpl., in *Aristotelis Categoriae*.
- Scr.:* Georgios Tribizias (Mioni) fols 4r–117v, including initials and illuminations in red ink; marginal annotations in the hand of Bessarion (see e.g. fol. 36r).

II (= fols 118–222) [blanks 219–222]

- Quir.:* 1–10¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ι') in the lower central margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Georgios Tribizias (with the exception of the quires copied by Kallistos, where the letters are in lower outer margin of the first and the lower inner margin of the last sheet).
- Writ.:* mm 35[253]90 × 40[168]62 *Lin.:* 46 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 30D1.
- Cont.:* 118r Io. Philoponos, in *Aristotelis De anima*.

- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Harlfinger *apud* Liakou-Kropp) fols 118r–123r, 171r–228v; Georgios Tribizias (Mioni) fols 123v–170v, initials and illuminations in red ink.
- Cat.:* Mioni 1981, 337; Wartelle 1963, 158.
- Bibl.:* Mioni 1976, 286, 310; Liakou-Kropp 2002, 267–269; *Diktyon*: 69694.
- Rem.:* Fols I-3 constitute a *binio*. Same codicological features (size, number of lines, ruling scheme, illuminations) of Marc. gr. Z. 337 (copied by Tribizias and Kosmas hieromonachos and revised by Kallistos) and Marc. gr. Z. 518 (copied again by Tribizias and revised by Kallistos; for these manuscripts, see below. Additional quire-and-leaf-numeration in the lower margin (not clearly visible because of the trimming).

55. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 238 (coll. 718)

Parchment · Rome 1468–1471 · mm 280 × 195 · fols I+225+II' (numbered '226–227').

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 2–61); II (= fols 62–131); III (= fols 132–225). All units have been conceived at the same time.

Poss.: Bessarion (see *ex libris* fol. 1v, as 'bishop of Sabina, cardinal of Nicaea').

Not.: –

I (= fols 2–61)

Quir.: <0²> (fols I–1), 1–6¹⁰ (fols 2–61). Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ζ') in the lower central margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Georgios Alexandros Chomatas. Additional quire-and-leaf-numeration.

Writ.: mm 35[180]70 × 23[125]52 *Lin.:* 28 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy OOD1.

Cont.: 2r Michael of Ephesos, in *Aristotelis De incessu animalium*, 17v *De iuventute et senectute*, *De vita et morte et de respiratione*, 39r *De longitudine et brevitate vitae*, 44v *De motu animalium*, 56r *De memoria et reminiscencia* (up to 14,27 ed. Wendland 1903a [πότερον τοῦτο τὸ ζωγράφημα]).

Scr.: Georgios Alexandros Chomatas (Harlfinger).

II (= fols 62–131)

Quir.: 1–7¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ζ') in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 25[185]75 × 23[125]52 *Lin.:* 28 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy OOD1.

Cont.: 62r Michael of Ephesos, in *Aristotelis De memoria et reminiscencia* (from 14,28 ed. Wendland 1903 [καὶ τὸν τύπον μνημονεύει], 75v *De somno et*

vigilia, 84v *De insomniis*, 94r *De divinatione per somnum*, 99r, *De generatione animalium libri quinque* (up to 43,12 ed. Hayduck 1903 [ἐξάν τι περιττεῦσαι, πιστοῦται]).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos fols 62r–124r (Mioni 1976); *Anonymus* Δ-T Harlfinger fols 124v–131v (Harlfinger).

III (= fols 132–225)

Quir.: 1–8¹⁰, 9⁴. Numeration: Greek letters (ζ'–ις') in the lower outer margin on the last sheet, in the hand of *Anonymus* Δ-T Harlfinger.

Writ.: mm 30[185]70 × 20[125]55 *Lin.:* 31 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 132r Michael of Ephesos, in *Aristotelis De generatione animalium libri quinque* [from 43,12 ed. Hayduck 1903 [τοῦτο διὰ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς]].

Scr.: *Anonymus* Δ-T Harlfinger (Harlfinger).

Cat.: Mioni 1981, 351; Wartelle 1963, 159.

Bibl.: Harlfinger 1974, no. 56; Mioni 1976, 298; Centanni 1984–1985, 220; *Diktyon*: 69709.

Rem.: –

56. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 374 (coll. 647)

Paper *in-quarto* · Crete, 1449–1453 · mm 230 × 145 · fols VII+248 [blanks <243–248>]

Poss.: Bessarion (see *ex libris* fol. VIIv, as 'cardinal of Tusculum').

Not.: fol. VIIv *pinax*. A whole quire (= fols I–VII, consisting of a *quaternio* wanting the first sheet [1⁸⁻¹]) has been left blank.

Wat.: *Fleur* 80 Harlfinger (= Briquet 6306, 1438–1460); see fols 4/5, 17/24, 20/21, 124/125. *Monts dans un cercle sommés d'une croix* vaguely similar to Briquet 11882 (Venice/Udine 1457–1459); see fols 28/29, 42, 44/45. *Enclume sommée d'une croix* similar to Briquet 5956 (1450–1463); see fols 89/96, 107/110, 163/166.

Quir.: 1–31⁸. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–λα') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and the lower inner margin of the last one, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 25[160]68 × 21[93]37 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy D 24D1.

Cont.: Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* (libri I–V).

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Mioni) fols 1–127v, 128v–166r, 167r–242r; <*Anonymus* MA Stefec?> fol. 128r; <Iohannes Rhosos> fol. 166v and annotation at fol. 60v.

Cat.: Mioni 1985a, 132–133.

Bibl.: Mioni 1976, 298; *Diktyon*: 69845.

Rem.: The indication of the content (in epigraphic majuscule, ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ) is written on the fore-edge.

57. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 522 (coll. 317)

Parchment · Bologna/Rome, c. 1450–1463 · mm 268 × 190 · fols IV+230+I'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–100); II (= fols 101–160); III (= fols 161–180); IV (= fols 181–210); V (= fols 211–230). The last three units were probably manufactured in Bologna at the time of Bessarion's legation.

Poss.: Bessarion (see *ex libris* fol. IVv, as 'cardinal of Tusculum').

Not.: –

I (= fols 1–100) [blank 100]

Quir.: 1–10¹⁰. Greek letters (α'–ι') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet, in the hand of Kosmas Trapezuntios.

Writ.: mm 30[182]58 × 28[119]54 *Lin.:* 32 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 1r Dionysius Halic., *De Lysia*; 11r Lysias, *Orationes* (see more in Mioni 1985a); 77v Gorgias, *Helenaē Encomium*; 79v Alcidas, *De sophistis*, 82v *Ulysses*; 85r Antisthenes, *Ajax*, 85v *Odysseus*; 87r Demades, *De duocennali*; 89r Lysias, *Oratio funebris in Corinthiorum socios*, 94v *Pro Callia*, 96r *Contra Andocidem*.

Scr.: Kosmas hieromonachos (Mioni).

II (= fols 101–160) [blanks 156–160]

Quir.: 1–6¹⁰. Greek letters (α'–ζ') in the lower central margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Manuel Atrapes.

Writ.: mm 33[185]52 × 23[119]54 *Lin.:* 33 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 40D1.

Cont.: 101r Agathias Scholasticus, *Historia* (2,12–5 Keydell); 154v *Apophthegmata philosophorum* (see Mioni 1985a).

Scr.: Manuel Atrapes (Benedetti).

III (= fols 161–180) [blanks 177–180]

Quir.: 1–2¹⁰. Greek letters (α'–β') in the lower outer margin of the first and the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 25[198]47 × 29[118]47 *Lin.:* 34 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1s.

Cont.: 161r Aelian tacticus, *Tactica Theoria*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Mioni).

IV (= fols 181–210)

Quir.: 1–3¹⁰. Greek letters (α' – γ') in the lower outer margin of the first and the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: mm 27[200]44 × 32[78]84 *Lin.*: 35 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 20D1.

Cont.: 181r Theognis (verses 1–1220); 199r Phocylides; 202r *Pythagoreorum versus aurei*; 203r Moschus, *Europa*; 205v Musaeus, *Hero et Leander*; 210v Theocritus, *Syrinx*.

Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Mioni).

V (= fols 211–230) [blank 230]

Quir.: 1–2¹⁰. Greek letters (ι' – α') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet, in the hand of Emmanuel of Constantinople.

Writ.: mm 25[198]46 × 25[118]53 *Lin.*: 34 *Rul.*: Sautel–Leroy 33D1d.

Cont.: [Longinus], *De sublimitate*.

Scr.: *Anonymus Ly Harlfinger* (Harlfinger) *alias* Emmanuel of Constantinople.

Cat.: Mioni 1985a, 393–396.

Bibl.: Young 1953, 7; Bühler 1960, 8; Stolpe 1968; Harlfinger 1974, nos 62, 64; Mioni 1976, 288, 298, 300; Eleuteri 1981, 26–27, 100–103; Benedetti 2010, 187–188; Martínez Manzano 2013; Martínez Manzano 2015a, 162; Speranzi 2016a, 46, 49, 66; Speranzi 2017; Orlandi 2019b, 291, 305; Ferreri 2021, in part. 40–48, 61–63; Aleotti 2022, in part. 40–43; *Diktyon*: 69993.

Rem.: Illuminations and titles in red ink are in the hand of Georgios Tribizias. The ruling scheme of units III and V of this manuscript is the same as in Marc. gr. Z. 215; unit V (= quires ι' – α') is the continuation of the third codicological unit (= fols 211–300, quires α' – θ') of Marc. gr. Z. 215 (see for all this Speranzi 2017). Additional quire-and-leaf-numeration throughout the codex.

58. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 527 (coll. 679)

Paper *in-quarto* · Bologna / Rome, 1450–1468 · mm 210 × 145 · fols I+247 (+160bis +197bis+200bis).

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units*: I (= fols 1–16); II (= fols 17–39); III (= fols 40–49); IV (= fols 50–57); V (= fols 58–92); VI (= fols 93–105); VII (= fols 106–159); VIII (= fols 160–175); IX (= fols 176–201); X (= fols 202–239); XI (= fols 240–247).

Poss.: Bessarion (see *ex libris* fol. Iv, as ‘bishop of Sabina, cardinal of Nicaea’)
Not.: —

I (= fols 1–16)

Wat.: *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 4/5, 12/13.
Quir.: 1–2⁸. Greek letters (α’–β’) in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and the lower inner margin of the last, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
Writ.: mm 23[151]36 × 18[92]38 *Lin.:* 26 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 1r Bessarion, *De processione Spiritus Sancti contra Palamam*.
Scr.: Andronikos Kallistos (Diller) fols 1r–9v, 11r–14v, 16rv (for corrections see Martínez Manzano 2013); Emmanuel of Constantinople fols 10rv, 15rv (10/15 is a *bifolium* which may have been added at a later point).

II (= fols 17–39)

Wat.: *Ciseaux* without correspondence; see fols 17/22, 27/28, 35/36.
Quir.: 1⁸⁻¹ (wants 1), 2–3⁸. Numeration: missing.
Writ.: mm 19[159]33 × 19[92]35 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 17r Bessarion, *Oratio dogmatica de unione* (incomplete; see below).
Scr.: <Nikodemos? (see RGK II 422 = III 496)> fols 17r–39v; corrections and marginal annotations in the hand of Bessarion (see e.g. fols 29r, 30r).

III (= fols 40–49) [blanks 46–49]

Wat.: Unknown drawing; see fols 44/45.
Quir.: 1¹⁰. Numeration: missing.
Writ.: mm 24[153]34 × 18[90]32 *Lin.:* 26 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 40r Bessarion, *Oratio dogmatica de unione* (follow-up); 45r *Adversus Plethonem in Aristotelem de substantia* (see Mioni 1985a, 411–413).
Scr.: Emmanuel of Constantinople fols 40r–44v (which seem to be a later addition); Bessarion fols 45rv (Mioni).

IV (= fols 50–57) [blanks 55–57]

Wat.: *Ciseaux* similar to the types 44 and 45 Harlfinger (Rome, 1457); see fols 53/54.
Quir.: 1⁸. Numeration: missing.
Writ.: mm 20[155]34 × 18[85]42 *Lin.:* 25 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: 50r Bessarion, *Contra Capita Maximis Planudis*.
Scr.: Manuel Atrapes (Speranzi) fols 50r–54v.

V (= fols 58–92)

- Wat.:* *Ciseaux* similar to the types 44 and 45 Harlfinger (Rome, 1457); see fols 61/64; *Basilic* similar to Briquet (Genua, 1443); see fols 79/80, 86/89.
- Quir.:* 1¹⁰, 2–3⁸, 4⁸⁺¹. Numeration: missing.
- Writ.:* mm 23[157]30 × 20[85]43 (fols 58–67) / 27[150]33 × 24[90]33 (fols 68–92)
Lin.: 25 (fols 58–67) / 22 (fols 68–92) *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 30D1.
- Cont.:* 58r Bessarion, *Contra Marcum Eugenicum de processione Spiritus Sancti*
- Scr.:* Nikolaos (Speranzi) fols 58r–67r lin. 14; Bessarion (Mioni) fols 67r, lin. 15–69v, 73r lin. 16–22, 75v lin. 1–4, 81v lin. 1; Manuel Atrapes (Mioni) 70r–73r lin. 15, 73v–75r, 75v lin. 5–81r, 81v lin. 1–92r.

VI (= fols 93–105) [blanks 104–105]

- Wat.:* *Fleur* similar to the type 80 Harlfinger (see above); see fols 96/101, 98/99.
- Quir.:* 1¹²⁺¹. Numeration: missing.
- Writ.:* mm 17[172]23 × 20[91]34 *Lin.:* 32 (fols 93–94) / 30 (fols 95–103) *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 93r Markos Eugenikos, *Capita syllogistica de processione Spiritus Sancti*
- Scr.:* Anonymous scribe A fols 93r–94r (= *caput α'*, a later addition on blank space); anonymous scribe B fols 95r–103r (copied after having left blank space for *caput α'*).

VII (= fols 106–159) [blanks 154–159]

- Wat.:* *Ciseaux* (folded *in-octavo*) similar to the types 44 and 45 Harlfinger (Rome, 1457); see fols 107, 110, 120. *Croix grecque* (folded *in-octavo*) very similar to Briquet 5575 (Naples/Rome/Venice, 1456–1470); see fols 146, 147, 154, 155.
- Quir.:* 1–2¹⁰, 3⁸, 4¹⁰, 5–6⁸. Numeration: Greek letters, unsystematically applied by <Iohannes Plusiadenos> in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and the lower central/outer margin of the last sheet (see fols 115v–116r). *Reclamantes* at fol. 143v in the hand of Kosmas hieromonachos.
- Writ.:* mm 25[148]37 × 24[86]40 (fols 106–142) / 23[147]42 × 22[82]44 (fols 143–159) *Lin.:* 24 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 106r Bessarion, *De sacramento Eucharistiae*, 143r *Epistola encyclica ad Graecos de unione*.
- Scr.:* Iohannes Plusiadenos (Mioni) fols 106r–142v; Kosmas hieromonachos (Mioni) fols 143r–153v.

VIII (= fols 160–167)

- Wat.:* Ciseaux without correspondence; see fols 160bis/170.
Quir.: 1¹⁰⁻¹. Numeration: missing.
Writ.: mm 25[143]40 × 26[80]42 *Lin.:* 26 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: Bessarion, *In Illud (Ioh. 21,13): ‘Sic eum volo manere’* (incomplete)
Scr.: Alexios Keladenos (Speranzi) fols 160r–167v.

IX (= fols 169–175) [blank 175]

- Wat.:* Unknown (*Tour?*); see fols 169/174.
Quir.: 1⁸. Numeration: missing.
Writ.: variable, c. mm [160] × [100] *Lin.:* 25–27 *Rul.:* missing.
Cont.: Bessarion, *In Illud (Ioh. 21,13): ‘Sic eum volo manere’* (follow-up).
Scr.: Athanasios Chalkeopulos (Speranzi) fols 168r–174v.

X (= fols 176–201) [blanks 200–201]

- Wat.:* *Lettre A* similar to Briquet 7918 (1467–1468); see fols 179/182. *Lettre M* similar to Briquet 8355; see fols 189/192.
Quir.: 1–2¹⁰, 3⁸. Numeration: missing.
Writ.: variable, c. mm [160] × [100] *Lin.:* 25–27 *Rul.:* missing.
Cont.: Bessarion, *De natura et arte contra Georg. Trapezuntium* (Greek version).
Scr.: Bessarion (Mioni) fols 176r–199r.

XI (= fols 202–239) [blanks 235–239]

- Wat.:* *Tour* similar to the type Briquet 15912 (Rome/Venice, 1460–1472); see fols 203/210, 214/219, 235/236.
Quir.: 1–3¹⁰, 4⁸. *Reclamantes* in the lower inner margin of the last sheet.
Writ.: mm 23[147]45 × 28[80]38 *Lin.:* 23 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: Bessarion, *De natura et arte contra Georg. Trapezuntium* (Latin version).
Scr.: Bessarion (Mioni) fols 202r–234v; corrections and marginal annotations in the Latin hand of <Theodoros Gazes> (see e.g. fols 212v, 215r, 226rv).

XII (= fols 240–247) [blanks 245–247]

- Wat.:* *Fleur de lis*, vaguely similar to the type Briquet 6880 (1475); see fols 243/244.
Quir.: 1⁸. Numeration: missing.
Writ.: mm 21[145]46 × 24[80]40 *Lin.:* 26 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
Cont.: Bessarion, *Epistolae* (Mohler 1942, nos 30–35).
Scr.: Alexios Keladenos (Speranzi) fols 240r–244v.
Cat.: Mioni 1985, 411–413.

- Bibl.:* Mohler 1942, in part. 91, 478–484; Harlfinger 1974, nos 44–46, 62 and 64; Speranzi 2011, 114–115; Speranzi 2013a, 369; Speranzi 2013b, 134–138; Martínez Manzano 2013; Mariev, Marchetto and Luchner 2015; Martínez Manzano 2015a, 162; Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 278–280; Speranzi 2016a, 50–52 (with further bibliography), 109–112, 133, 139–140. Speranzi 2017; Orlandi 2019b, 290–291, 298–301, 305; *Diktyon*: 69998.
- Rem.:* Numeration with Arabic numbers throughout the codex; see e.g. fols 76r ('10'), 106r ('13'), 126r ('15'), 144r ('17').

59. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 611 (coll. 850)

Paper *in-quarto* · Padua (?), 1457–1462 · mm 285 × 205 · fols I+244+I'.

Composite manuscript. *Codicological Units* (coeval): I (= fols 1–45); II (= fols 46–244).

Poss.: Giovanni Battista Recanati (see Mioni 1985a).

Not.: οὐκ ἀδίκων ὁ χαλκεύον τὸν πόδα χόλον τι εἶδον γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐχόραρασε δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος (*sic*) (fol. Iv).

I (= fols 1–45)

Wat.: *Deux coutelas en sautoir* similar to Briquet 5157 (1456–1459); see fols 3/8, 43/44.

Quir.: 1–4¹⁰, 5^{6-1(wants 6)}. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–ε') in the lower central margin of the first sheet, *reclamantes* on the last sheet, in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos.

Writ.: mm 25[200]60 × 45[100]60 *Lin.:* 34 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1b.

Cont.: 1r Plutarch, *Vita Homeri*.

Scr.: Iohannes Rhosos fols 1r–45v (Mioni); marginal annotations in the hand of <Ludovico da Ponte> (see fols 3v, 13r, 24r).

II (= fols 46–244)

Wat.: *Flèches* 6271 Briquet (Venice, ±1462); see fols 47/52, 183/188. *Balance* very similar to Briquet 2403 (±1458); see fols 49/50, 57/58, 97/98. *Monts* without correspondence; see fols 184/187, 191/195. *Monts* without correspondence; see 190/197, 231/236.

Quir.: 1–24⁸, 25^{8-1(wants 8)}. Numeration: Greek letters (α'–κε') in the lower outer margin of the first and the lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.

Writ.: c. mm [220] × [85] *Lin.:* 31 *Rul.:* similar to Sautel–Leroy 22D2.

- Cont.:* 46r Homer, *Odyssea* (with Andronikos Kallistos' *Hypotheseis*; see Chinnellato 2018).
- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos fols 46r–243v (Mioni); initials and red titles in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos (see *periochae* e.g. at fols 53r, 60r, 163v, 180r, 190r); corrections in an unknown hand (see fol. 209r); <Immanuel Rhousotas> fol. 244r (epigrams on the *Odyssey*; see Mioni).
- Cat.:* Mioni 1985a, 537–538.
- Bibl.:* Günther 1999, 334; Pontani 2011, 78, 378, 380–381, 439, 450, 500; Chinnellato 2018; *Diktyon*: 70082.

Wien

60. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hist. gr. 78

Paper *in-quarto* · Rome · 1466–1471 · mm 232 × 166 · fols II (parchment) + 106 (+67bis,96bis)+II' (numbered 107–108) [blanks 67bis, 96bis, 106].

- Poss.:* Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (?) and Domenico Grimani (see Jackson 1999); Iohannes Sambucus [see *ex libris* fol. 1r].
- Not.:* fol. IIr *pinax* (still referred to the previous state of the codex, now wanting the first nine quires, α'–θ').
- Wat.:* *Huchet* almost identical to the type 25 Harlfinger (Rome, Jan./Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos); see fols 5, 16, 28, 52, 72.
- Quir.:* 1–6¹⁰, 7¹⁰⁻² (no textual loss); 8–10¹⁰; 11¹⁰. Numeration: Greek letters (ι'–κα') in the lower inner margin of the first and the last sheet + Arabic numerals in the lower outer margin of the first and the last sheet, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos.
- Writ.:* mm 22[160]50 × 23[90]53 *Lin.:* 29 *Rul.:* Sautel–Leroy 20D1.
- Cont.:* 1r Georgios Gemistos Plethon, *Excerpta e Diodoro* (2,1,4 – 2,34,6) (inc.: τὸ παλαιὸν κατὰ...; expl.: εἰς πέρας μεταπεσεῖν; see Maltese 1984), 20v *Excerpta e Diodoro* (15,89,1 – 16,80) et *Plutarcho* (Ag. 33–36) (ed. Maltese 1989, 1–28), 42r *Excerpta e Diodoro* (16,14,1 – 16,91,3) (ed. Maltese 1989, 28–41), 52v *Excerpta ex Appiano* (*Hist. Syr.* 53–66, see Hunger 1961, 86); 68r [Themistius], *Paraphrasis in Arist. Parva naturalia* (68r in *De mem. et rem.*, 78r in *De som. et vig.*, 86r in *De insomniis*, 94r in *De div. per somn.*) (ed. Wendland 1903b); 97r Georgios Gemistos Plethon, *Excerpta ex Aeliano* (inc.: ὁ αἰτναῖος οὕτω λεγόμενος...; expl.: σαῦρα. σαλαμάνδρα; see Hunger 1961); 107r *Ilias* 1, 1–6 + six unknown verses.

- Scr.:* Andronikos Kallistos (Stefec 2014), with the exception of fol. 107r (unknown hand). Marginal annotations by an anonymous hand at fols 25v, 46r, 48v, 49r, 50r, 56r, 57v, 59v.
- Cat.:* Hunger 1961, 85–86.
- Bibl.:* Diller 1956, 40; Maltese 1984; Jackson 1999b, 4; Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 120–121; Jackson 2008, 165; Stefec 2014, 176; *Diktyon*: 70955.
- Rem.:* The manuscript is actually made of three contemporary codicological units (I = fols 1–67bis; II = fols 68–96bis; III = 97–106). These units bear paper with the same watermark (almost identical to *Huchet* 25 Harlfinger) and were produced in the same timespan.

6.2 Manuscripts provided with annotations or restorations by Andronikos Kallistos

Athos

61. Ἰερά Μονή Ἰβήρων, 161

Oriental paper, composite manuscript made of units dating from the 12th to the 14th cent., mm 254 × 182, fols III+204+III'. Composite manuscript, containing works by Euripides, Aeschylus, Theocritus, Dionysius Periegetes, Hesiod (with the commentary by Tzetzes), Pindar. *Codicological Units* = I (= fols 1–30) 13th cent.; II (= fols 31–85) 12th–13th cent.; III (= fols 86–106) 13th cent.; IV (= fols 107–119) 13th cent.; V (= fols 120–143) 13th cent.; VI (= fols 144–204) 14th cent. Probably owned by Baldassar Migliavacca and Giambattista Rasario; owned by Maximos Margunios (see fol. 1r the *ex libris* ἐκ τῶν Μαξίμου ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων).

Andronikos restored parts of fols 144–146 (identification by Agamemnon Tselikas [1976]; see now Tselikas 2004). In the hand of Kallistos are also two notes found in the upper margin of <fols 147r and 181r>.

- Cat.:* Lampros 1900, 41–42.
- Bibl.:* Gallavotti 1939; Turyn 1943, 120; Turyn 1957, 325; Irigoien 1952, 297; Tselikas 2004, 369–376; Taufer 2011; Bianconi 2018, 48; Franchi 2019; Tosi 2019; Bianconi 2019, 93–96; Ercoles and Franchi 2019; Orlandi 2019a, 130–132; *Diktyon*: 23758.

Berlin**62. Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 270**

Oriental paper, first half of the 13th cent., mm 254 × 174, fols I+128+II'. This manuscript contains most of the text of Galen's *De plac. Hipp. et Platonis*. Kept in the library of the Monastery of San Michele di Murano (Venice) (no. 132). Owned by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (?).

Three marginal annotations in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos> are found: see fols 31r, 52v, 73v (identification by Dieter Harlfinger, *privatim*). At fol. 31r (= *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* III 2,18), Andronikos wrote ὄρα ὅτι ὕστερος Πλουτάρχου Γαληνός, thus signalling that Galen lived at a later time than Plutarch.

Cat.: de Boor 1897, 231–232.

Bibl.: De Lacy 1978, 12–18; Wilson 1987, 57; Orlandi 2015, 273 (with further bibliography); Merolla 2010, 108–109; *Diktyon*: 9293.

63. Staatsbibliothek, lat. fol. 199

Parchment, mid-15th cent. (with the exception of fols 25–27, 156–158, 183–184, 192: 16th cent.), c. mm 290 × 205, fols 194. It is a witness to Suetonius' *Vitae*. Traces of a Greek handwriting similar to that of Francesco Filelfo at fols 9v, 109r.

<Andronikos Kallistos> corrected the spelling of the Greek word Ἐκατηβελέτης (*Nero* 39,2) at fol. 143v.

Cat.: —

Bibl.: Rollo 2020a, 116, 178–179.

64. Staatsbibliothek, lat. fol. 850

Paper, mid-15th cent., mm 340 × 218, fols 188. It is a witness to Suetonius' *Vitae*.

Andronikos Kallistos corrected some Greek passages and added throughout the manuscript marginal annotations. His corrections are akin to those found within Suetonius Vat. Chis. H.V.159 (see below). Kallistos' hand is found at fols 8r, 10r, 46v, 57v, 66v, 103v, 134v, 175r, 181r. Copious annotations are found in the margins, in the hand of Western scholarly hands.

Cat.: —

Bibl.: Rollo 2020a, 129–130, 144, 148, 159, 189.

Bologna**65. Biblioteca Universitaria, 2638 (4)**

Paper, 15th cent. (*ante* 1453), mm 206 × 141, fols I+117+I' [blanks 23–26]. A miscellany of grammatical works, this composite manuscript is made of three codicological units: I (= fols 1–37; Constantinople?); II (= fols 92, 38–43, 99, 44–91; Crete); III (= fols 93–98, 100–117). Copied by the so-called <*Anonymus β-π* Gamillscheg>. Formerly kept in the library of the convent of Canonici Regolari di San Salvatore.

<Andronikos Kallistos> is responsible for the addition of initials and titles in light-red ink at fols 44r, 48v, 50v–51r, 52v, 56r, 62r, 63r, 69r, 72r, 76r, 77rv, 79v, 81v, 83r, 84r, 92r.

Cat.: Missing in Olivieri and Festa 1895, the manuscript was included in the *supplementum* by Vittorio Puntoni (= 'Indicis codicum graecorum Bononiensium ab Alexandro Oliviero compositi supplementum', *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 4 [1896]: 365–378).

Bibl.: Degni 2015, 205; *Diktyon*: 9735.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://amshistorica.unibo.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

Cremona**66. Biblioteca Comunale, 130**

Paper, first half of the 14th cent. (with the exception of fols 1–9, 56, 57, 62–64: 15th cent.), mm 267 × 202, fols I+64+I'. This codex is a witness to the Byzantine Triad of Euripides (*Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*). The text of the *Hecuba* bears annotations in Greek and Latin in the hand of a Western scholar, who probably owned the manuscript (<Daniele Gaetani>, 1465–1528?).

Andronikos Kallistos restored fols 1–9, 56–57, 62–64 (but the illuminations are in the hand of <Iohannes Rhosos>.)

Cat.: Martini 1986, 299–301; Sorbelli 1939, 98.

Bibl.: Turyn 1957, 333; Günther 1999, 320, 333; Harlfinger 2000, 764–765 (with further bibliography); Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 334; *Diktyon*: 13187.

El Escorial (San Lorenzo de)**67. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, Σ.III.1**

Paper, Composite manuscript with units dating from the 15th to the 16th cent., mm 276 × 198 (with the exception of fols 71–71ab [mm 340 × 230] and fols 189–203 [mm 204 × 175]), fols IV+203(+71a–b, 203a). Units: I = fols 1–71 (Iamblichus, Theon of Smyrna; excerpts by Porphyry and Aelian; 16th cent.); II = fols 72–141 (Aelian; 16th cent.); III = fols 142–188 (autograph copy of Theodoros Gazes' *Problems*; epistles by Bessarion [see Mohler 1942] in the hand of Georgios Hermonymos; at fols 152r–185v is the autograph text of Bessarions' *In Calumniatorem Platonis*); IV = fols 189–203 (epistles by Bessarion and Plethon and *Diairesis on the science of physics* by Andronikos Kallistos [see *infra*, Appendix 3], in the hand of Antonios Eparchos). Owned by Francesco Patrizi (unit I), Antonios Eparchos (unit IV), and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (units II–III).

Andronikos carefully corrected the text of Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis* (earlier version of book III).

Cat.: Revilla 1936, I, 337–342.

Bibl.: Mohler 1942, 536–538; Labowsky 1979, 485, 509; Monfasani 1992; Eleuteri and Cuna in Fiaccadori 1994, 459; Speranzi 2012, 336–337; Mariev 2013, 369–370; Martínez Manzano 2015b, 122–125; Martínez Manzano 2016b, 258–262, 265; Speranzi 2018, 194; Martínez Manzano 2018, 380–381 and Plate 8.; Cattaneo 2020b, XXXVI; Martinelli Tempesta 2020a 184–185, 191, 237; Cronier 2021, 100, 106; *Diktyon*: 15371.

Firenze**68. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 32.46**

Paper, Florence, c. 1471–1474, mm 236 × 172, fol. II+1+77 [blanks 75–76]. It contains Theocritus' *Idylls* I–XVIII and *Syrinx*, and Dosiadas' *Ara*. Copied by Iohannes Skutariotes. Owned and annotated by Angelo Poliziano (see *ex libris* fol. 1r).

Marginal annotation in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos> at fol. 72r.

Cat.: Bandini 1768–1770, vol. 2, cols 205–206.

Bibl.: Martinelli Tempesta 2012, 526–534 (with detailed description); Speranzi 2016b, 57; Chinellato 2018, 84; *Diktyon*: 16310.

Rem.: Digitized at <<http://mss.bmlonline.it>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

69. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 58.1

Paper, Mantua/Ferrara, c. 1440–1450 (with the exception of fols 17–27: second half of the 16th cent. = restoration by Francesco Zanetti), mm 299 × 242, fols I+114. This codex contains the *Onomasticon* of Iulius Pollux. Partially in the hand of the famous 'Scriba G' (*alias* Gian Pietro da Lucca; see Speranzi 2005).

Marginal annotations in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos> at fols 98rv, 99v, 100v.

Cat.: Bandini 1768–1770, vol. 2, cols 437–438.

Bibl.: Bethé 1895, 342; Bethé 1900, XII; Eleuteri 1991, 171; Speranzi 2005, 473, 475; Daneloni 2005, 176–178; Speranzi 2015b, 288; Martinelli Tempesta and Speranzi 2018, 206; *Diktyon*: 16422.

Rem.: Digitized at <<http://mss.bmlonline.it>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

70. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 66.31

Paper, Florence 1471–1474, mm 218 × 147, fols III+434. This codex is a notebook containing class notes on Homer, Demosthenes, and Theocritus by the hand of a pupil of Kallistos.

Andronikos wrote down at the bottom of fol. 180v the well-known epigram for Midas' grave (= *Anth. Pal.* VII 153). The identification of the hand and further remarks are found in Orlandi 2014a; *Diktyon*: 16527.

Cat.: Bandini 1768–1770, vol. 2, col. 804.

Bibl.: Silvano 2011; Orlandi 2014a (with further bibliography).

Rem.: Digitized at <<http://mss.bmlonline.it>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

71. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 72.20

Paper, 13th–14th cent., mm 223 × 148, fols II+183+II'. This codex contains Philoponos' commentary on Aristotle's *Analytica*. The order of the folios is partially upset.

Andronikos wrote down at the bottom of fol. 182v εἰ καὶ γέγραπται μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέκατον, ἀλλοῦν λείπει μετὰξὺ τούτου καὶ τοῦ δεκάτου φύλλα, thus signalling a *lacuna* after the fols numbered (in my opinion, by himself) <α'–η'>. The identification of Kallistos' hand is by Dieter Harlfinger. I would ascribe to <Andronikos> also the Greek letters in the upper central margin of fols 175v, 176r, 177r, 178r, 179r, 180r, 181r, 182rv, 183r.

Cat.: Bandini 1768–1770, vol. 3, col. 37; *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 253–254.

Bibl.: *Diktyon*: 16649.

Rem.: See a description at <<http://cagb-db.bbaw.de/handschriften>>. Digitized at <<http://mss.bmlonline.it>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

72. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 85.21

Oriental paper, second half of the 12th cent., mm 321 × 238, fols I+239+I'. This manuscript contains Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle' *De anima*. Probably owned by Angelo Poliziano (see Speranzi 2016b).

The manuscript endured a codicological restoration by Kallistos and (at a later time) by Francesco Zanetti (see fols 210–224). I would ascribe to Kallistos' hand also some signs applied in the first part of the codex, thus re-ordering some passages of the text (see fols 8v–9r, 10v–11r, 12v–13r, 13v–14r). Something similar is found in Vat. gr. 1324.

Cat.: Bandini 1768–1770, vol. 3, cols 278–279.

Bibl.: Speranzi 2016b, 59–64 (with further bibliography); Steel 2019; *Diktyon*: 16781.

Rem.: Digitized at <<http://mss.bmlonline.it>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

73. Biblioteca Riccardiana, 46

Oriental paper, 12th cent., mm 230 × 168, fols 112. This manuscript contains Aristotle' *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Poetics*. Some marginal annotations are in the hand of *Anonymus* 51 Harlfinger.

Andronikos added corrections at fol. 35rv (identification by Martinelli Tempesta).

Cat.: *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 359–360.

Bibl.: Baldi 2011; Martinelli Tempesta 2016a, 224–226 (with further bibliography); Orlandi 2020c, 470, 480–481; *Diktyon*: 17046.

København**74. Kongelige Bibliotek, GkS 1570,4°**

Paper *in quarto*, Florence, 1465–1474, mm 197 × 136, fols II+74. Copied by Iohannes Skutariotes from Laur. 69.22 (which is a manuscript owned by Niccolò Niccoli [1365–1437] and kept in the library at the Dominican convent of San Marco). The codex contains Flavius Josephus' *Contra Apionem*.

Kallistos added in the outer margin of fols 59r, 69rv some lines of text overlooked by Skutariotes while copying (the identification of Andronikos' hand is by Bjarne Schartau). More interesting is the annotation at 49r (σκόπει ἐνταῦθα· οὐκ ὀλίγον γὰρ τοῦ κειμένου δοκεῖ λείπειν, ἂν ἀκριβέστερον προσέχειν ἐθελήσης τῇ ἱστορίᾳ), which points out a substantial loss of text at *Contra Apionem* 2,51.

Cat.: Schartau 1994, 125–126.

Bibl.: Smith 1992, 222; Siegert 2008; *Diktyon*: 37171.

Leipzig

75. Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 33

Paper, first half of the 14th cent., mm 230 × 150, fols 33. It contains Hesiod's *Works and Days* (with Moschopulean scholia). Owned by Francesco Birago (1562–c. 1645).

Andronikos reported at fol. 33r the scholia on verses 826–828 (identification by R. S. Stefec). Kallistos provided the quires with a numeration in Greek letters (ι'–ιδ') + Arabic numerals (10–14), as he usually did with books belonging to his collection. This may lead to the conclusion that Lips. gr. 33, as well as its first part (= Lips. gr. 34), also belonged to his library.

Cat.: Gardthausen 1898, 40–42.

Bibl.: Stefec 2014, 176; *Diktyon*: 38348.

Rem.: A detailed description is found at <<http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

76. Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 34

Paper, first half of the 14th cent., mm 230 × 150, fols I(parchment)+64. It contains Pindar's *Olympians* with scholia (Moschopulean edition) and Theocritus' *Idylls* (up to 8,68 ὄκκα πάλιν ἄδε φύηται) (with Moschopulean scholia). Owned by Francesco Birago (1562–c. 1645).

Andronikos replaced fols 34 and 39 (ident. by Stefec), thus reinstating missing portions of text: Pind. *Olymp.* 12,14 [συγγόνω παρ' ἐστία] – 13,23 [οὐλίαις αἰχμαῖσιν ἀνδρῶν] (fol. 34rv) and 14,20 [σεῦ ἔκατι] – 14,24 [πτεροῖσι χαίταν = end] (fol. 39r). Kallistos provided the quires with a numeration in Greek letters (α'–η') + Arabic numerals (1–8), as he mostly did with books belonging to his private collection. This may lead to the conclusion that Lips. gr. 34 and its second part (= Lips. gr. 33), also belonged to the collection. Since the numeration of Lips. gr. 33 starts with ι' (= 10), it is clear that Lips. gr. 34+33 today lacks quire θ' (= 9), where more of Theocritus' text was originally found.

Cat.: Gardthausen 1898, 42–44.

Bibl.: Irigoin, 286; Stefec 2014, 176; *Diktyon*: 38349.

Rem.: Digitized at <https://digital.ub.uni-leipzig.de/> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

London

77. British Library, Burney 109

Paper, Florence, mid-15th cent., mm 295 × 200, fols III+165. It contains works by Theocritus, Hesiod, Pindar, Aratus. Entirely copied by a Western hand. Marginal annotations in the hand of *Anonymus* 51 Harlfinger. Owned by Cardinal Giovanni Salviati (see his *ex libris* at fol. 1r); purchased in 18th cent. by Charles Towneley.

Andronikos collated the text of Theocritus, thus adding interlinear and marginal notes up to fo. 24v (as already signalled in *RGK*). One shall ascribe to his hand also some *marginalia* at Pindar's *Hymns* (see fols 72v, 76r and 93rv).

Cat.: *RGK* I 18; *British Library* 1999, 67.

Bibl.: Irigoien 1952, 395, 435; Centanni 1984–1985; Cataldi Palau 1995, 76, 83, 91; Orlandi 2014a, 38; Orlandi 2020c, 472–474, 481; Cardinali 2020a, 478; *Diktyon*: 39372.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

Milano

78. Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 78 inf. (gr. 922)

Oriental paper (with the exception of fols I–IV, 33–38, I': paper), 13th cent. (with the exception of fols 33–38: second half of the 15th cent.), mm 254 × 175, fols IV+146+I'. It contains: David's *Prolegomena* and commentary on Porphyry's *Introduction*; Ammonius' commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*. Owned by Baldassar Migliavacca and Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (see his *ex libris* at fol. IVv).

This manuscript endured the restoration of fols 33–38 (= *Vita Aristotelis* and incipit of Ammonius' commentary), carried out by Baldassar Migliavacca. To Andronikos himself one shall ascribe only the indication of content Ἀμμονίου περὶ ἐρμηνείας applied in the upper central margin of fol. 39r (see Orlandi 2014b). The manuscript was likely restored in the framework of Andronikos' school.

Cat.: Martini and Bassi 1906, II, 1029–1030; Wartelle 1963, 73.

Bibl.: Harlfinger 1971, 413; De Gregorio and Eleuteri 1993, 151; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 133; Orlandi 2014b, 156–158, 161, 168, 174, 187–191; Orlandi 2019a, 125 n. 9; Orlandi 2020c, 458 n. 21; *Diktyon*: 42563.

Rem.: See a full description at <<http://cagb-db.bbaw.de/>>.

79. Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 99 sup. (gr. 306)

Paper, 14th cent., mm 255 × 277, fols III+187+III'. This manuscript contains Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*. Owned by Ottaviano Ferrari and Cesare Rovida.

Marginalia in the hand of Kallistos are found throughout the codex. The identification of his writing is by Stefano Martinelli Tempesta.

Cat.: Martini and Bassi 1906, I, 349–350.

Bibl.: Kalbfleisch 1907, VI–VII, XII; Pasini 2004, 335–336; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 108, 133, 136; *Diktyon*: 42716.

Modena**80. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α P.5.20 (gr. 109)**

Paper, 1295–1302, mm 280 × 215, fols II(numb. '1–2') + 80. This manuscript is made of two codicological units: I (= fols 1–68); II (= fols 69–82). It contains: Pseudo-Alexander's and Cassius' *Problemata*; Galen's *Ad Glauco. de meth. med.* (up to XI 136,13–14 Kühn), *De sectis*, *De opt. corp. const.*, *De bono habitu* and *De inaequ. intemp.* Owned by Pietro d'Abano (see Pietrobelli 2017), Giorgio Valla (see *ex libris* at fol. 1v and 2r and some *notabilia* and annotations in his hand [e.g. fols 17r, 46r, 47v–48v, 73r]) and Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi (see *ex libris* at fol. 1v *ex libris*, in the hand of Markos Musuros).

Corrections of Andronikos Kallistos are found at fols 1r, 16r (identification by Dieter Harlfinger).

Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 453–454, Wartelle 1963, 76.

Bibl.: Harlfinger 1971, 413, 417; Gamillscheg 1978, 231–232; Centanni 1984–1985, 210; Garzya and Masullo 2004, 15; Kapetanaki and Sharples 2006, 36–38; García Novo 2010, 21; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67; Pietrobelli 2017; *Diktyon*: 43360.

Rem.: Pietrobelli newly distinguished four scribes (thus correcting Puntoni 1896, who had counted two hands): '1' fols 3r–68v [with the exception of fol. 63v, which is a later addition]; '2' fols 69r–70r; '3' fols 70v–78r lin. 11; '4' fols 78r lin. 12–82v. Digitized at <<https://edl.cultura.gov.it/>> (accessed on 23 March 2023).

81. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α T.8.3 (gr. 100)

Paper, second quarter of the 15th cent. (unit I) / 1458 (unit II), mm 296 × 215, fols 97. This manuscript is made of two codicological units: I (= fols 5–63, Demetrius Phaleraeus and Aristotle's *Poetics*, copied by Gerardos of Patras); II (= fols 64–76, Plutarch's *Vita Artaxerxi*, copied by Demetrios Xanthopoulos). Owned by Giorgio Valla (see *ex libris* at fol. 61v and some annotations in

his hand e.g. fols 1v–4r, 40v, 44r, 62r–63r) and Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi. Annotations in the hand of Markos Musuros (see Speranzi 2013a).

Andronikos wrote down a *notabile* on fol. 46r (at Arist., *Poetica* 1451a 16): τίς ἐστὶν ὁ κυρίως εἰς μῦθος, thus signalling the topic of this passage, and added the title *περὶ ἐποποιίας* at fol. 57r in red ink. Kallistos collated this manuscript before copying the text of Aristotle's *Poetics* in 'his' Par. gr. 2038.

Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 449–450; Wartelle 1963, 76.

Bibl.: Lobel 1933, 3–4, 8–9, 24–25, 46; Harlfinger 1971, 411, 413, 418; Harlfinger 1974, no. 43 and 44–46; Centanni 1986; De Keyser and Speranzi 2011, 194–195; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67, 261, 275–276; Ferreri 2014, 346, 529–531; Martinelli Tempesta 2016a, 228–229; *Diktyon*: 43414.

82. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α T.8.20 (gr. 141)

Paper (with the exception of fol. 1: parchment), Florence, 1465–1475, mm 289 × 200, fols 107. This manuscript contains works by Iohannes Aktuarios. Copied by Iohannes Skutariotes, probably for Andronikos Kallistos (consider also the ruling scheme Sautel–Leroy 20D1, 29 lines per page, and the quire numeration with Greek letters + Arabic numerals, in hand of Kallistos).

Marginal and interlinear annotations in the hand of Andronikos are found throughout the codex (identification by Gamillscheg 1978).

Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 474.

Bibl.: Gamillscheg 1978, 232, 240–241; Centanni 1984–1985, 212; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67; *Diktyon*: 43431.

83. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α U.9.3 (gr. 54)

Paper, mid-15 cent., mm 220 × 145, fols I+140+I' [blanks 111–112, 133–140]. This manuscript contains: Plutarch's *Apophthegmata Laconica*, epistles by Diogenes, Crates, Chion, Pythagoras, Euripides, Anacharsis, Apollonius of Tyana and Hippocrates. Copied by an anonymous scribe (fols 1r–110v; the identification with Georgios Gregoropulos by Harlfinger 1971 and Gamillscheg 1978 is in this case not convincing) and Iohannes Rhosos (fols 113r–132r). Owned by Giorgio Valla and Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi (see both *ex libris* at fol. 137r).

Andronikos added marginal annotations and corrected some passages of Plutarch's text (see fols 10r, 11v, 12r, 18r). Pythagoras's epistle to Hieron was apparently copied by Kallistos on the blank space of fol. 119v at a later time, at any rate not at the time of the production of the manuscript. The analysis of the writing suggests the years 1471–1474 (Florence). The identification of Kallistos' hand is by Dieter Harlfinger.

Cat.: Puntoni 1896, 419–420.

- Bibl.:* Mercati 1938, 212; Harlfinger 1971, 411, 413, 415, 417; Gamillscheg 1978, 232, 237; Centanni 1984–1985, 213; Sicherl 1997, 203–219, 257–258; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67; *Diktyon*: 43470.
- Rem.:* Giovanni Mercati first suggested that Mutin. α U.9.18 and Mutin. α U.9.3 originally formed one volume, referred to as a single item (no. 74) in the inventory of Pio's library. The numeration of the quires of this volume (= ια'–κζ') follows that of Mutin α U.9.18 (= α'–ι').

84. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α U.9.10 (gr. 59)

Paper, 14th cent. (with the exception of fols 2r–25v, 95r–102v, 191r–215r: 15th cent., c. 1445–1453), mm 212 × 140, fols I+145. Maybe acquired by Kallistos in Thessaloniki; see at fol. 189v the note ἐπὶ ἔτους ς,ζλη' μ(η)νὶ μαρτίῳ εἰς τὰς καθ' ἡμέρα δ' παρέλ(α)βε Εἰσμασιλὴ τὴν μ(εγά)λ(ην) πόλ(ιν) Θεσσαλονίκη ('In the year 6938 [= 1430], on Wednesday 29 March, Ismael conquered the large city of Thessaloniki'). Owned by Giorgio Valla (see his *ex libris* strikethrough at fols 1v and 215v) and Alberto Pio di Carpi (fol. 1v, in the hand of Markos Musuros). This codex contains a collection of rhetorical works (see Puntoni 1896, 424–425).

Andronikos restored fols 2–25, 95–102, 191–215 of the codex before his arrival in Italy, probably in Crete. At a later time Kallistos added some marginal annotations.

- Cat.:* Puntoni 1896, 424–425.
- Bibl.:* Rabe 1931; Harlfinger 1974, nos 44–46; Gamillscheg 1978, 232; Centanni 1984–1985, 213; Avezzù 1989–1990, 85; Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67, 367; Ferreri 2014, 462, 554; *Diktyon*: 43477.
- Rem.:* Annotations in the hand of Markos Musuros at fols 14v, 49v, 52r (first identification in Speranzi 2013a, 367). Fol. 1r (last two lines): annotation in the hand of <Emmanuel Zacharides?>.

85. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α W.2.1 (gr. 69)

Oriental paper (with the exception of fols 1–2: western paper), second half of the 12th cent., mm 250 × 193, fols I+199+I'. This exemplar is *codex unicus* for Olympiodorus' *Prolegomena* to Aristotle's *Logica*; it also contains Porphyry's commentary on the *Categories*.

Andronikos replaced the first two leaves after copying the text from the original ones, these being in bad condition and no more readable. This restoration was performed in Italy and not in Byzantium.

- Cat.:* Puntoni 1986, 431; Wartelle 1963, 75.
- Bibl.:* Harlfinger 1974, nos 44–46; Gamillscheg 1978, 232; Centanni 1984–1985, 215; De Gregorio 1993, 138–139; *Diktyon*: 43525.

Moskva**86. Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Sinod. gr. 370 (Vlad. 504)**

Paper (with the exception of fols 1 and III': parchment), 14th cent. (with the exception of fols 2–4: 1456–1466), mm 239 × 150, fols III+1+136(-91–99, no textual loss)+III'. The codex contains Sophocles' Byzantine triad (*Ajax*, *Electra* and *Oedipus the King*). Owned by Baldassar Migliavacca, Giambattista Rasario, Maximos Margunios (see their *ex libris* at fols IIIv, 1r and II'v). Kept in the library of Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων (Mount Athos) until the 17th cent.

Andronikos replaced the first three leaves (*Vita Sophoclis* and *Ajax's argumentum*) and restored small parts of many leaves where the text was not readable (see e.g. fols 73v, 77r, 84r, 90v, 101rv, 113r, 120r, 125r). Furthermore, marginal annotations in his hand are found throughout the codex (identification by Fonkič 1981).

Cat.: Vladimir 1894, 723; Fonkič 1981, 124; Fonkič and Poljakov 1993, 160–161.

Bibl.: Turyn 1952, 192–193; Orlandi 2014b, 142, 144, 147–151, 158, 186–187, 189 (with further bibliography); *Diktyon*: 43995.

Rem.: The first leaves bear evidence to the watermark *Couronne* (see Gamillscheg 1978, 243; same drawing in Ashb. 1599, Mutin. α Q.5.20, α T.9.1, α T.9.2, α T.9.14, etc.).

München**87. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 332**

Parchment, Florence, c. 1471–1474, mm 239 × 164, fols I+102+I'. This manuscript contains Aristotle's *Politics*. Copied by Iohannes Skutariotes. Marginal annotations throughout the codex in the hand of the *Anonymus* 51 Harlfinger (probably the owner of the book).

Kallistos corrected the first book of the work (see fols 2rv, 9r, 10r); in most cases are found *sauts du même au même* due to inaccuracy of the scribe (Skutariotes).

Cat.: Wartelle 1963, 83; Molin Pradel and Hajdú 2019.

Bibl.: Harlfinger 1971, 413, 416; Centanni 1984–1985, 215; Orlandi 2020c, 468–469, 480–481; Cardinali 2020a, 476, 489; *Diktyon*: 44780.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

Napoli

88. Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III”, II.D.9

Paper, Rome?, 1466–1471, mm 210 × 155, fols V+157 (blanls 19–20, 157). This codex is a witness to the text of Gazes' *Grammatica*. Copied by Georgios Hermonymos (ident. by Stefec) and <Georgios Tribizias>. Annotated by <Andronikos Kallistos>, <Alexios Keladenos>, <Theodoros Gazes>, <Anonymus 14 Harlfinger>. Probably owned by <Harmonios of Athens>.

<Andronikos> added some *marginalia* (fols 3v, 10r, 11v, 12v, 14r, 15rv, 18v), thus correcting the text and filling in some *lacunae*.

Cat.: Formentin 1995, 13.

Bibl.: Stefec 2014, 180; Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 249; Orlandi 2021b, 181 n. 5; *Diktyon*: 46093.

Oxford

89. Bodleian Library, Barocci 76

Paper, Crete, second half of the 15th cent., mm 210 × 140, fols 437. It transmits theological and grammatical treatises and extracts. Composite manuscript made of codicological units in the hand of scribes working in Crete (such as Michael Apostoles, the so-called *Anonymus* MA Stefec, Michael Lygizos, <*Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg>, <Anonymous scribe of Par. Suppl. gr. 541, fol. 201v>). It contains also the famous *Desideraten-Liste* in the hand of Konstantinos Laskaris (see Martínez Manzano 1994 and Martínez Manzano 1998). Some fols are in the hand of <*Anonymus* 27 Harlfinger> (see Orlandi 2023).

Andronikos is responsible for the addition of initials and titles in red ink: chapter identifier <περὶ λόγου> and initial *epsilon* in the word <ἐ>πειδὴ at fol. 363r; chapter identifier <περὶ ὀνόματος>, initial *tau* in the word <τ>ῶν and a diagram τῶν ὀνομάτων (placed in the outer margin) at fol. 364r; initial *iota* in the word <ἰ>στέον, chapter identifiers <περὶ πατρωνυμικῶν> and <περὶ κτητικῶν> at fol. 365v.

Cat.: Coxe 1853, cols 129–138.

Bibl.: Martínez Manzano 1994, 263ff.; Martínez Manzano 1998, 42, 55–63; De Gregorio 2000, 360–362; Stefec 2009, 136–138; Stefec 2012d, 508; Stefec 2014, 197; Stefec 2015, 403; Orlandi 2023 (forthcoming); *Diktyon*: 47363.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

90. Bodleian Library, Holkham Hall gr. 71 (103)

Paper (with the exception of fol. 1: parchment), second half of the 13th cent.–14th cent., mm 172 × 123, fols II+352. It contains works by Nikephoros Blemmydes, Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Categoriae* + *De interpretatione*. Owned by Giorgio Valla, Alberto III Pio Lord of Carpi and Claudio Betti of Bologna (1520–1589) (see his *ex libris* on fol. 1r).

Andronikos Kallistos restored this book in Crete by replacing some fols (107–114, 127–139, 147–149, 151–157). Aubrey Diller is credited with the identification of Kallistos' writing. The drawings at fol. 157rv are not the work of Kallistos. They have likely been applied by the hand of an anonymous Cretan scribe.

Cat.: Wartelle 1963, 93; *RGK* I 18.

Bibl.: Barbour 1961, 591, 605; Diller 1967, 408; Mioni 1976, 298; Munitiz 1984, XI–XVIII; Centanni 1984–1985, 216; Avezzù 1989–1990, 86; Gielen 2016, XXXIV–XXXVI; Valente 2021, in part. 37–48; *Diktyon*: 48139.

Paris**91. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1811**

Paper, 14th cent., mm 323 × 222, fols 335(+110bis+101–109bis+110ter+181–187bis). This codex contains Plato's *Dialogs*. Maybe owned by Manuel Chrysoloras and Palla Strozzi. Owned by Carlo Valgوليو and Gian Francesco d'Asola. Marginal annotations in the hand of Francesco Filelfo.

Marginal annotations (mainly reinstatements of passages omitted due to *sauts du même au même*) in the hand of Kallistos are found at fols 69v, 70v, 72r, 73r, 101v–102v, 110bisv, 104bisr, 105bisr, 113r, 174r, 214v, 264v, 302v, 327r. The identification of Andronikos' hand has been recorded for the first time in *RGK* II 25.

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, II 147; *RGK* II 25

Bibl.: Brockmann 1992, 27, 178–184; Martinelli Tempesta 1997; Cataldi Palau 1998, 505–506; Rollo 2002a, 56, 65–66, 68; Gentile 2002, 157, 173; Bianconi 2005b, in part. 162–163, 165–169; Martinelli Tempesta 2009, 75, 101–102, 104; Vancamp 2010, 30–31, 95; Orlandi 2014a, 168–169; Manfrin and Speranzi 2019, 28, 32, 35, 40; Martínez Manzano 2021, 279, 300–301, 320–321, 324 (with further bibliography); *Diktyon*: 51437.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

92. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1852

Paper, second quarter of the 15th cent., mm 247 × 174, fols II+142. The manuscript contains Aristotle's *De anima* and *Ethica Nicomachea*. Copied by Iohannes Chionopulos (RGK I 190 = II 251 = III 314). *Marginalia* in the hand of Palla Strozzi (e.g. fol. 113r); corrections, restorations and marginal annotations in the hand of Francesco Barbaro and Raffaele Regio (ident. by Rollo). Probably owned by Palla Strozzi, then by Niccolò Ridolfi and Caterina de' Medici.

Andronikos wrote down on fol. 126r *λείπει τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὀγδόου καὶ τὸ ἕνατον ὄλον*, thus signalling a substantial *lacuna* within the text of the *Ethica Nicomachea* between 1161b 7 and 1171b 34 Bekker. The identification of Kallistos' hand is found in Harlfinger 1971.

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, II, 153; Wartelle 1963, 98.

Bibl.: Harlfinger 1971, 413, 416; Centanni 1984–1985, 216; Sosower 1986, 141; De Gregorio 2002, 74–75, 82, 111–112; Rollo 2002a, 63; Muratore 2009, II, 70; Stefec 2012a, 41; Rollo 2020b; 256 n. 35; *Diktyon*: 51478.

Rem.: A detailed description is available at <<https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr>> (Groisard). Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

93. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1890

Paper, second quarter of the 15th cent. (original section) / 1457–1462 (restoration), mm 277 × 198, fols III+135(–91)+III'. This codex contains Themistius' *Paraphrasis* on Aristotle's *Physics*. Copied partially by Gerardos of Patras (fols 1r–2v, 5r–67r).

The codex originally manufactured by Gerardos (RGK II 107) was uncompleted. Andronikos restored it (both codicologically and textually) in collaboration with an anonymous scribe, by filling in some blank spaces and replacing some leaves. To Kallistos' hand have been already ascribed in RGK II 25 some fols (= 3r–4v, 67v–69r). Hereby a detailed description of his intervention: <fols 3r–4v, 67v–69r lin. 25, 126v–127r lin. 11, 131r lin. 9–131v lin. 5, 132v lin. 1–15 and titles>. The analysis of watermarks (*Griffon 9* Harlfinger [Udine/Venice, around 1460] is found e.g. at fol. 135 [folded *in folio*]; see for this also Sicherl 1993) suggests that the restoration was carried out by Kallistos c. 1457–1462, probably at the time of his stay in Padua or Ferrara.

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, II, 159; Wartelle 1963, 101; RGK II 25.

Bibl.: Sicherl 1993, 18–20, 24–26; *Diktyon*: 51516.

Rem.: A detailed description is available at <<https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr>> (Groisard). Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

94. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1908

Paper, 1441, mm 337 × 240, fols V+214+VI'. It contains the first part of Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* (the rest is found in Par. gr. 1906 and 1909). Copied by Iohannes Argyropoulos (1r–21v, 29r–80r, 81r–214r; identification by Diller 1967) and restored by Palla Strozzi (see fols 22r–28v, 80v). Marginal notes in the hand of Niccolò Leonicensino. Owned by Palla Strozzi; then the book was kept in the library of the Monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua.

Andronikos Kallistos wrote at fol. 213v a record (not a *subscriptio!*), thus remembering that the manuscript was copied by Iohannes Argyropoulos at the time of his doctoral studies in Padua.

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, II, 161; Wartelle 1963, 102; *RGK* II 212, 454.

Bibl.: Diller 1967, 406–409; Harlfinger 1971, 116–117; Mioni 1976, 299; Centanni 1984–1985, 216; Sosower 1986, 141; Mugnai Carrara 1991; Todd 1994, 71; Rashed 2001, 228–229, Muratore 2009; *Diktyon*: 51535.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

95. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2772

Paper, 14th cent., mm 198 × 150, fols I–IV('A–D')+165. It contains works by Hesiod (with scholia) and the *Orbis descriptio* by Dion. Perieg. Copied by Iohannes (*RGK* II 273). Owned by Guarino da Verona (*ex libris* at fols 'C'r, 165v) and later by *Anonymus* 51 Harlfinger (marginal and interlinear annotations in his hand are at fols 72v, 86r, 88v, 92r–94v, 95v–96r, 97v–103v, 157v–158r, 164r).

Marginal annotations in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos at fols 129r, 138v, 150r, 161rv, 162r.

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, III, 38; *RGK* II 273.

Bibl.: Diller 1961; Bandini 1994; Rollo 2005, 21–22; Bandini 2008, 260 n. 1; Muratore 2009, II, in part. 131–132; Orlandi 2020c, 479–481; *Diktyon*: 52408.

Rem.: A detailed description by Morgane Cariou (2013) is available at <<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/>>. The codex is digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

96. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2998

Oriental paper, 13th cent., mm 258 × 174, fols III+389. A well-known miscellany of works by Demosthenes, Aeschines, Plato (*Timaeus*), Libanius, Themistius, Synesius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great. Partially handwritten by the patriarch Gregorios II of Cyprus (*RGK* II 99) and Manuel (*RGK* II 354). Marginal annotations are in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos and Baldassar Migliavacca (see Orlandi 2014b). Here is a more detailed account about Migliavacca: fols 27r, 28r, 29r–30r, 31v–32r, 33r, 34r, 35v, 40v, 41v, 43v–44r, 45rv, 102v, 173r–174r, 181r, 182r, 183v–184r, 185rv, 211r. Owned by Baldassar Migliavacca and then by Iohannes Abramios, Frédéric Morel (1552–1630) (see his *ex libris* at fol. 289v) and by Étienne Baluze (1630–1718).

Marginal annotations in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos throughout the codex (mainly for the collation of Demosthenes' *Orations*).

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, III, 85–86.

Bibl.: Mondrain 2014, 205–206; Orlandi 2014b, 164–165 (with further bibliography); Manfrin and Speranzi 2019, 34; Settecase 2021; *Diktyon*: 52642.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

97. Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 3011

Paper, 14th cent. (with the exception of fols 1–4, 263–334: restored in the 15th cent.), mm 234 × 178, fols IV+334. Owned by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Domenico Grimani and Jean Hurault de Boistaillé. The manuscript contains Lucian's works and Libanius' speech *Pro Salvatoribus* (fols 60r–69v); for a more detailed account of the contents see Omont 1886–1888, 90–91.

In collaboration with <Iohannes Rhosos>, Andronikos restored the codex (fols 1–4, 256–262 [outer sections of the leaves] and 263–334). The restoration carried out by Kallistos is on paper watermarked *Griffon* (drawing similar to the type 12 Harlfinger; see e.g. fols 266/267, 306/307), located in Veneto around the early 1460s.

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, III, 90–91; *RGK* II 25

Bibl.: Bompaire 1993, 2, 12, 27–28; Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 147; Jackson 2004, 232; de Conihout 2007; Jackson 2008, 165; Stefec 2012b, 142; *Diktyon*: 52656.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

98. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. gr. 255

Parchment, 11th cent., mm 270 × 195, fols I+292. Codex 'A' of Thucydides' manuscript tradition. Marginal annotations in the hand of Theodoros Metochites (see e.g. fols 172v, 180r, 248v, 264v). Kept in Venice at the Monastery of Saint John and Paul (San Zanipolo).

'Correzioni bilaterali' in the hand of Kallistos at fols 248v, 264v, 267v (see Alberti 1967, who identified the scribe with 'George the Cretan A').

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, III, 239.

Bibl.: Alberti 1967, 13–18 (with further bibliography); Jackson 2011, 9, 54, 67, 71; Lauritzen 2018; *Diktyon*: 53019.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

99. Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17542

Parchment, Padua, 1457, mm 326 × 228, fols I+135+II'. This codex, containing the Latin version of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, has been manufactured by the calligrapher Bartolomeo Sanvito (1433–1511) in Padua at the house of Nofri di Palla Strozzi for René of Anjou (king of Naples, 1409–1480).

Andronikos Kallistos added the *graeca* at fol. 19r.

Cat.: Delisle 1868, I, 431; Kristeller III 266.

Bibl.: Gentile 1992, 293–296; Speranzi 2016a, 213–214; Gentile 2019, 211, 220, 231–232.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023). Further information at <<http://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/>>.

100. Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4453 (3)

Paper, first decades of the 14th cent., mm 216 × 142, 386 pages (actually 193 fols = each page has been numbered both on the *recto* and on the *verso*). Copied partially by Demetrios Triklinios (see pages 1–346 [with the exception of <page 155>] = identification in *RGK* II 136); pages 347–378 (= quires κδ'–κε') are the work of another anonymous scribe; finally, Nikolaos Triklines is responsible for pages 379–386 (identification by Daniele Bianconi). This manuscript, which mainly contains Synesius' speeches accompanied by some other brief works (see a description by Omont 1886–1888, III, 347), belonged to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), Domenico Grimani (1461–1523), André Hurault de Maisse (1539–1607), Théodore de Berziau (1599–1623) and André de Berziau (1620–1696).

Andronikos Kallistos added copious marginal and interlinear annotations to the text of Synesius' *De insomniis* (see pages 143–158). Furthermore, he retraced the lines in the upper outer margin at pages 129 (lin. 1), 131 (lin. 1–3), 133 (lin. 1), 137 (lin. 1–2), 139 (lin. 1–2), 169 (lin. 1–2), 171 (lin. 1–4), 172 (lin. 1–4), 173 (lin. 1–4), 203 (lin. 3–5), 206 (lin. 1–2), 213 (lin. 2–4), whose ink was almost completely faded.

Cat.: Omont 1886–1888, III, 347; *RGK* II 25.

Bibl.: Förstel 2000, 58–59; Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 141, 144; Bianconi 2005b, 106, 180, 249; de Conihout 2007, 124; Jackson 2008, 167; Bianconi 2015, 50–52, 64–65, 67, 72; *Diktyon*: 49122.

Perugia

101. Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, H 19

Paper, mid-15th cent., mm 199 × 150, fols I+72+I'. It contains Oppian's *Cynegetica*. I hereby identify the main scribe with a certain <Antonios> (= *RGK* III 45). Owned by <Carlo Valgوليو> (see Par. gr. 1811).

I hereby ascribe to <Andronikos> the title in red ink at <fol. 2r> (see *supra*, § 5.2.3.3 and plate no. XXI in Proietti 2016).

Cat.: Proietti 2016, 158–160.

Bibl.: *Diktyon*: 74503.

Rem.: The manuscript was long considered lost, hence it is missing in earlier library catalogues (Allen and Mioni).

Salamanca

102. Biblioteca Universitaria, 230

Paper, Bologna / Ferrara / Padua, c. 1456–1466, mm 238 × 160, fols I+186+I'. Composite manuscripts, made of four codicological units: I (= fols 1–52; Aesop), in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos; II (= fols 53–123; Theocritus), in the hand of Matthaios Sebastos Lampudes; III (= fols 124–174; *Arg. Orph.*) and IV (= fols 175–186; [Hom.] *Batrach.*), in the hand of Michael Lygizos.

<Andronikos Kallistos> added some of the titles of Theocritus' *Idylls* in the unit copied by Lampudes.

Cat.: Tovar 1963, 45–47.

Bibl.: Sanchez Ruipérez 1950; Martínez Manzano 2009, 106–107, 121–124, 128–130; Martínez Manzano 2015a, 170–171; *Diktyon*: 56467.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://gredos.usal.es/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

Torino

103. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, NN.V.7 (235)

Parchment, Florence 1473, mm 202 × 121, fols 54. It contains poems on the death of Albiera degli Albizi (1457–1473). Owned by the *archipresbiter* Maia (?), a certain Iohannes Baptista Cremata (?) and Nicola Tonso (?).

At fol. 50rv are found two Greek epigrams in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos>, composed by himself.

Cat.: Kristeller VI 223–224.

Bibl.: Patetta 1917–1918, 294, 310–318; Perosa 1940, 618–624 (= Perosa 2000, III, 189–194); Cammelli 1942, 104–105.

Vaticano (Città del)**104. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 161**

Paper, 14th cent., mm 245 × 167, fols I+249(-13). This manuscript contains Homer's *Iliad* (with Moschopulean scholia). Marginal annotation by Ciriaco d'Ancona at fol. 240v and by a certain Giovanni (= *RGK* III 337; see Speranzi 2018).

Andronikos filled in a codicological and textual *lacuna* by replacing fol. 26 (verses 264–306 of the first book).

Cat.: Capocci 1958, 277–281; Turyn 1964, 103.

Bibl.: Jacob 2000, 405, 409; Pontani 2011, 324; Speranzi 2016b, 64. Speranzi 2018, 219–220 n. 83; *Diktyon*: 64709.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

105. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 163

Parchment, third quarter of the 15th cent., mm 217 × 156, fols I+233(+3a+183a). This codex is a witness to the text of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Copied by Iohannes Skutariotes.

<Andronikos Kallistos> corrected some passages of the text (see fols 5r, 8rv, 9v).

Cat.: Capocci 1958, 284–285; *RGK* III 302.

Bibl.: Cuntz 1923, 31; *Diktyon*: 64711.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

106. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. gr. 12

Paper, mid-15th cent., mm 200 × 140, fols VI+157+I'. This manuscript contains the Byzantine Triad of Aristophanes (*Plutus*, *Nubes*, and *Ranae* up to v. 1305). The scribe has been not yet identified. There are marginal annotations in other hands, e.g.: A = fols 4r, 8v, 9r, 10v, 12r, 17v, 22r, 30v–31r, 39v, 41r, 42r (= <Hesaias of Cyprus>); B = 10r; C = 71v; D = 70r, 147r; E = 113r.

Andronikos Kallistos added two marginal annotations at fol. 10v (as already signalled in *RGK* III 31) and at fol. <11r>. Most of the notes are in the hand of <Hesaias of Cyprus>.

Cat.: Franchi De' Cavalieri 1927, 126; *RGK* III 31 18.

Bibl.: Eberline 1980, 36, 157; Muttini 2019a, 6, 15, 31–36; Muttini 2019b, 318, 321; *Diktyon*: 65163.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

107. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chis. H.V.159

Parchment, mid-15th cent., mm 250 × 176, fols I+172+I'. It contains Suetonius' *Vitae Caesarum*.

Andronikos Kallistos added the *graeca* at fols 9r, 23r, 32v, 45v, 57rv, 66r.

Cat.: —

Bibl.: Rollo 2006a, 377–380; Kaster 2014, 174; Rollo 2020a, 118, 129, 133, 137, 139, 144, 148, 150, 160 (*siglum* Ch).

108. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. gr. 52

Paper, c. 1456–1466, mm 291 × 209, fols 130. Copied by Iohannes Rhosos. It contains *Grammar* by Theodoros Gazes.

Andronikos Kallistos added marginal annotations at fols <7v, 15v>, 37v (*RGK* III), 103r and 105r (Rollo).

Cat.: Feron and Battaglini 1893, 36; Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 192; *RGK* III 31, 298.

Bibl.: Rollo 2006a, 376; *Diktyon*: 65293.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

109. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. gr. 181

Paper, Rome?, third quarter of the 15th cent., mm 215 × 150, fols 113. It contains some excerpts from Ptolemy, Hephaestion, comedies by Aristophanes, Emperor Julian's *De sole* and some epistles (by Plethon, Bessarion, and Georgios Amirutzes). Copied by Demetrios Raul Kabakes (ident. by P. Canart), with the exception of fols 82v–86r (in the hand of <Alexios Keladenos>) and 87r–103v lin. 20 (the work of <Kosmas of Trebizond>). Owned by the cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1585).

<Andronikos Kallistos> added a diagram in the upper margin of fol. 109v within the text of the epistle sent by Georgios Amirutzes to cardinal Bessarion (edited in *PG* 161, cols 723–728 and Boissonade 1833, 389–401; for Amirutzes, see now Orlandi 2019c).

Cat.: Feron and Battaglini 1893, 104–105; *RGK* III 162, 298.

Bibl.: Canart 1963, 62; Bacchelli 2007, 130, 164, 184 n. 32; Lucà 2012, 342; Mutini 2019b, 319, 328–329; *Diktyon*: 65424.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

110. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 142

Paper, composite manuscript (with units dating from the third quarter of the 15th to the early 16th cent.), mm 215 × 165, fols 271. Codicological units: I (= fols 2–81, Demosthenes) and II (= fols 82–133, Lycophron, Hesiod), both in the hand of Demetrios Xanthopoulos; III (= fols 134–185, scholia on Theocr. *Id.*); IV (= fols 186–215, works by Marcellinus); V (= fols 216–271, geographical works). Owned by Giovanni Calurnio (1443–1503).

<Andronikos Kallistos> inserted at fols 2r, 7r, 13v and 20v the titles in red ink. This codicological unit, containing Demosthenes' speeches, is in the hand of Demetrios Xanthopoulos (ident. by Stefec).

Cat.: Stevenson 1885, 73–74.

Bibl.: Marcotte 1985–1986; Marcotte 1987, 207–208; Stefec 2014, 183; Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 321; Giacomelli 2020, 137; *Diktyon*: 65874.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

111. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. gr. 151

Paper, 14th cent., mm 215 × 145, fols 387. This manuscript contains rhetorical works by Maximos Planudes. Kept in the library of the Monastery τῆς Χώρας in Constantinople between 14th and 15th cent. The codex is provided with the 'visto' by Francesco da Lucca (fols 387v); see now for this topic Manfrin and Speranzi 2019 (with further bibliography). Probably owned by Palla Strozzi. Partially copied by Nikephos Gregoras (see *RGK* III 491) and Georgios Galesiotes (*RGK* III 98).

Andronikos Kallistos added marginal annotations (thus filling up the *lacunae*) and interlinear corrections at fols 9v, 50r, 59rv, <61r>, 63rv, 69v, 73v, 79r, <80v>, 82v (ident. by *RGK* III 31 and Stefec 2012a, with some <additions>).

Cat.: Stornajolo 1895, 287–293.

Bibl.: Sosower 1986, 145, 150; Pérez Martín 1993–1994, 20–30; Pérez Martín 1997, 79–81, 89; De Gregorio 2002, 114, 116, 119–120; Rollo 2002a, 62; Bianconi 2004, 348–355; Bianconi 2005a; Gaul 2007; Canart 2008, 51; Muratore 2009, I, 134–135; Stefec 2012a, 109; Manfrin and Speranzi 2019, 47, 59; *Diktyon*: 66618.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

112. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 13

Paper, Venice or Rome, c. 1460–1471, mm 201 × 140, fols VI+189(+129bis). This manuscript contains the *Grammar* of Theodoros Gazes and some Latin verses in the hand of Nicholaus of Kotor (see Rollo 2006a). Copied by Georgios Hermonymos (with the exception of fols 22v and the titles in red ink to the books II–IV, in the hand of Demetrios Tribolles).

Andronikos Kallistos carried out a full revision of the text and added marginal annotations throughout the codex.

Cat.: Mercati and Franchi De' Cavalieri 1923, 10; *RGK* I 18 = III 31, III 102, III 169.

Bibl.: Centanni 1984–1985, 217; Rollo 2006a, 375; Kalatzi 2009, 304–305; Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 192, 236, 282; *Diktyon*: 66644.

113. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 593

Paper, mid-15th cent., mm 288 × 207, entirely copied by the scribe Nikodemos (RGK III 496). It contains the commentary on St. John's Gospel by Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria. The marginal annotations attributed by Devreesse 1937, 519 to Bessarion are not in his hand.

At fol. IIv is found the *ex libris* of Bessarion in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos (RGK III 31): τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην. κτῆμα Βησσαρίωνος καρδηνάλεως τοῦ τῶν Τούσκλων. On the basis of the paleographical analysis one can date these lines to the years 1466–1471. Since the *terminus post quem* for Andronikos' staying in Rome at Bessarion's house is August 1466 and the cardinal maintained the title of *cardinalis Tusculanus* (Cardinal of Tusculum) until 8 October 1468, one can reasonably refer this annotation to the years 1466–1468.

Cat. : Devreesse 1937, 519; RGK III 31, III 496.

Bibl. : Devreesse 1954, 91; Mioni 1976, 290; Meunier 1989, 169–172; De Gregorio 2000, 378; *Diktyon*: 67224.

114. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1324

Parchment, 10th/11th cent., mm 273 × 210, fols VII+129(-112)+1. This manuscript is an ancient witness to the text of Lucian' *Dialogi*. The codex is provided with the 'visto' by Francesco da Lucca (fol. 130v) and Chrysoloras' bilingual title both at fol. 73r (λουκιανοῦ λόγοι luciani) and at fol. 129v (λουκιανοῦ [sic] luciani); see now for this topic Manfrin and Speranzi 2019, with further bibliography. Probably owned by Palla Strozzi. Fols 33–40 (blanks) represent a later addition; they were apparently conceived in order to fill one day a substantial *lacuna* from *Demonax* 67,13 up to *Gallus* 3,18.

Andronikos re-ordered the quires and made some philological interventions on the text of Lucian' *De luctu* and *Soloecista*. The identification of the hand of Kallistos is found in Stefec 2014.

Cat.: —

Bibl.: Bompaire 1993, 1, 5, 9–11, 13, 17, 19, 22–24, 27, 29; De Gregorio 2002, 114, 116, 120; Rollo 2002b, 91, 93–95, 99, 101; Sosower 1986, 146, 150; Muratore 2009, I, 135; Stefec 2014, 176. Manfrin and Speranzi 2019, 47, 59; *Diktyon*: 67955.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

115. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1950

Oriental paper, first half of the 14th cent., mm 243 × 165, fols III+548(-146–149, +62a, 88a, 337a, 389a, 396a, 416a, 513a). This codex hands down works by Xenophon. It is today split in two parts (vol. I = fols 1–279; vol. II = fols 280–548). Maybe owned by Palla Strozzi (see Sosower 1986, 143, 151).

<Andronikos> interventions are found in the section transmitting the text of Xenophon's *Agesilaus*.

Cat.: Canart 1970, 762–766.

Bibl.: Serra 1979–1980; Jackson 1988; Jackson 1990, 166–173; Schmoll 1990; Pérez Martín 1997, 77–80; Muratore 1997, in part. 67–69; Bianconi 2005a, 399–400; Bandini and Dorion 2010, in part. CCLXII; Orlandi 2020c, 476 n. 56; Muratore 2022, 26–27; *Diktyon*: 68579.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

116. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2189

Paper, first half of the 15th cent., mm 295 × 221, fols I+153. Copied by Stephanos of Medea (*RGK* I 584 = II 503 = III 366), with the exception of <fol. 128v>. This codex contains Porphyry's *Introductio*, Aristotle's *Categoriae* with Philoponos' commentary, and Ammonius' commentary to Aristotle's *De interpretatione*. This manuscript probably belonged to the collection of the *Anonymus* 51 Harlfinger (a pupil of Kallistos acting in Florence in the 1470s), whose annotations are found at fols 36r, 57r, 62v, 76r.

Andronikos collated the text of Aristotle's *Categoriae* handed down in this witness (see some *marginalia* by his hand at fols [= *RGK* III 31] and fols <84r, 85v, 86r>) with that of his manuscript Vat. gr. 1314.

Cat.: Wartelle 1963, 136; Lilla 1985, 106–112; *RGK* III 31.

Bibl.: Cataldi Palau 2008; Orlandi 2020c, 471, 476, 481; *Diktyon*: 68820.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

117. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2201

Parchment, Florence, 1473, mm 265 × 190, fols I+149. Owned by Cardinal Giovanni Salviati (see his *ex libris* at fol. 2r), this manuscript contains Aristotle's *De caelo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *Meteorologica*. Copied by Alphonsos Dursos of Athens (fols 2r–51r) (Harlfinger 1974) and *Anonymus* 51 Harlfinger (fols 51v–149v) (Harlfinger 1971).

Andronikos Kallistos carried out a full revision of the text and added marginal annotations throughout the manuscript.

Cat.: Wartelle 1963, 136; Lilla 1985, 155–157; *RGK* III 31.

Bibl.: Harlfinger 1971, 413, 420; Harlfinger 1974, no. 46, 73; Cataldi Palau 1995, 61, 65, 88, 92; Rashed 2001, 222–229; Orlandi 2020c, 463–469, 480–481; *Diktyon*: 68832.

118. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2207

Composite manuscript made of oriental paper, western paper, and parchment, 13th–14th cent., mm 250 × 172, fols I+315(+19a–c). It contains speeches by Demosthenes, Lysias, Alcidas, Antisthenes, Demades, Gorgias. Annotated (and probably owned) by the *Anonymus 51 Harlfinger*.

Andronikos collated the text of Demosthenes' *In Midiam* and *De Corona*, thus leaving some *marginalia* at fols 138v, 220r and 225v.

Cat.: Lilla 1985, 168–174

Bibl.: Avezzù 1976; Cataldi Palau 1995, 92; Pérez Martín 1997, 85–88; Orlandi 2020c, 478; *Diktyon*: 68838.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

119. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1532

Parchment, Rome, 1466–1471, mm 294 × 218, fols 139+I'. The manuscript contains Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*. It was copied for Nicholaus of Kotor, bishop of Modruš, by the scribe Giovanni da Itri (see the colophon at fol. 139r: 'Hoc opus scripsit Iohannes Nardi Fusci de Jtro feliciter...').

Andronikos Kallistos added the *graeca* in red ink (identification by Rollo 2006a).

Cat.: Nogara 1912, 49–50.

Bibl.: Rollo 2006a, 370–377; Caldelli 2006, 26, 45, 115; Martinelli Tempesta 2016b, 344, 380, 398; Martinelli Tempesta 2020b, 258–259, 261, 266–269, 271, 273, 275–281, 285. *Diktyon*: 76567.

Rem.: Digitized at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

Venezia**120. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 226 (coll. 615)**

Parchment, 9th cent., mm 265 × 180, fols I+382(–363). This codex contains Simplicius' commentary to Aristotle's *Physics* and a *Vita Aristotelis* (later addition), in the hand of Nektarios of Otranto (†1235).

At fol. 290v an annotation to *Simpl., in Phys.* (ed. Diels 1895, 1250,10–15) is found in the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos>.

Cat.: Wartelle 1963, 158; Mioni 1981, 339.

Bibl.: Cavallo 2005, 254–263; Arnesano 2006, 185–186, 190 (with further bibliography); Hajdú and Schreiner 2013, 36; Isépy 2016, in part. 255–259, 265–270; Giacomelli 2021c, 232, 259–260, 268, 274; *Diktyon*: 69808.

121. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 337 (coll. 691)

Parchment, Bologna, 1450–1455, mm 370 × 268, fols IV+370(+58bis)+IV'. The manuscript collects the historical works of Eusebius, Theodoret of Cyrus, Theodorus Anagnostes, Sozomenus, Socrates Scholasticus, Evagrius and Philostorgius. Owned by Bessarion (see *ex libris* at fol. IVv, as “cardinal of Tusculum”). Copied by Georgios Tribizias (fols 1r–134v, 140r–310r, and illuminations), Bessarion (fol. 135v, later addition?) and Kosmas hieromonachos (136r–139v, 311r–370r).

At fol. 130r (lin. 21–31) Andronikos filled up a *lacuna* in the text of Theodoret: εὐερ]γεσίας τὸ μέγεθος – προσέφερε σπέρμασι (= 314,3–21 ed. Parmentier – Scheidweiler). The identification of Kallistos' hand by Dieter Harlfinger is found in Liakou-Kropp 2002, 282.

Cat.: Mioni 1985a, 87–88.

Bibl.: Cassin 2012, 222–224, 337; *Diktyon*: 69808.

Rem.: Same codicological features (size, number of lines [46], ruling scheme, illuminations) of Marc. gr. Z. 223 and Marc. gr. Z. 518.

122. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 518 (coll. 539)

Parchment, c. 1450–1455, mm 370 × 267, fols II(paper)+173(–117,151,168)+II'(paper). Copied by Georgios Tribizias, with the exception of fols 96r lin. 40–46, 96v lin. 1–2, in the hand of Kallistos, and 96v (lin. 4–7), in the hand of Bessarion. This composite manuscript contains: 1) the treatise *De proprietate animalium* by Aelian and Eunapius' *Vitae sophistarum*; 2) Apollonius Pergensis' *Conicorum libri quattor* and the work *De sectione cylindri* by Serenus.

Andronikos tried to interpret and restore some passages of Apollonius' text (23,6 Giangrande), which were not clearly readable in the antigraph (Vat. gr. 206; see Decorps-Foulquier 2001) and those omitted by the scribe in charge of the copy (Tribizias); something similar occurs in Marc. gr. Z. 337. The identification of Kallistos' hand is found in Liakou-Kropp 2002, 311 (by Dieter Harlfinger).

Cat.: Mioni 1985a, 386–387.

Bibl.: Decorps-Foulquier 2001, 79, 84, 91–92; *Diktyon*: 69989.

Rem.: Same codicological features (size, number of lines [46], ruling scheme, illuminations) of Marc. gr. Z. 223 and Marc. gr. Z. 337.

123. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. VII 5 (coll. 1192)

Parchment, first half of the 15th cent., mm 280 × 191, fols I+230, partly in the hand of Palla Strozzi. This manuscript contains Thucydides' *Historiae*. Owned by Palla Strozzi and provided with the 'visto' by Francesco da Lucca. Thucydides' text was collated by Andronikos Kallistos with that of his copy, the manuscript Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Nn.III.18; marginal annotations in the hand of Kallistos are at fols 122v, 125r, 154v, 157rv (see Mioni 1985b, *Addenda*).

Cat.: Mioni 1960, 22–23.

Bibl.: Alberti 1967; Sosower 1986, 141, 143, 151; De Gregorio 2002, 66 n. 107, 74 n. 124, 83–85, 111–112; Jackson 2011, 9, 57, 71; Zorzi 2004; Manfrin and Speranzi 2019, 45, 47 n. 75, 56; *Diktyon*: 70522.

Wien

124. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Suppl. gr. 23

Paper (folded *in-folio*), Crete, first half of the 15th cent. (with the exception of fols 1–40: c. 1445–1453), mm 295 × 220, fols I+263. The manuscript contains Plutarch's *Moralia* (see a detailed description of the contents in Hunger and Hannick 1994). Copied by Iohannes Chionopulos, with the exception of fols 1–40, in the hand of Kallistos; marginal annotations in the hand of Lauro Quirini (identification by Stefec). Owned by Iohannes Sambucus (see his *ex libris* at fol. Ir).

Andronikos added at a later time to the codex fols 1–40, thus completing the text of Plutarch's *Moralia* (from *Ad principem ineruditum* 780 C1 [μή ἀρχομένου] up to *De Stoicorum repugnantiis* 1038 E2 [ἐκεῖνος δὲ σῶζει· καὶ κατὰ]).

Cat.: Hunger and Hannick 1994, 46–49.

Bibl.: Stefec 2012a, 42–43; *Diktyon*: 71495.

Rem.: The correct order of the leaves is 145–168, 41–144, 1–40, 169–261 (Stefec).

125. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Theol. gr. 163

Paper, first half of the 14th cent., mm 243 × 163, fols IV+85. Commentary on the *Apocalypse* by Andreas of Caesarea (563–637). Owned by Andreas Darmarios and Iohannes Sambucus.

Andronikos collated this codex with a witness to the text of the *Apocalypse* which probably belonged to cardinal Bessarion. The text found in the margins of this Vindobonensis bears similarities with that of Marc. gr. Z. 10.

Cat.: Hunger, Kresten and Hannick 1984, 251–253.

Bibl.: Schmid 1956, 285–293; *Diktyon*: 71830.

6.3 Archival documents

Ferrara

126. Archivio di Stato, Archivio Bentivoglio, Sezione Patrimoniale, busta 6, fascicolo 35

Paper, 6 May 1462, mm 295 × 220, c. 4 [blank 3]. Act of division of Palla Strozzi' assets between heirs and descendants.

Andronikos signs the document (c. 2), thus acting as a witness: *Ego Andronicus filius Alexii Constantinopolitanus fui praesens et testor de praesentibus scriptis in die in qua dicta scripta sunt facta* ('I Andronikos, son of Alexios, of Constantinople, was present and witness to the present agreements on the day the things that had been written have been carried out').

Cat.: —

Bibl.: Fiocco 1954, 375; Gentile 1992, 299–300 n. 22.

Forlì

127. Biblioteca comunale, Raccolte Piancastelli, Sezione Autografi Secc. XII–XVIII, *ad vocem* 'Andronico Bisanzio'

Paper, 28 April <1459>, mm 193 × 201, 1 single sheet. Any watermark visible. On the cover sheet is written: 'Andronico Bisanzio detto Calisto. Fu tra tra quei sapienti che cercarono scampo in Italia alla presa di Costantinopoli, letterato, dottissimo e filosofo, abbiamo di lui un *Trattato delle passioni* scritto in greco. N(ato) Tessalonica. M(orto) Parigi 1478'.

It is the autograph letter sent by Andronikos Kallistos to Palla Strozzi from Bologna to Padua on April 28 <1459>. Kallistos informs Palla of his intention to join him soon.

Cat.: —

Bibl.: Perosa 1953, 3–15 (= Perosa 2000, III, 89–101); Orlandi 2014a, 166–167.

6.4 Incunables

Firenze

128. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliab. B.2.35

Printed copy of Bessarion's philosophical works *In calumniatorem Platonis*, *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete*, *De natura et arte* published by C. Sweynheym and A. Pannartz [= before 28 Aug. 1469; *ISTC*: ib00518000]. Owned by Niccolò Perotti.

Andronikos added the *graeca* to the text of Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis* and introduced some corrections of his own, mainly concerning misspellings, spirits, and accents (ident. by David Speranzi).

Cat.: Scapecchi 2017, 134.

Bibl.: Monfasani 1981, 168; Monfasani 1983, 229–235; Speranzi 2018, 194–195; Cattaneo 2020a, 118; Cattaneo 2020b, XXXVIII; Pagani 2021, 127, 162.

Appendix: **Texts**

1 Defence of Theodoros Gazes against Michael Apostoles

1.1 Introduction

Of the three interventions that animated the second phase of the Aristotelian-Platonic polemic in the 1450s and 1460s, that of Andronikos Kallistos is by far the most extensive. Gazes had simply analysed the five points of the *De differentiis* by Plethon and had tried to show the superiority of the Aristotelian conception of substance.¹ Conversely, Michael Apostoles had concentrated all his efforts on attacking Gazes' thesis, with the sole purpose of discrediting it in the eyes of potential readers, thus losing contact with the themes of the Plethonian text.² The first goal of Andronikos' *Defensio* (composed in the year 1462, before 19 May) is to demonstrate the absurdity of Apostoles' attack and his ignorance of the Aristotelian question. According to Kallistos, precisely because of this profound ἀμαθία – which led him to misunderstand Gazes' objections to Plethon's theses – Apostoles has shown that he is not even capable of constructively participating in such a complex debate. The second goal pursued by Andronikos is to bring the contents back to the centre of the debate and to address in more detail some of the key points that had pitted Plethon and Gazes against each other, with the addition of a personal contribution to the debate.

Kallistos' argument, both when it aims at attacking Apostoles, and when it develops its own argumentations, is structured in the form of an answer to the claims of Apostoles. Some units of content can be distinguished in the work:

- 1.1–1.2 dedication to Bessarion
- 2.1–7.2 tirade against Apostoles
- 8.1–12.6 on individuals and universals
- 13.1–13.11 on the immortality of soul
- 14.1–15.3 in more detail on the individuals
- 16.1–22.2 debate on Aristotelian form
- 23.1–26.2 difference between μάλλον and μείζον
- 27.1–28.2 conclusions

1 The standard edition is by Mohler 1942, 155–158.

2 Mohler 1942, 161–169. A detailed analysis of Apostoles' work is now Steiris 2021.

The sources listed in the *apparatus fontium* show how the arguments fielded by Andronikos come in most cases from the writings of Aristotle, Plato, and their commentators (Simplicius, Philoponos, Proclus). Kallistos' deep knowledge of Aristotelian matter is impressive, but not surprising in view of the number of manuscripts of Aristotelian content found in his library. These are all the manuscripts of Aristotelian content found in his library, copied and/or consulted by him:³

- Erlangensis A 4 (*Physics*; Simplicius on *Physics*; *Parva Naturalia*)
 Laur. Ashb. 1599 (Themistius on *De anima*)
 Ricc. 46 (*Ethica Nicomachea*, *Poetics*)
 Ambr. D 78 inf. (Ammonius on *De interpretatione*)
 Ambr. I 56 sup. (*De partibus animalium*, *Historia animalium*)
 Mutin. α T.8.3 (*Poetics*)
 Mutin. α T.9.1 (*Ethica Nicomachea*)
 Mutin. α U.9.3 (*De virtutibus et vitiis*)
 Mutin. α W.2.1 (Olympiodorus on *Organon*; Porphyry on *Categories*)
 Oxon. Bodl. Holkham Hall gr. 71 (Porphyry's *Introductio*; *Categories*, *De int.*)
 Par. gr. 1852 (*De anima*, *Ethica Nicomachea*)
 Par. gr. 1878 (Alexander of Aphrodisias on *Metaphysics*)
 Par. gr. 1879 (Michael of Ephesos on *Metaphysics*)
 Par. gr. 1890 (Themistius on *Physics*)
 Par. gr. 1908 (Simplicius on *Physics*)
 Par. gr. 2038 (*Rhetorica*, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, *Poetics*)
 Par. gr. 2046 (Alexander of Aphrodisias on *Meteorology*)
 Par. gr. 2066 (Michael of Ephesos on *Parva Naturalia*)
 Par. gr. 2069 (Theophrastus)
 Par. Suppl. gr. 541 (*Mechanics*)
 Vat. Ross. 1025 (*De anima* and Philoponos on *De anima*)
 Vat. gr. 249 (*Physics*, *De caelo*, *De gen. et corr.*, *Meteor.*, *De anima*)
 Vat. gr. 257 (*Metaphysics*)
 Vat. gr. 1314 (*De mundo* and *Categories*)
 Vat. gr. 2189 (Porphyry's *Introductio*; *Categories*, Philoponos on *Categories*; Ammonius on *De interpretatione*)
 Vat. gr. 2201 (*De caelo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *Meteorology*)
 Vind. Hist. gr. 78 (Themistius on *Parva Naturalia*)
 Marc. gr. Z. 226 (Simplicius on *Physica*)

³ I exclude the manuscripts copied for a fee.

1.2 The manuscript tradition

The text of Andronikos' *Defensio* is transmitted in its entirety by six manuscripts:⁴

S = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, Φ.III.15

Paper, third quarter of fifteenth century, mm 208 × 144, fols VI+307(+264^a; –102). Composite manuscript. The text of Kallistos is found at fols 163v–202v in the hand of <Hesaias of Cyprus>. Fols 214r–233r are in the hand of <Makarios of Halicz>.⁵ *Cat.*: De Andrés 1965, II, 68–71. *Bibl.*: Martínez Manzano 2015b, 120, 142, 145. Collated from digital images and verified by autopsy.

B = Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 141 sup.

Paper, Padua or Venice, sixteenth century, mm 332 × 228, fols III+31+I'. Copied by Bartolomeo Zanetti. The text of Kallistos is found at fols 4v–28v. *Cat.*: Martini and Bassi 1906, I, 167. *Bibl.*: Mohler 1942. Collated from digital images and verified by autopsy.

L = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 58.33

Paper, Crete, third quarter of fifteenth century,⁶ mm 268 × 204, fols IV+157+IV'. Copied by five scribes: A (fol. 2r); B (fols 3r–9v); C = Antonios Damilas (fols 10r, 54v–104r, 105v–155v); D = Michael Apostoles (fols 10v–54r); E (fols 104v–105r). The text of Kallistos is found at fols 96v–117v. *Cat.*: Bandini 1768–1770, vol. 3, cols 480–484. *Bibl.*: Stefec 2009, 154; Stefec 2014, 195. See a full description at <<http://cagb-db.bbaw.de/>>. Collated from digital images and verified by autopsy.

O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 165

Paper, Crete, third quarter of fifteenth century, mm 276 × 204, fols II+170+II'. Copied by Michael Lygizos. The watermarks which can be identified within the manuscript point to a Cretan provenance: see the drawing *Monts* (e.g. at fols 16, 22, 58, 68, 83) identical to the type 51 Harlfinger [Crete, 1464]. The text of Kallistos is found at fols 149r–170r. At the bottom of fol. 170r, below the text of the *Defensio*,

4 As reported by Rudolf S. Stefec (Stefec 2013a, 34), a very short excerpt of the text (up to the words προσηκουσαν ἀξιώματι [= 171,32 Mohler]) is found at fol. 10rv of the manuscript Athen. Ἑλληνικὸ Λογοτεχνικὸ καὶ Ἱστορικὸ Ἀρχεῖο, Kolybas 235 (nineteenth century); this is in all likelihood a copy of Laur. 58.33 (see Lampros 1922, 469–471).

5 For this scribe see Orlandi 2021a.

6 An unquestionable *terminus post quem* for this witness is set by one of the texts transmitted therein, i.e. the letter of Nikolaos Sekundinos to Andronikos, which dates back to 5 June 1462; a *terminus ante quem* is furnished by the *ex libris* (12 August 1477) found at fol. 156r.

there is an annotation, in the hand of Lygizos: <κ>αὶ Λατίνοι δὲ τὴν παροιμίαν 'προβέρπιον' λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ προβέρπιον δῆλον λόγον δεδοκιμασμένον. ὅπερ ὀρίζονται οὕτως· προβέρπιον ἐστὶ λόγος ἐπιτετηδευμένου τοῖς ἤθεσι καὶ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ζωῇ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν ζώντων. *Cat.*: Coxe 1958, cols 279–281. *Bibl.*: —. Collated from digital images and verified by autopsy.

M = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, cod. 4790

Paper, Messina, 1480, mm 274 × 294, fols VI+203. Copied by Konstantinos Laskaris. The text of Kallistos is found at fols 156v–179r. *Cat.*: De Andrés 1987, 393–395. *Bibl.*: Martínez Manzano 1994, 257, 260, 265, 267; Martínez Manzano 1998, 40, 57, 59–60, 198. Collated from digital images and verified by autopsy.

N = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, cod. 4766

Paper, Madrid, c. 1780 ca., mm 315 × 222, fols III+176. Copied by Faustino Muscat Guzmán (c. 1740–1812). The text of Kallistos is found at fols 73r–123r. *Cat.*: De Andrés 1987, 356–357. *Bibl.*: —. Collated from digital images and verified by autopsy.

The autograph in Andronikos' hand, sent to Bessarion by letter, seems not to have been preserved. However, thanks to the ancient inventories of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, studied by Lotte Labowsky, we know that it was (along with other writings) in the collection bequeathed by the Cardinal to the Republic of Venice. It is missing in the first inventory (A), from 1468, but is present already in the next one (B), from 1474. The autograph was in Venice until 1545/1546, the year of the last inventory (Ea). This is the correspondence in the five inventories:⁷

Year	Inventory	Item no.	Description
1468	A	—	—
1474	B	935	Diversi quinterniones operum Domini Reverendissimi et (b) Apostoli et (c) Andronici quaedam, (d) regulae sancti Basillii translatae, scriptae in charta pecorina
1524	C	977	Quaedam scripta cum ipsius Cardinalis, tum aliorum, cum graeca, tum latina, in quinternionibus
1543	D	416	Andronici epistolae, in papiro
1545/46	Ea	308	Diversa opera et epistolae, et Calisti, et notae in graeco et latino, sine tabulis, forma parva

⁷ See Labowsky 1979, 239, 290, 305, 343, and 476.

It is appropriate to quote Lotte Labowsky's assessment:

Both *B* (934 and 935) and *C* (974 and 977) mention what seem to have been batches of loose quires containing various writings and letters, some in Greek, some in Latin, by Bessarion, Plethon, Andronicus Callistus, and others. *D* seems to list some of these papers separately (411; 413; 415; 416; 417; 944), while only one of these batches is mentioned in *Ea* (under 'Diversa', 308: 'Diversa opera et epistole, et Calistii, et notae in greco et latino, sine tabulis, forma parva') [...] Much of this material seems to be lost, though some of it may have turned up bound in with other codices.⁸

The entry corresponding to Andronikos' treatise (*B* 935c = *C* 977 = *D* 416 = *Ea* 308) seems to have been lost forever.⁹ It is likely that one of the two main surviving witnesses, the *Scor.* Φ.III.15 assigned to the hand of the monk Hesaias of Cyprus, was copied from the original shortly after it was made. The watermarks¹⁰ suggest a date around the mid-1460s and a location in Venice, where Hesaias was residing in those years.

A copy of Andronikos' text arrived in Crete after May 1462, brought by a certain Iohannes ἱερέύς, to be identified with Iohannes Rhosos or with Iohannes Plusiadenos.¹¹ We know that the latter returned to Crete from Italy — where he had stayed, between Venice and Rome, in the years 1461–1462 — by August 1463.¹² The manuscript *Laur.* 58.33 (*L*), in the hand of Antonios Damilas and of an anonymous collaborator, was to be taken from the specimen brought by Iohannes.

Be that as it may, Mohler's edition of the *Defensio* rests on two witnesses, *L* and *B*. Although he explicitly declares that *B* shows in most cases (circa 90) bad

⁸ Labowsky 1979, 118. For some considerations about the manuscript Σ.III.1, which seems to have preserved some material, see also page 485 and the *addenda* at page 509.

⁹ Likewise lost is also the copy that was kept within the Grimani collection (*item* no. 185, *inter alia*), which is described as follows: 'Bessarionis, Pletonis, et Andronici quaedam' (= *Vat. lat.* 3960, fol. 7r lin. 2; see Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 137–138). In the same collection a copy of some letters of Michael Apostoles annotated by Kallistos seems also to have been found (*item* no. 135, *inter alia*: 'Epistolae Michaelis Bizantii cum glosis Andronici' = *Vat. lat.* 3960, fol. 5v lin. 6–7; see Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 130). Filippomaria Pontani first drew attention on this item (see Pontani 2011, 367 n. 842). I wonder whether this might be a copy of Apostoles' writing on substance, sent as a letter to Bessarion and annotated by Andronikos.

¹⁰ It is a drawing *Monts* (typologically similar to Briquet 11758 and Harlfinger 65 [1468/69]) and *Étoile dans un cercle* (close to Briquet 6077 [1457–1472]), with variants located in Venice in the early 1460s).

¹¹ I have already proposed this identification in Villa 2021, 450. For the mention of a 'Iohannes' see also Cattaneo 2020a, 142 n. 14.

¹² See Despotakis 2020, 62–75, 195.

readings in comparison to L, many times he neglects the latter's good ones in favour of B's. An overview of occurrences is listed below:¹³

- 1.2 (171,23) προσκειμένων L : προκειμένων B Mohler
- 2.4 (172,24) ἐπιβόλω L : ἐπιβόλω B Mohler
- 2.4 (172,40) ἐπιείμενε L : ἐπέιμενε B Mohler
- 6.2 (174,11) σε L : om. B Mohler
- 6.2 (174,15) ἐδίωκες L : ἐδίωκας B Mohler
- 9.3 (177,20) σάς L : om. B Mohler
- 10.2 (179,32) σπάνιν L : σπάσιν B Mohler
- 17.4 (192,26) μόνον L : μόνων B Mohler
- 17.5 (192,37) ἡμᾶς L : ἡμεῖς B Mohler
- 19.2 (194,9) αἰωνίως L : αἰώνιον B Mohler
- 23.3 (197,18) γραμματικὴν L : γραμματικῆς B Mohler
- 23.8 (199,19) διαφορομένους L : διαφορομένου B Mohler
- 23.9 (199,32) τοιοῦτος L : τοιοῦτο B Mohler

In some cases Mohler's editorial choices overlook correct readings of both L and B:

- 8.2 (175,7) οὕτως L B : ὅλως Mohler
- 8.3 (175,27) οὕπω L B : οὕτω Mohler
- 8.4 (176,16) συνθέτοις L B : συνθετοῖς Mohler
- 9.4 (178,1) ἰδέας L B : ἰδίας Mohler
- 9.6 (178,21) ἔσπετο L B : ἔπετο Mohler
- 10.3 (179,34) ἐβούλου L B : ἐβάλου Mohler
- 11.2 (181,9) ἐσομένων L B : ἐπομένων Mohler
- 12.5 (183,10) οὖν L B : ὁ Θεόδωρος Mohler
- 13.8 (187,19) δὴ L B : δέ Mohler
- 13.11 (188,10) ποιητικόν L B : ποιητικὴν Mohler
- 18.2 (193,32) αὐτοανθρώπου L B : αὐτανθρώπου Mohler
- 18.2 (193,35) αἰσθητά τε L B : αἰσθητά (τε om.) Mohler
- 20.2 (194,30) αἰτίους L B : αἰτίας Mohler
- 23.6 (198,20) αἰεί L B : ἀεί Mohler
- 23.7 (199,3) περιθρυλλόμενα L B : περιθρυλλόμενα Mohler
- 25.2 (201,4) ἥρηκώς L B : εἰρηκώς Mohler

13 The following list shows separative errors of B against the whole manuscript tradition. Here and below the first reference (e.g. 1.2) indicates the numbers of chapters and paragraphs of the present edition, while the second one (e.g. 171,23) refers to pages and lines of Mohler's edition, which represented my collation basis.

27.2 (201,35) τούς L B : τάς Mohler

In the present edition codex B is not cited in the apparatus, since it happened to be an apograph of S. B carries all the significant and insignificant¹⁴ errors of S and all its omissions, as the following examples indicate:

- 1.2 (171,31) ἑαυτόν om. S B
 2.4 (172,38) ἀδικοῖμεν] ἀδικοῦμεν S B
 5.2 (174,5) δὴ καὶ om. S B
 9.3 (177,28) τοῖς] τούς S B
 9.3 (177,33) ἀκριβεστάτην om. S B
 10.2 (179,22) ὑπερεπαινεῖ] ἐπαινεῖ S B
 10.2 (179,26) διαπρέψαντα] διατρίψαντα S B
 11.1 (181,3) καὶ ταῦτα om. S B
 12.3 (182,20) σαφῶς] σαφές S B
 12.5 (183,12) μᾶλλον om. S B
 13.4 (185,3) ἀπαθῆς] καθαρός S B
 13.4 (185,12) αἰτίου] αἰτία S B
 13.8 (187,13–14) τὸν ὀρισμὸν – λεγομένης om. S B (*saut du même au même*)
 13.11 (188,17) ἐπιστημονικῆς] -νικῶς S B
 17.3 (191,33) φυσικῆ] φύσει S B
 17.4 (192,27) σωθῆναι om. S B
 23.2 (196,31) κατ' αὐτήν om. S B
 23.7 (199,1) πολλά om. SB
 24.2 (200,16) τινέ] τινί S B
 25.2 (200,31–32) ἡμῖν – δυνάμεως om. S B (*saut du même au même*)
 27.1 (201,26) ὠφελῆσαι] ὠφελῆ S B
 27.2 (202,1) ὄτῳ] οὕτω S B
 28.2 (203,4) φιλοσοφίας] σοφίας S B
 28.2 (203,5) κακῶς] καλῶς S B
 28.3 (203,8) ἀποτείνειν om. S B

Striking evidence of the derivation of B from S is provided by the omission at 23.5 [= 197,36 Mohler]: the words ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς μεθόδους τῶν λόγων οὕτω τοι, which are missing in B, correspond with one line in S (fol. 195r).

¹⁴ I list here some cases of itacisms and minor slips: 8.1 (175,1) ὦ om. S B; 9.1 (176,39) ἦ om. S B; 13.3 (184,26) ἔστι] εἶναι S B; 13.6 (186,9) εἶδη] ἦδη S B; 13.7 (186,24) δεῖ] δὴ S B; 17.3 (191,30) τῶν] ὧν S B; 19.2 (194,14) ἦς] ἦ S B; 23.7 (199,2) ὁ om. S B; 23.9 (199,32) τούς om. S B; 26.2 (201,16) εἰ] οὐ S B.

Moreover, B inherits from its antigraph all the marginal annotations. At 13.2, for instance, in the outer margin of fol. 14v, the scribe of B (Bartolomeo Zanetti) writes ὄρα περὶ ἀθανασίας ἀναγκαῖα, thus reporting the annotation from its source S (fol. 79v); the same occurs at 13.5, where both S (181r) and B (15v) show in the outer margin the note ὅτι τὸ φθειρόμενον.¹⁵

Therefore, Mohler's codex B is replaced by S in the critical apparatus, whereas L preserves its position in it.

L mostly offers the best readings and does not share the errors and omissions of S listed above; on the other hand L shows a few *lacunae* and some unconvincing readings which are not included in S and which S unlikely could have supplied and corrected by itself, if copying from L:

3.2 (173,24) σου om. L

4.2 (173,34) τοῖς S : τοῖς τοῖς L

7.2 (174,31) ἴσως om. L

8.3 (175,32) δέ om. L

9.5 (178,11) καταδαπανᾶσθαι S : δαπανᾶσθαι L

13.8 (187,17) γάρ om. L

15.2 (189,20) καί om. L

16.3 (190,17) τῷ εἶδει om. L

19.1 (194,5) καί om. L

23.3 (197,15) ὧν om. L

23.6 (198,18) καταθραύεις S : καταθρήνεις L

24.2 (200,5) ἐπαλλάξας S : ἀπαλλάξας L

In addition, S shows initials in carmine ink which L completely lacks: in some cases it would have been very difficult for S to guess them right, if copying from L.¹⁶ Finally, L does not give any indication to distinguish Andronikos' own text and recurring quotations from Apostoles' work, as S on the contrary regularly does. For all these reasons, one may argue that L and S are independent of each other.

Codex O is a copy of L, because it repeats all the errors of L (listed above) and introduces new ones of its own:

¹⁵ See also other *notabilia*: (8.3) Εὐδημος, Πορφύριος; (8.4) Ἀρχύτας; (9.2) ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς, μετὰ τὰ πολλά; (13.6) ὄρα ὡς ἡ ἐντελέχεια τῶν πλεοναχῶς; (13.8) ὅτι τῶν πλεοναχῆ λεγομένων τοὺς ὀρισμοὺς δι' ὁμοίων ἀποδιδόνα δεῖ; (13.11) Θεόφραστος; (17.3) Θεόφραστος, Ἡράκλειτος, Κρατύλος; (17.4) Σωκράτης; (*passim*) σημείωσαι.

¹⁶ See for instance 6.2, 15.2, 19.1 (here the entire word καί is missing), 22.2, 25.1.

- 1.1 (171,5) σοφώτατε L S B : θειότατε O¹⁷
 2.4 (172,32) λίαν om. O
 8.4 (176,9) αὐτός om. O
 9.1 (176,39) αἰ L S B : καί O
 12.4 (182,34) ἄγοντα L S B : ἔχοντα O¹⁸
 12.4 (182,35) σοι om. O
 12.5 (183,12) αὐτῆς om. O
 13.2 (184,13) εἰδώς om. O
 13.2 (184,14) ψυχῆς om. O
 13.4 (185,11) γάρ om. O
 13.11 (188,21) ἀγχύρας L S B : ἐχγύρας O¹⁹
 13.11 (188,26) οὖν om. O
 15.2 (189,29–30) οὐ τοσοῦτον – ἀλλ' οὐ om. O
 15.3 (190,2) νοῦν om. O
 20.2 (194,28) ὄν L S B : οἶον O
 23.2 (196,35–36) τοῖς δέ – ἐπιδέχοντο om. O
 23.6 (198,23) αὐτῶν om. O
 23.7 (198,26) σε L S B : σου O
 26.2 (201,19) αὐθις L S B : ἄμα O

In addition, O reproduces from codex L some of the latter's variant readings. For instance, at fol. 101r of L, the vocative ἀκριτόμυθε (9.7 [= 179,4 Mohler]), first mistakenly written ἀκριτόθυμε by Lygizos, is corrected in the line-spacing by overwriting -μ- and -θ- (see Fig. 1). At fol. 154v, codex O slavishly imitates this (see Fig. 2).²⁰

17 The change from σοφώτατος to θειότατος is intentional and probably due to the scribe of O, Michael Lygizos, who spent some time in Italy and may have had the possibility to know Cardinal Bessarion.

18 See the shape of the word ἄγοντα in L (fol. 103v), which can in fact easily be misinterpreted with ἔχοντα.

19 See the shape of the word ἀγχύρας in L (fol. 107r), which can in fact easily be misinterpreted with ἐγγύρας.

20 See also at 7.2 [= 174,27 Mohler] βέλτιον in textu, βέλτιστον in marg. L O and 10.2 [= 179,20 Mohler] τὸ μέτριον in textu, τὸ μέτρον in marg. L O.

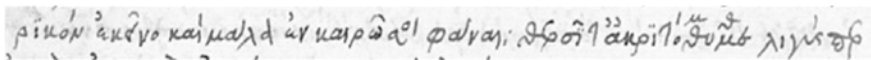


Fig. 1: Laur. 58.33, fol. 101r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

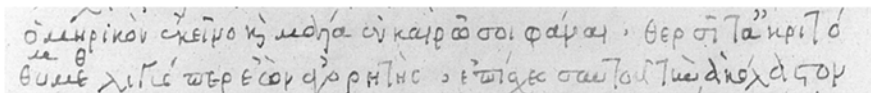


Fig. 2: Barocci 165, fol. 154v; © Bodleian Library.

O is likely to be a direct copy of L, since both of them were produced on the island of Crete by Cretan scribes (Lygizos and Damilas, respectively). Further indication that Lygizos had the Laurentianus in his hands is provided by the fact that an annotation by him can be found in the anterior guard-leaves.²¹

Upon consideration of the evidence, codex M is in turn a copy of O, since M carries all the significant errors of L and O and introduces lots of its own:

- 2.4 (172,25) γούν om. M
- 2.4 (172,27) καί om. M
- 6.2 (174,19) ἐροῦμεν L O S B : ὀρώμεν M
- 8.2 (175,20) οὔτως om. M
- 8.4 (176,21) οὐ L O S B : ἐν M
- 10.3 (180,2–3) τὰ καθέκαστα μᾶλλον – τὰ καθόλου om. M
- 10.4 (180,17) οὔν om. M
- 13.2 (184,5) συναιρεθείη L O S B : συναιρεθείη M
- 13.6 (185,31) ἐπομένοις L O S B : ἐπομένως M
- 13.8 (187,13–14) τὸν ὀρισμὸν – λεγομένην M
- 14.2 (189,10) ὡς om. M
- 15.2 (189,26) εἶ om. M
- 16.3 (190,23) ἀναισθητόν L O S B : αἰσθητόν M
- 17.1 (191,6) φυσικῶν L O S B : φυτῶν M
- 17.3 (191,24) ἐνδέχεται om. M
- 17.4 (192,26) μαθηματικῶν L O S B : μαθημάτων M
- 19.2 (194,9) ὄν om. M
- 20.3 (194,35) περὶ² om. M

²¹ Identification by Stefec 2014, 195. I would like to point out that a very close relationship between the two manuscripts (L and O) had already been reported in respect of another text, i.e. letter no. 3 of the epistolary of Michael Apostoles: see Stefec 2013a, 35.

- 23.4 (197,29) δρεπομένους L O S B : δρεπομένας M
 23.5 (198,9) ὀνομάζοντας om. M
 23.7 (198,35) λέγειν om. M
 24.2 (200,21) ἡμῖν om. M
 25.1 (200,26) μεῖζον om. M
 26.2 (201,17–18) καὶ ἔλαττον – ἔσται om. M
 27.2 (202,17) τοιοῦτον L O S B : τοσοῦτον M
 28.2 (202,39) φέρεσθαι L O S B : φαίνεσθαι M

More specifically, some cases show that M is a *direct* copy of O. First, the omission of the word ὑπό at 2.4 [= 172,25] has been probably caused by its position in O, coinciding with the turning page point between fol. 150 recto and verso. Then, at 12.3 [= 182,21–23] just after the words πρὸς Παρμενίδην ἔν, the copyist of M, namely Konstantinos Laskaris, had begun to write the sentence τὸ ἐξηρημένον ἔν τοῦ ἐνὸς ὄντος, but he immediately stopped and deleted it, thus realising he was about to pass over one entire text line of O, εἰπόντα τὸ ὄν ἄτοπα πλείω ἐπιφέρει τοῖς μὴ διακρίνουσι (fol. 157r, lin. 14–16). Exactly the same occurred at 22.2 [= 196,2–3], where Laskaris was about to skip the sentence ὑβρίζων δ' εἰς Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν θεῖον οὕτω τοι ἰταμῶς ψευδεῖς by starting to write the first two words of the following one, καὶ ἀσυμβλήτους (fol. 165r, lin. 24–26). The genesis (as well as the recognition and the correction) of these errors can only be explained if we suppose that Laskaris had the codex O before his very eyes.²²

At many places of the text Laskaris corrected mistakes made by Lygizos. Here some examples:

- 3.2 (173,21) ἐπιμελουμόνους O : ἐπιμελουμένας M
 8.1 (175,1) φειλότης O : φιλότης M
 8.3 (175,32) δέ om. O : rest. M
 9.2 (177,11) καταταγμένον O : κατατεταγμένον M
 9.6 (178,23) Ζωάστρου O : Ζωροάστρου M

²² The results of this philological investigation seem to strengthen the connection between the activity of Konstantinos Laskaris in Messina and some manuscripts copied by Lygizos nowadays belonging to the Barocci collection (Oxford). This link has already been pointed out by Martínez Manzano 1994 (see in particular pp. 273, 302). For instance, we can mention the fact that on the last folios of manuscript Barocci 76 (a collective volume made in Crete by Michael Apostoles, Andreas Donos, Aristobulos Apostoles, and the so-called *Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg; see *supra*, § 2.1.1.2) one comes across the *Desideraten-Liste* in the hand of Laskaris studied by Martínez Manzano. Furthermore, annotations in Laskaris' hand are found in the manuscript Barocci 119, copied again by Lygizos. Therefore, we could suppose that at a certain time some books linked to Lygizos became available to Laskaris.

- 10.4 (180,24) δεῖ O : δῆ M
 12.3 (182,39) διῖσχυρόμενος O : διῖσχυριζόμενος M
 12.5 (183,12) πεπρεβευκώς O : πεπρεσβευκώς M
 13.2 (184,10) ὕψω O : ἤψω M
 13.11 (188,21) ἐγγύρας O : ἀγγύρας M
 17.2 (191,20) ἀῖδιά τῆς O : ἀῖδιά τις M
 21.2 (195,21) ἄν ἄν O : ἄν M
 23.2 (196,17) αὐτίκα αὐτίκα O : αὐτίκα M
 24.2 (200,2) πατρολόαν O : πατραλοῖαν M
 25.2 (200,33) καί om. O : rest. M
 26.2 (201,23) αὐτὸς αὐτός O : αὐτός M
 28.3 (203,11) ἐπηλούθησας O : ἐπηκολούθησας M
 28.4 (203,33) πάντων O : πάντως M²³

As already noticed by Gregorio De Andrés,²⁴ codex N is a late eighteenth-century copy of M, sharing every single feature of its model (and, of course, all its mistakes). It does not give any kind of contribution to the constitution of the text.

The Latin translation of chapters 13.3–13.7 (on the immortality of the soul) prepared in the summer of 1462 by Nikolaos Sekundinos most likely stems from the autograph copy by Kallistos. This Latin version is found in the manuscript Marc. lat. XIII 62 (fols 133r–135v).²⁵ A collaborator of Bessarion, Sekundinos was in Viterbo together with the cardinal as the latter received Kallistos' work per mail in the late spring of 1462. Like Bessarion, Sekundinos appreciated the work and intervened in the controversy by writing a Greek letter²⁶ to Kallistos praising the high quality of the treatise.

In most cases the Latin text shares L's good readings against S:

- 13.4 *passionibus omnino liber* : ἀπαθής L : καθαρὸς S
 13.6 *formam* : εἶδη L : ἤδη S
 13.7 *opus est* : δεῖ L : δῆ S

²³ Although in this place the correct reading would have been παίδων (as we read in L S B), the conjecture of Laskaris (πάντως instead of Lygizos' error πάντων) is a very good one. For the *iunctura* πάντη πάντως there are in fact lots of occurrences; see e.g.: Plat., *Phaedr.* 246a 4, Arist., *Cat.* 4a 35.

²⁴ See De Andrés 1987, 356.

²⁵ For the edition of the Latin version see Monfasani 1985 (with introduction and explanatory notes).

²⁶ See Boissonade 1833, 377–387 and PG 161, cols 691–696; see *supra*, § 1.3.5. I shall give a new edition of the epistle in the near future.

On the other hand, it shares with S at least one good reading, whereas L bears a significant error: 13.8 *anima motus* : ψυχὴ κινήσεως S: ψυχὴ κυρίως L.

The examination of the relationships among the extant witnesses leads us to place them in the following *stemma*:

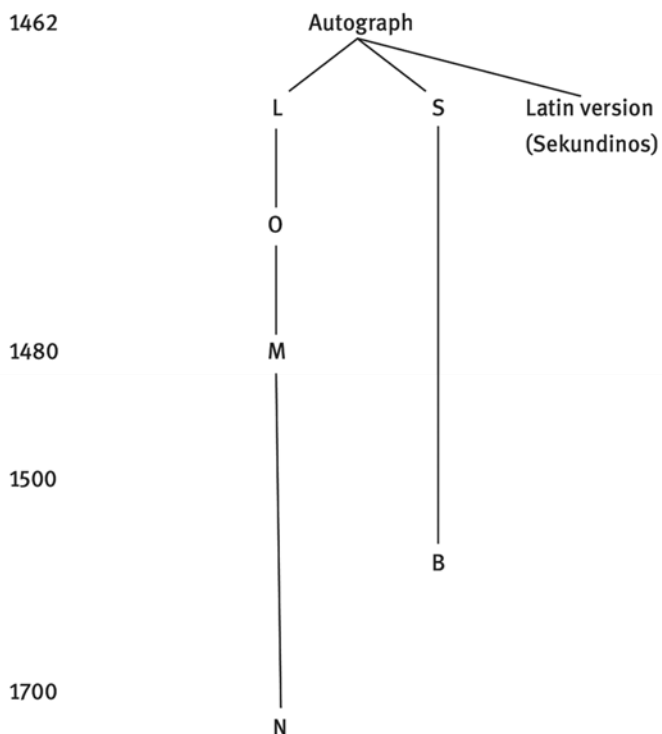


Fig. 3: *Defensio Theodori Gazae*. *Stemma codicum*.

1.3 Editorial criteria

As mentioned, we do not possess the autograph of Kallistos' pamphlet, which would have provided many interesting insights regarding the orthographic uses of a talented Byzantine scholar. For the edition of the *Defensio*, as well as for all the other texts included in this Appendix, we avoided any sort of 'normalization' towards classical Greek forms, thus sharing the choice of most modern editors of

medieval and Renaissance Greek texts.²⁷ A normalization modelled on Kallistos' orthographic habits, evidenced by more than one hundred autographs, was also avoided. I cite here only one exemplary case, which is sufficient in itself to show the difference between Kallistos' praxis and the ecdotic choice adopted for the text of the *Defensio*.

In Andronikos' manuscripts, the enclitic τε is always non-accented when following a proparoxytone, oxytone or perispomenon (in the latter two cases, provided that τε does not precede another enclitic [= *synenklisis*]). After paroxytone and properispomenon instead it almost always takes an accent.²⁸ In this respect, on the basis of the codices available for the text of the *Defensio* (the primary sources, L and S, and their apographs O, M, and B), it seemed appropriate to respect in the most scrupulous way the graphic uses found in M, which is by the hand of Konstantinos Laskaris. Given that M is not the work of any other scribe, but of a Greek master, it seemed natural to expect from him more care concerning spelling and accentuation.

To begin with, concerning the enclitic τε one notices a great difference between Laskaris' and Kallistos' use: in codex M, τε mostly does not take any accent when following a paroxytone²⁹ (with a few exceptions)³⁰ and a properispomenon³¹

²⁷ See Reinsch 1983, 95*–103*; Maltese 1993; Rollo 1993–1994, 37–43; Reisch and Kambylis 2001, 34*–52*; Rollo 2014c, 338–342; Gazzini 2021. By other editors, one still finds the tendency to 'normalize' the text by following classical uses: it is the case e.g. with the edition of Bessarion's *De natura et arte* given by Mariev, Marchetto and Luchner 2015.

²⁸ Some examples from the opening of the *In calumniatorem Platonis* (Marc. gr. Z. 198): αὐτίκα τέ; Ἑλλήνων τέ; ταῦτα τέ; σοφίαν τέ; λόγοις τέ; ἐγαννύμην τέ; πλάγην τέ. These uses are certainly not limited to the works of the Byzantine period, but are also found in copies of classical texts: note, for example, that even in the first chapter of the *De corona* by Demosthenes — copied by Andronikos in the Sinod. gr. 267 — the accent can be found on the enclitic τε both after properispomenon (πᾶσι τὲ) and after paroxytone (σωτηρίας τέ). For the understanding of the accentuation of τε in Byzantine Greek see also Noret 1998.

²⁹ φιλοσοφία τε (1.2); Ἀριστοτέλει τε (2.2 and 25.2); εὐθύνειν τε (2.2); ἐκείνω τε (2.4); λόγους τε (2.4); ταῦταις τε (2.4); πάπποις τε (4.2); ἐκπίπτων τε (4.2); θορυβηθέντας τε (8.3); πρώτας τε (8.4 and 23.2); φύρδην τε (9.4); φθόνω τε (9.5); Αἰγυπτίοις τε (9.6); ἄλλοι τε (9.6); ἄλλων τε (10.2); διακεκριμένα τε (12.2); μεγαλαυχίας τε (12.4); φύσει τε (12.5); λειῶς τε (12.5); πάντη τε (12.6); ὅπως τε (12.6); τοιαύτας τε (13.7); ἀχωρίστους τε (13.7); οὐκέτι τε (13.8); μιγνύντα τε (13.9); ἄλλοις τε (15.3); ἀνωτέραν τε (17.4); ἀφθάρτων τε (17.6); βαθυτέρων τε (17.7); ἤδη τε (22.2); εἶδη τε (23.1); ὑποκειμένων τε (23.2); ἐπιστήμης τε (23.3); ῥημάτων τε (23.5); ἐσπάρης τε (23.7); Ἀριστοτέλη τε (27.2); ἄλλων τε (28.1); φρονιμωτάτου τε (28.2); λοιδορουμένων τε (28.4).

³⁰ Ἀριστοτέλης τὲ (1.1); μεταδοξάζων τὲ (12.6); τοιαύτας τὲ (13.7); ἀκριβεστέραν τὲ (17.5); εὐπορίαν τὲ (23.5); Ἀριστοτέλει τὲ (28.3); Θεοδώρω τὲ (28.4).

³¹ ὠφλες τε (2.4); τοῦτο τε (8.2); σῶφρον τε (10.4); μᾶλλον τε (11.2, 19.2 and 25.2); κοσμοῦσαν τε (13.6); εἶδος τε (16.3); παῦρα τε (23.4); μεῖζον τε (25.2). Once appears μεῖζόν τε (26.2).

(with the exception of the syntagma οἷός τε).³² I have always respected Laskaris' accentuation for all other enclitics, such as the verbs εἰμί³³ and φημί³⁴. Concerning orthography, I hereby list the most relevant features. I have preserved the *facies* of manuscript M in regard to words written sometimes as one word (univerbation) and sometimes as two separate ones. I name here for example some adverbs: τὰ μέγιστα (8.2; 9.7) and ταμέγιστα (9.5); ταμάλιστα (2.3; 8.4); διαβραχέων (15.2; 27.2; 28.3); ἐπὶ πλέον (23.2) and ἐπιπλέον (18.1); διὰ τοῦτο (2.3; 11.2; 17.2; 24.2) and διατοῦτο (24.2) (meaning in both cases 'therefore / so / for this reason'). It may be of some interest to signal that some words appearing in univerbation are marked by the presence of ὑφῆν (◡): τοπαράπαν (2.3; 12.6); τωόντι (13.3; 23.3; 23.5; 27.2). According to the Byzantine orthographic usage, Laskaris writes ταυτὸν = τὸ αὐτὸν (as well as ταυτὰ = τὰ αὐτά) without coronis;³⁵ the conjunction μὴδὲ is provided with a double accent. According to Laskaris' use, adverbs ending with the letter *eta* are generally not provided with *iota* subscript.³⁶ In the word εἰκῆ the

32 οἷός τε (1.2.; 10.2; 11.3; 13.11; 19.2); οἷός τ' (28.4); οἷόν τ' (2.2; 10.4); οἷόν τε (12.3; 13.7; 15.3; 17.3; 27.2). In contrast to this, I found in two cases οἷον τε (9.5; 13.7).

33 After perispomenon: αὐτῆς ἐστι (10.4); φυτικῆς ἐστι (13.10); νοητῶν ἐστι (13.10); αὐτοῖς ἐστίν (16.3); ἀρχῆς ἐστίν (16.3); φυσικῶν εἰσίν (17.3). After properispomenon: ἐκεῖνο ἐστι (11.1); μάλλον ἐστὶ (14.1); γνώσις ἐστι (17.1); θεῖον ἐστὶ (17.4). After oxytone: συμβεβηκός ἐστι (9.2); τελικόν ἐστιν (10.4); γεννητόν ἐστιν (16.2); αὐτοί ἐστιν (27.2). After paroxytone: ὑποκειμένῳ εἰσι (8.4); Σωφρονίσκος ἐστι (10.4); ἐσομένων ἐστίν (11.2); φιλοσοφίας ἐστὶ (13.10); δόξης ἐστίν (14.2); πάντα εἰσὶ (17.1); σκέψις ἐστι (17.3); ἐπιστήμη ἐστι (17.6); λόγος ἐστὶ (20.3); Ἀρχύτας ἐστὶ (23.8); βασκανίας ἐστίν (27.2). After praroxytone: ἐρώτησιν ἐστὶ (24.4). See also the case of εἴπῃ ἐστίν (17.3); a second accent is applied on -περ.

34 After perispomenon: ψυχῆς φησὶν (13.3); τυφλῶ φησι (15.3); ἀριθμοῦ φησι (23.8); ἡμεῖς φαμέν (24.1). After properispomenon: ἐκεῖνος φησὶ (7.2); ταῦτα φησι (8.3); παρῆχθαι φαμέν (10.4); εἶναι φαμέν (10.4; 13.6; 17.3); συναναιρεῖσθαι φαμέν (11.2); πλῆθος φησιν (12.3); ἀπατώντες φαμέν (14.2); πρῶτα φαμέν (14.2); στοιχεῖα φαμέν (17.2); δῆμος φησὶ (21.1); μείζον φαμέν (23.2; 23.3); μάλλον φαμέν (23.2); Μιχαῆλος φησὶν (23.3); αἰδέϊται φησὶ (23.3). After oxytone: αὐτός φησιν (8.2; 13.4); ἱστορικῶν φησὶ (9.6); χωριστόν φησι (13.4); Θεούς φησιν (17.2); λευκῆν φαμέν (23.2); ποιόν φησιν (23.2); οὐδεὶς φησιν (23.2). After paroxytone: ὄντα φησι (8.3); Ἀρχύτας φησι (8.4); βίβλον φησὶ (9.6); πρῶτῳ φησιν (13.4); κωλύει φησιν (13.8); ἀέρα φαμέν (13.8); ὄντα φησὶν (14.2); Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν (14.2; 23.7); ἐπιστήμην φαμέν (17.2); ὄμμα φησι (17.4); εἶδη φησὶν (18.2); οὐσίαν φαμέν (23.2; 23.3); οὐσίας φαμέν (23.2); συγχωρεῖτω φησὶ (23.7); μέλει φησὶ (23.7); συμπεραίνων φησὶ (23.8); μάλα φαμέν (24.2). After praroxytone: ἔοικε φησὶν (13.3); ἀδελον φησὶν (13.8); ἐντελέχειαν φησὶ (13.8); πότερόν φησι (13.10); Θεόφραστος φησι (17.3).

35 See the following occurrences: 5.2; 10.3; 12.3; 13.11; 17.7; 23.2; 23.3; 23.7; 23.8; 24.2; 25.2.

36 See e.g. ἀμηγέπη (1.1); πάντη (1.2; 12.6; 13.7; 13.8; 13.10; 17.3; 24.2; 28.3; 28.4); κομιδῆ (10.2).

iota subscript is sometimes expressed,³⁷ as in *πλεονακῆ*;³⁸ οὐδαμῆ appears once in the text (14.2) provided with *iota*. It seemed to me unnecessary to reproduce Laskaris' use of ὑποδιαστολή, as it occurs in the following cases: ὄ,περ (2.4; 6.2; 11.2; 12.2; 13.4; 14.2; 17.6; 19.2; 23.2); τό,τε (8.3; 12.3; 17.4; 23.8; 28.4) and τά,τε (12.2; 12.3; 12.4; 13.2; 17.3). I did not adopt Laskaris' emphatic punctuation, rather I preferred to follow the syntax.

Finally, we shall point out that Mohler systematically added to the text the indications <Ἀνδρόνικος> and <Μιχαῆλος> to signal the transition from the arguments of one to the other, so reproducing the layout of codex B (copy of S). However, these indications are not found in manuscripts L O M nor in S (with the exception of the first leaves, where the names of both Andronikos and Michael can be read in the margin in red ink). Quotations from Apostoles' work are marked by expanded character spacing.

³⁷ One finds both εἰκῆ (3.2; 27.2) and ἐικῆ (9.7; 12.4).

³⁸ See the emblematic case of chapter 13.8, where this word appears five times, but only once with *iota* subscript.

Conspectus siglorum

S = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, Φ.III.15.

L = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 58.33.

Mohler = ed. Mohler 1942, 171–203.

Τῷ δεσπότῃ Βησσαρίωνι Ἀνδρόνικος, εὐτυχῶς χρῶ.

171 1.1 Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὦ σοφώτατε δέσποτα, | περιέλκειν σε νῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλοτά-
 Mohler των θεωριῶν οὐρανοῦ τε ὑπὲρ ἀστρονομούντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄκρον τῶν ἀγα-
 θῶν ἐν ἡρεμίᾳ μεγίστη ἀνατεινόμενον κάκεινο περιχορεύοντα καὶ νοητῶς συνα-
 πτόμενον τῷ πάντων τῶν ὄντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ εἰς ὑποθέσεις λογικωτέρας κατά- 5
 γειν καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀμηγέτη οὐκ ἀξίας μεγαλονοίας οὐκ ἐδόκει δίκαιον εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 Μιχαῆλος πρόφασιν μὲν Πλήθωνι καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συνηγορῶν, ἧς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ οὐ-
 δέποτ' ἐμέλησε, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ Θεοδώρῳ βασκαίνων καὶ λοιδορήσασθαι θέλων
 ἀδίκως τάνδρῃ, εὖ παθῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἡδίκημένος δ' οὐδ' ὅπωςτι- 10
 οῦν, βιβλίον συνέγραψε κατ' αὐτοῦ λοιδοριῶν τε καὶ ἀμαθίας μεστόν — σοὶ φησι
 χαριζόμενος· παρενθήκη δ' αὐτῷ Ἀριστοτέλης τὲ καὶ Λατίνοι γεγένηται — ἀνέ-
 χεσθαί γε, σιωπᾶν ἔτι καὶ τουτονὶ μὲν τὸν τελχίνα οὕτω τοι μεγάλα κομπάζοντα
 καὶ τὰς ὄφρυς ἔαν ἀνασπῶντα, Θεόδωρον δὲ περιορᾶν τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικούμενον
 καὶ μὴ τὰ δυνατὰ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συνειπεῖν, κάκεινον διελέγξει ἀμαθῆ τε
 καὶ ψευδόμενον καὶ μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν ὑγιὲς εἰρηκότα, οὐ σώζοντος δήπου οὐδὲ τιμῶν- 15
 τος ἦν τὰ γινόμενα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προπηλακισθέντων οὐδέσι, καὶ πρό γε πάντων
 τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ὅπου γ' ἐπὶ σωτηρία ταύτης καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα δεῖν ἀναιρεῖν Ἀριστοτέλης
 παρακελεύεται.

1.2 Σὲ δ' ἔγωγε εὖ οἶδα, δικαιοῦτατε δέσποτα, οὐθ' ἀπλῶς οὕτω τῶν Πλάτωνι
 προσκειμένων ἀποδεχόμενον, ἦν μὴ καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς λέγωσιν, οὔτε μὴν τοὺς Ἀρι- 20
 στοτέλει τιθεμένους ῥαδίως οὕτωςι παραιτούμενον, ἕως ἂν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις τὸ
 ἀληθὲς πρεσβεύηται. Μιχαῆλον τέ μοι καὶ πάννυ δοκεῖς τοῦναντίον ἢ αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖ
 οὐθ' ἡδέως προσήσασθαι οὔτε τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον Πλήθωνος χά-
 ριν προσθήσασθαι, ἦν παρὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ πρέπον δόξῃ ληρεῖν, ἐμέ τε αὖ οὐκ
 ἀηδῶς ἀποπέμψειν, ἦν συνηγορῶν Θεοδώρῳ δόξω τί ἀντιλέγειν τῷ Πλήθωνι 25
 ἀνάξια γὰρ ταῦτα πάντη τοῦ δικαιοτάτου σου ἦθους. ἀλλ' ὡς ὅσιον ἀπανταχοῦ
 νομίζων τὸ προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τᾶλλα πάντα παρεῖς, οἷς ἂν ἐκάτερος ἡμῶν
 ἑαυτὸν συνιστάναι οἷός τε ἦ, ἄμφω μετιῶν τῷ βιβλίῳ ψῆφον οἷσεις φιλοσοφία τε
 καὶ τῷ σῶ προσήκουσαν ἀξιώματι.

8–10 λοιδορήσασθαι–ὅπωςτιοῦν] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 161,23–34 Mohler

3 οὐρανοῦ–ἀστρονομούντα] cf. Plat., *Theaet.* 173e 5–6; Procl., in Plat. *Tim.* 3,277,15 Diehl
 17–18 ἐπὶ–παρακελεύεται] cf. Arist., *EN* 1096a 14–15 26–27 ὄσιον–ἀλήθειαν] cf. Arist., *EN*
 1096a 15

Inscriptio <Ἀνδρόνικου τοῦ Καλλίστου πρὸς τὰς Μιχαήλου Ἀποστόλου κατὰ Θεόδωρον
 ἀντιλήψεις> add. Mohler | τῷ δεσπότῃ Βησσαρίωνι Ἀνδρόνικος, εὐτυχῶς χρῶ om. L
 3 ὑπεραστρονομούντα Mohler 9 ἀδίκων Mohler 20 προσκειμένων Mohler 24 ἦν Mohler
 26 ταῦτα πάντη] ταύτη S Mohler 27 τᾶλλα S L 28 ἑαυτὸν om. S | ἦ] ἦν Mohler | βυβλίῳ S

Andronikos to his Lord Bessarion, enjoy your reading.

1.1 It did not seem right to me, wisest sir, to distract you from your highest reflections, you who observe beyond the sky and in full solitude rise to the greatest good, circle it, and connect intellectually with what is beyond all earthly things, and have you lower yourself to more rational arguments not worthy of your height of ingenuity. However, since Michael, spuriously taking the defence of Plethon and of the truth, for which he never cared, envious of Theodoros and intending to insult him gratuitously, although he was treated well by both Theodoros and myself, without ever being wronged, wrote a treatise against him, one full of insults and ignorance — he says he did it to please you: Aristotle and the Latins were but a diversion to him —, to bear, and keep quiet, and leave to stand this Telchine, so proud and haughty, and disinterested in Theodoros so vilified and not speak as much as I could in defence of him and of the truth, thus proving that he is ignorant and a liar and speaks nonsense, this would not have been appropriate for those who have interest in defending and showing respect towards those insulted by him, and above all the truth, when in defence of this Aristotle states that there is no need to take care of one's well-being.

1.2 I know very well, most just sir, that you are not simply satisfied with those who associate themselves with Plato, if they do not tell the truth. Nor do you easily reject those who are with Aristotle, as long as they speak the truth. It seems to me that, quite contrary to what he believes, you will not gladly accept Michael, nor will you approve his arguments against the just out of respect for Plethon, if it seems that he speaks beyond the truth and the convenient, and you will not, on the other hand, unpleasantly reject me, if in taking Theodoros' defence, it seems that I am speaking against Plethon. This, in fact, is completely alien to your very just nature. However, considering that it is holier to prefer the truth in every case, and setting aside all the things for which both of us can recommend one another, by reading both books you will impart judgment worthy of your doctrine and your dignity.

2.1 Ἔδει σε Πλήθωνος ἔν τε ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ κὰν τῷ περὶ οὐσίας Ἀριστοτέλη εὐθύνοντος σιωπᾶν.

172 2.2 Σὲ μᾶλλον | σιωπᾶν ἔδει τοιοῦτον ὄντα καὶ μὴ εὐήθως οὕτωςι σαυτῷ θαρρήσαντα Πλήθωνι μὲν συνηγορεῖν ὑποστήναι, Θεοδώρῳ δὲ ἀντιλέγειν πειρᾶσθαι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀπεριμερίμνως, ὡς αὐτὸς φῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἐπιστημόνως 5 καὶ ἑαυτῷ προσηκόντως Ἀριστοτέλει τε συνηγορεῖν ἐλομένῳ καὶ τοῖς ἠτηκόσιν ἐταίροις χαρίζεσθαι εὔ μάλα θεθάρρηται, ὡς οὔτε δέον ὄν τὸν οἰκεῖον προστάτην ὑφ' ὅτουσιν προπηλακίζομενον προέσθαι μαλακισθέντι καὶ ἅμα ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀπαξιούντι μὴ οὐχ οἶόν τε εἶναι, περὶ τε τοῦ προτεθέντος λόγον ὑπέχειν καὶ Πλήθωνα ῥᾶστα εὐθύνειν τε καὶ διελέγειν πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλη νεανειούμενον. 10

2.3 Καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐξήλεγξε κάλλιστα τε καὶ διαλεκτικώτατα, ὥσπερ προεῖρηται. σοὶ δὲ μηδὲν μὲν εἰδοῖτι, πάντα δὲ οἰομένῳ εἰδέναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ῥᾶστα μηδενὶ ξὺν νῷ σαυτὸν εἰς τοιαύτας ἀγωνίας καθιέντι καὶ κενῆς ταμάλιστα δόξης ἐφιεμένῳ καὶ ταύτην σαυτῷ προσποῖησαι πάνυ φαύλως πεισθέντι, ἦν ὑπὸ σχήματι τοῦ συναίρεσθαι Πλήθωνι ἀντειπὼν Θεοδώρῳ καὶ κολούσας αὐτόν, ἄνδρα ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ 15 νῦν περιβόητον ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ φωνῇ, δόξης εἶναι τι μηδὲν ὦν, τοιοῦτοις ἀνδράσιν ἀπομαχόμενος εὐήθως πάνυ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γε σῶ κακῷ, πείσθητί μοι, τετόλμηται, ἐφ' οἷς Πλήθωνι μὲν κινδυνεύοντι βοηθεῖν, Θεοδώρῳ δὲ ἀντιλέγειν προεἰλουμέν, φαίνη δὲ μηδὲν τι προὔργου τοπαράπαν διηνυκῶς. Πλήθωνά τε γὰρ οὐκ ὦνθας οὐδ' ὀπωσιούσιν, ᾧ συναγορεύειν ὑπέστης, ὅπου γε καὶ καταβάλλων αὐτόν ὑπ' ἀβελτηρίας ἀλίσκη συχνά, τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴδὲ τὴν διαφορὰν ξυνιείς, καθ' ἣν 20 αὐτὸς πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλη περὶ οὐσίας διαφέρεται, ὡς προϊόντος ἐλεγχθήσῃ τοῦ λόγου.

2.4 Πῶς γὰρ ἂν σοὶ καὶ ἐξεγένετο τῶν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπομένων δοξῶν ἐπηβόλῳ καὶ ὀπωσοῦν εἶναι, ὅς γε Ἀριστοτέλους μὲν 25 ὑπὸ βλακείας καὶ βραδυτήτος νοῦ οὐδὲ μικρὸν γοῦν συνήκας, τοῖς Πλάτωνος δὲ οὐδ' ἐνέτυχες οὐδ' ὀπωσιούσιν; ἐκείνῳ τε οὖν οὐ ξυνήνεγκε τουτί σου τὸ σύγγραμμα, αὐτὸς τε οὐκ ὦνθσο οὐδ' ἦρθης ὥσπερ ᾧου, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεῖσαι καταπεπτωκῶς πτώμα γέλωτος ἄξιον, ἀποτυχῶν τῆς ἧς ἐν ἐλπίδι δόξης ἐτύγχανες ὦν Θεοδώρῳν τε οὐκ ἐκόλουσας πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα καμών, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ Θερασίτης 30 Ἀχιλλέα κολούειν ἐπιχειρῶν. γέλωτα δὲ πλατὺν παρὰ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὦφλες

1–2 Ἔδει–σιωπᾶν] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 161,28–29 Mohler 3–5 σαυτῷ–ἀπεριμερίμνως] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 161,29–30 Mohler

12–13 μηδενὶ ξὺν νῷ] cf. Aristoph., *Nub.* 580; cf. *infra* 12.4

1 αὐτοῦ Mohler 11 κάλλιστα τε] κάλλιστα τά τε S | προήρηται L 13 ξυνῶ S Mohler 19 προὔργου S L 21 συνιείς L 25 ἐπιβόλῳ Mohler 27 οὐ om. Mohler | ξυνήνεγκες Mohler 28 καὶ om. L

2.1 ‘You should have kept quiet, given that Plethon corrects Aristotle in his other writings and in the one on substance’.

2.2 You should have remained silent, given who you are and that you maliciously had the courage to take Plethon’s defence and tried to contradict Theodoros. In fact, he rightly had great courage, he who decided, not without commitment — as you put it — but rather with so much doctrine and in such a convenient way to himself, to defend Aristotle and please those friends who had asked him, because it is a duty not to abandon one’s own guide when insulted by anyone, thus showing oneself to be cowardly and not to consider oneself unworthy for not being able to support the debated subject and to easily correct and refute Plethon, who behaves in a reckless way towards Aristotle.

2.3 And then, as mentioned, he replied in the best and most reasonable way possible. As for you, who do not know anything, but instead believe you know everything and for this very reason meddled without reflecting on such a great debate, you who yearn for vain fame and have foolishly convinced yourself of being able to earn it without effort by attacking Theodoros on the pretext of helping Plethon and going against him, he who is a man of culture now famous in both languages, you believe you are worth something, putting yourself in competition with such men, and instead are nothing. It was a foolish gamble and moreover to your disadvantage, believe you me, trying to help Plethon in danger and contradicting Theodoros. You have not achieved anything useful at all. In fact, you have not offered any benefit to Plethon, whom you proposed to help, while you have frequently been caught refuting him because of your ignorance, not even understanding from the very beginning the difference for which he distances himself from Aristotle on substance, as will be proved in the continuation of the reasoning.

2.4 How could you ever feel that you were master of the doctrine of Plato and Aristotle and their followers, you who did not even understand the basics of Aristotle because of your stupidity and your slowness of mind, when you have not even read the works of Plato? Therefore, this writing of yours has not given you any advantages, you have not benefited from it, nor have you risen as you thought. Instead, you lie on the ground like a fallen body worthy of ridicule, without having obtained the fame you so hoped to obtain; and you have not won over Theodoros despite having worked so hard, no more than Thersites who tried to win over Achilles. You have already exposed yourself in a humiliating way to

τε ἤδη ἀσημονῶν, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ τῆς παροιμίας 'ὕς πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐρίζων' πεφώρασαι. καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀφλήσεις, ἐπειδὴν σε τραχύ τι λίαν καὶ ἄμουσον καὶ καταπληκτικὸν ὑπὸ λεοντῆς φθεγγόμενον καὶ τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους λανθάνοντά τε καὶ δεδιτόμενον ἀποδύσαντες, πολὺ τι τοῦ περιβλήματος ἀπολειπόμενον διελέγξωμεν. καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον συντρίψαντες, ὅπερ ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας σχήματι πίθηκος ὧν ὑποδεδυκέναι τετόλμηκας, ἐπὶ τοῦ σχήματος, οὐπὲρ ἠξίωσαι, τοῦ λοιποῦ μένειν διδάξωμεν καὶ τῶν σοι μὴ προσηκόντων μεταποιεῖσθαι μηκέτι ζητεῖν. ἦ γὰρ ἂν ἀδικοῖμεν Θεόδωρόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, καθ' ὧν ἀνέδην οὕτως τὴν πομπείαν ἀδίκως ἐποίησας, εἰ σὺ μὲν κύων 'ἀναιδείην ἐπιεμένη', οὐδαμῶθεν προσήκον σοι 5
 173 Πλήθωνι βοθεῖν, κενῆς | δὲ μόνον ἔρωτι δόξης προαχθεὶς ἐτόλμησας οὕτως ἀν- 10
 τειπεῖν ἰταμῶς Θεοδώρῳ, τῷ ψεύδει καὶ ταῦτα συνηγορῶν καὶ ἅμα οὕτως φαύ-
 λως ἔχων ἐπιστήμης καὶ φύσεως, ἡμεῖς δέ, οἷς πολλαχόθεν προσήκει τούτοις βο-
 ηθεῖν καὶ ἅμα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀπαξιούσι, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν ἡμῖν πεπλησι-
 ακότων μὴ οὐχὶ τὰ ἐς πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην σοῦ πολλῷ κρείττους εἶναι ὀλιγορήσο- 15
 μεν. οὕτω δὴ τοι φαύλως τοῦ συγγενικοῦ τε καὶ φιλικοῦ καθήκοντος καὶ πάντας
 οὕτως περιβρισμένους ὑπὸ σοῦ τοῦ τελχίνος περιοψόμεθα, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς
 καὶ ταῦτα ἀγωνιζόμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποτίσομέν σοι τὸ τῆ σῆ κακοθηεῖα προσήκον
 ὀφείλημα, τοὺς λόγους τε ἀνατρέποντες καὶ τὸ σαθρὸν καὶ ἀμβλυωπὸν τῆς σῆς
 διανοίας ἐλέγχοντες καὶ τῶν λοιδοριῶν, ἃς ἐκείνοις προστρίψασθαι καὶ μάλα
 ἐγλίχου, αὐτοὺς μὲν πολλῷ κρείττους δεικνύντες, σὲ δὲ ταύταις τε καὶ πλείοσιν 20
 ἄλλαις ἔνοχον. ἦν δὲ κακῶς εἰπὼν πρότερον ἀδίκως, νῦν ἀκούων δικαίως κακῶς
 χαλεπαίνης, σαυτῷ μεμφόμενος ἐν δίκη ἂν μεμφόμενος εἴης. 'ὁ γὰρ τὰ σπέρματα
 καταβαλὼν, οὗτος καὶ τῶν φόντων αἴτιος'.

3.1 Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὅσοι γε ἐξ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐς δεῦρο κείνῳ τι-
 θέμενοι Πλάτωνι ἀπηντήκεσαν. 25

3.2 Οὐκ ἐνέτυχες ἴσως τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίοις. πλείστους γὰρ ἂν εὔρες
 τῶν Ἀριστοτέλει τιθεμένων ἀντειπόντας ταῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος δόξαις. ὧν εἷς καὶ
 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀφροδισιεύς, ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὁ τυχόν, ἀλλὰ τῶν γνησιωτάτων Περιπα-
 τητικῶν. τοὺς δ' ἐν ἐσπέρα τῶν φιλοσοφίας ἐπιμελουμένους δογμάτων ποῦ θή-
 σεις, εἰπέ μοι, κρείττους ἀριθμοῦ σχεδὸν ὄντας; πάντας γὰρ τούτους Ἀριστοτέλει 30
 τιθεμένους, Πλάτωνι δὲ ἀντιλέγοντας καὶ μάλα ἀσμένως εὐρήσεις. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
 μὲν ὡς ὄραξ εἰκῆ σοι εἴρηται. τὰ δὲ λοιπά σου ἴδωμεν.

24–25 Ἄλλ' –ἀπηντήκεσαν] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 162,2–3 Mohler

1 τὸ –πεφώρασαι] *Mantissa Proverbiorum* 3,24 von Leutsch; (cf. Mich. Apost., *Paroem.* 17,73 et Theocr., *Id.* 5,23 cum scholiis) 9 ἀναιδείην ἐπιεμένη] Hom., *Il.* 1,149 22–23 ὁ–αἴτιος] cf. Demosth. 18,159

7 οὐκέτι L | ἦ] ἦ S 8 ἀδικοῖμεν S 9 ἐπιεμένη Mohler 27 ἀντιπόντας S 32 σου om. L

the laughter of those who read you, for those things for which, as the saying goes, you look like the sow that challenged Athena. And you will expose yourself even more once you have deprived yourself of your crude and clumsy words which are frightening only because of the lion skin you wear (something that terrifies only the simplest), and we will show how you are without a costume. And, having broken the mask that you dared put on to appear as a philosopher despite being a monkey, we will teach you to remain in the guise you are worthy of and no longer try to arrogate things that do not suit you. We would certainly do Theodoros a disservice, as well as the others you have rudely insulted in this way, if we allowed you, a dog ‘dressed in impudence’ and driven exclusively by the desire for empty fame, to dare oppose Theodoros so brazenly, even if doing so made it not at all convenient for you to help Plethon, taking the side of the lies and at the same time being of such low knowledge and nature. We, who are in many ways better off coming to their aid, and who do not think we ourselves and many of those close to us can be better than you in every aspect of knowledge, will not give it a second thought. In this way, we will not cowardly neglect the duty towards relatives and friends and the fact that everyone has been outraged by a Telchine like you, and moreover fighting for the truth, and we will not give you the compensation that instead belongs to your malice, refuting your arguments, contesting the fallacy and tenuousness of your thinking, and demonstrating that the injuries you have so ardently desired to inflict upon them are far superior and that you are exposed to these and many others. And if having previously spoken badly, now you do not have to tolerate hearing bad words spoken against you, you would rightly blame yourself. ‘Whoever throws the seeds is also responsible for the fruits.’

3.1 ‘But not even those, from Aristotle himself up to those who now adhere to him, have opposed Plato’.

3.2 Perhaps you have not read the ancient works. In fact, you would have found many supporters of Aristotle who opposed Plato’s thesis. One of these is Alexander of Aphrodisias, not just any man, but one of the most illustrious Peripatetics. And, tell me, how do you feel about Western philosophers, who are almost impossible to count? You will find in fact that all of these are supporters of Aristotle, and they almost all contradict Plato with pleasure. Well, this, you said inappropriately, as you can see. Let us take a look at the rest.

4.1 Ὡστε καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἐπιστρατεύειν ἀνδροῖν, παρ' οὓς μόλις ἂν ἄξιος εἶης, εἰ περιεῖεν, φοιτᾶν.

4.2 Θεόδωρον μὲν, εἰ περιεῖεν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ παλαιοί, ἕνα ἂν τῶν ἐκείνοις ὁμοτίμων ἡγοῦντο, ἄνδρα εὖ μὲν σοφίας καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἦκοντα, εὖ δὲ καὶ ἤθους, ὡς δὴ καὶ οἱ νῦν ἡγοῦνται, οἷς αὐτὸς φῆς χαριζόμενος συντεθεικέναι τουτί σου τὸ φιλοῦμενον πόνημα, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι λέγεις οὐδὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ὅπου γῆς εἶ συνιεῖς. σὺ δ' εἰ περιεῖεν, οὐ παρ' ἐκείνους ἐφοίτησας ἄν. ἀπελήλασο γὰρ ἂν ἐκείθεν διὰ τε φαυλότητα τρόπων καὶ βραδυτήτα νοῦ. παρὰ κωμωδοποιῶν δ' ἂν ἴσως διέτριβες καὶ οὐδὲ παρ' ἐκείνοις διὰ τιμῆς ὦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπῆροις τε καὶ πρεσβύταις συναριθμούμενος, ἔλκων τὸν κόρδακα, καὶ τὸν προστυχόντα τύπτων τῇ βακτηρίᾳ ἀφανίζων τὰ σκώμματα ἢ καὶ τούτων ἀσημονέστερα ἅττα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἀνέδην δρῶν, ἐκπίπτων τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν συριττόμενος.]

174 5.1 Αὐτίκα δὴ σοι τὸ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀφραίνοντος εἶη;

5.2 Οὐ περιπίπτει Θεόδωρος ἑαυτῷ. οὐ γὰρ τούτοις ἀλίσκεται, οἷς μέμφεται Πλήθωνι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἤρξεν ὕβρεως· Θεόδωρος δὲ ἀμύνεται τὸν ὑπάρξαντα. ταῦτα δ' οὐ ταυτόν, ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἐμοί τε καὶ σοί. οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν τις δικαίως ἂν νεμεσήσειεν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκως ἤρξας ὕβρεως, αὐτὸς δὲ δικαίως ἀμύνομαι σὲ τὸν ὑπάρξαντα. ὥστ' αὐτὸς μᾶλλον παραφρονεῖς, ὁ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφραίνοντας καλῶν.

6.1 Ὑβριν δὲ ἢ λοιδορίαν οὐκ ἂν εἶποιμι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' ἔλεγχον καὶ ἀπόδειξιν, ὅσα ἂν τις ἔχοντι λέγειν τινί.

6.2 Ἦ που σύ, ἦν τις σε ἀσεβείας ἐαλωκότα λέξας τύχη, τάληθῆ λέγων — ἐάλως γάρ, ὡς οἶσθα, ἐν Βυζαντίῳ — οὐκ ἀνιαθήση οὐδὲ λοιδορίαν ἡγήση τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἡσθεῖς τῷ ῥήματι ὁμολογήσεις χάριτας τῷ εἰπόντι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' εὖ οἶδ' ὡς οὐ ῥήμασι μόνον ἂν ἐχρήσω ὑβριστικοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος ἐδίωκας ἂν ἐκείνον φονῶν. καίτοι κἂν τοῦτο, ὅπερ αὐτὸς τίθεσαι, λοιδορία τυγχάνη ὄν, ἐχρῆν σε πρῶτα Πλήθωνα τάληθῆ κατ' Ἀριστοτέλους δεῖξαντα εἰρηκέναι, εἴτ' ἐκείνον μὲν ἀναίτιον, Θεόδωρον δὲ δεῖξαι συκοφαντοῦντα. νῦν δὲ τὸ ζητούμενον ὡς ὁμολογούμενον λαβὼν περαίνεις οὐδέν. Πλήθωνά τε γὰρ αἰεὶ λοιδορούμενον Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ συκοφαντοῦντα ἐροῦμεν, Θεόδωρόν τε οὐ συκοφαντοῦντα Πλήθωνα οὐδὲ φονῶντα, ὡς αὐτὸς φῆς, ἀλλὰ δικαίως ἐπεξερχόμε-

1–2 Ὡστε–φοιτᾶν] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 162,5–6 Mohler 13–14 Αὐτίκα–εἶη] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 162,9 Mohler 21–22 Ὑβριν–τινί] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 162,15–16 Mohler 32 φονῶντα] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 162,24 Mohler

9–11 τοῖς–σκώμματα] cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 540–542

5 συντεθεικέναι L 8 δ' ἂν in textu om., in marg. suppl. S 17 δὴ καὶ om. S 23 σε om. Mohler 24 ἀνιασθήση Mohler 27 ἐδίωκας Mohler 30 γὰρ om. S Mohler

4.1 ‘To the point of waging war on two men of such stature, with whom you would hardly be worthy of being par to if they were alive.’

4.2 If those great ancient authors were alive, they would consider Theodoros to be on their own level, a man of good doctrine and knowledge, and moreover of good morals, as his contemporaries also thought of him, doing something pleasing to whom you say you have composed this your wonderful work, not knowing what you are talking about and, according to the saying, ignoring where you stand. Rather, if they were alive, you would not have attended their school. You would have been kicked out for the coarseness of your ways and your slowness of understanding. You would have spent your time among the playwrights without even being taken into consideration by them, instead inserted between the grandparents and the elderly, dancing the cordax and beating the first person on hand with a stick, overshadowing the comic jokes or doing shameless things even worse than those in the orchestra, chased away and booed by the spectators.

5.1 ‘For example, how can that first thing not be said to be foolish?’

5.2 Theodoros does not contradict himself. In fact, he is not guilty of the things he says of Plethon. That started the insults, and Theodoros simply defends himself from the one who first insulted. And it is not the same as it is now between you and me. Not in the same way. In fact, one of us could be rightly angry with the other: you started to insult unjustly, while I rightly defended myself from you who attacked me first. So, you are rather the fool, you who call others ‘fools’.

6.1 ‘I would not speak of arrogance and slander, but of refutation and demonstration, things that one could easily say to another who remains steadfast in his position.’

6.2 Perhaps, if someone told you that you were accused of impiety, telling the truth among other things – you were accused, in fact, as you well know, in Constantinople – you would not be angry or consider this a slander, but you would like it and would also thank whoever told you? Of course not! Indeed, I know that not only would you use offensive words, but, your sword unsheathed, you would chase him down to kill him. And even if what you are talking about was really slanderous, it would have been necessary that you first of all, once you had proved that Plethon had said the truth against Aristotle, prove that he was therefore innocent and that Theodoros accused him unjustly. Now, in assuming what is not yet proven, you do not achieve any results. We will in fact say that Plethon slanders Aristotle and has denigrated him unfairly, and that Theodoros does not denigrate Plethon – nor is he ‘bloodthirsty’, as you say –

νον, ἕως ἂν Πλήθωνα μὲν τάληθῆ κατ' Ἀριστοτέλους εἰπόντα, Θεόδωρον δὲ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἐκείνῳ περιάψαντα δεξιῆς.

7.1 Εἶτ' οὐ ξυνίης ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρηκῶς ἀγαθὸν αὐτόν, μὴ συκοφάντην μὴδ' ἔξαπατῶντα τὸν Πλήθωνα.

7.2 Οὐ συνῆκας, ὦ ἄγαθέ, Θεοδώρου, οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ περιπίπτειν ἔλεγε· ἀγαθὸν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος φησὶ Πλήθωνα ἔθει Ἀθηναίων. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ πάντα ἄνδρα οὐκ ἀγαθὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βέλτιστον ἔλεγον. ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸν σε λέγων καὶ μοχθηρὸν ἔφην καὶ αὐθις ἐρῶ, καὶ ὅμως οὐ περιπίπτω ἑμαυτῷ. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ σε νομίζω, τοῦτο δὲ λέγω τῷ ἔθει χρώμενος. δεδόσθω δὲ ὅμως, ὡς Μιχαῆλος ἀκούει, οὕτω καὶ Θεόδωρον εἰρηκέναι· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως ἑαυτῷ περιπίπτει. ἀπλῶς μὲν γὰρ ἴσως Πλήθων ἀγαθός, πῆ δ' οὐκ ἀγαθός, ἔνθα δηλονότι Ἀριστοτέλη συκοφαντεῖ. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἀπλῶς κατηγορούμενα καὶ πῆ κατηγορεῖσθαι ἀνάγκη, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ πῆ καὶ ἀπλῶς, τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὰ προοίμια εἰρημένα σοι οὕτως εὐήθως καὶ ἀμαθῶς εἴρηται, ὥστε μοι δοκεῖς παρὰ κρατῆρα καθήμενος συντεθεικέναι αὐτά. φέρε δὴ καὶ ἅ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους σοι εἴρηται διακρούσωμεν. |

175 8.1 Οὐδεὶς τῶν παλαιῶν, ὦ φιλότης, οὔθ' ὅσοι γε συνέθεντο ἐπιστήμας, οὔτε οἷς ἄλλοις ἐν τοῖς σφετέροις συγγράμμασι τοιαῦται ξυνέτυχον ὑποθέσεις, μᾶλλον οὐσίας τὰ καθεκαστα ἤξιωσαν τῶν εἰδῶν.

8.2 Καὶ ποῦ σὺ ἦ τίσι τῶν παλαιῶν συγγράμμασιν ἐντυχῶν καὶ γνοὺς ἀκριβῶς μηδένα ἐκείνων τὰ καθεκαστα τῶν καθόλου μᾶλλον οὐσίας ἤξιωκότα; δίσχυρίζη βῶν μηδένα ἐκείνων τὰ γε τοιαῦτα ἤξιωκέναι. δεδόσθω δὲ ὅμως μηδένα τῶν παλαιῶν τοῦτο ἤξιωκέναι, οὐδ' οὕτως ἡμᾶς αἰρεῖς. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς παλαιοῖς μὲν οὐχ εὔρηται, διὸ καὶ πολλοῖς ἀτόποις ἐνεδίδοσαν λόγοις, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄντος δόξης. μὴ γὰρ δυνάμενοι κατιδεῖν, ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔν τε καὶ πολλὰ οὐκ ἀδύνατον εἶναι — ἐν μὲν ἐνεργείᾳ, δυνάμει δὲ πολλὰ, καὶ αὐθις ἐνεργείᾳ μὲν πολλὰ, δυνάμει δὲ ἔν —, ἀναγκάζομενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων οἱ μὲν τὸ ἔστιν ἀφήρουν, οἱ δὲ τὴν λέξιν μετερρῦθμιζον, ἕτεροι δὲ εἶναι τι μὴ ὄν ἐτίθεσαν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀτόμους εἰσήγαγον. τοῖς δὲ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλη τοῦτο τε κάλλιστα εὔρηται, καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα οὐ πρὸς λογικὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠθικὴν καὶ φυσικὴν καὶ θεολογίαν τὰ μέγιστα συμβαλλόμενα. ἔστι δ' ἅ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Πλάτωνα. τί οὖν ἄτοπον, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο ἠγνοεῖτο μὲν τοῖς παλαιότεροις, Ἀριστοτέλη δὲ ἄτε οὐ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν νοῦ τε ὀξύτητι καὶ σπουδῇ διενηνοχότα πολλῶ καὶ

3–4 Εἶτ' –Πλήθωνα] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 162,26–27 Mohler 16–19 Οὐδεὶς –εἰδῶν] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 163,4–6 Mohler

27–28 οἱ –μετερρῦθμιζον] cf. Arist., *Phys.* 185b 27–28

5 ὦγαθέ S 7 βέλτιστον e βέλτιον corr. L 11 ἴσως om. L | Ἀριστοτέλει S 14 συντεθεικέναι L 16 ὦ om. S 23 οὕτως] ὅλως Mohler 24 δι' ὃ L 29 τε supra lin. scr. L

but that he accuses him rightly, until you prove that Plethon spoke the truth against Aristotle, and that Theodoros attributed things to him that were not true.

7.1 ‘Besides, you do not understand that you have previously defined Plethon as a good man, not a “sycophant” and a “deceiver”.’

7.2 Good man, you did not understand what Theodoros meant; otherwise you would not say that he contradicted himself. He calls Plethon ‘good’ in the manner of the Athenians. In fact, they not only called every man ‘good’, but also ‘excellent’. I myself, who now call you ‘good man’, first called you ‘bad’, and I will say it again, and yet I do not contradict myself. In fact, that is what I think of you, and I am telling you this while sticking to this usage. But let’s also make a case, as Michael intends to do, that Theodoros really said so – well, even in this case he does not contradict himself. Plethon will simply also be ‘good’, but somehow ‘not-good’, when he speaks in a malevolent way against Aristotle. Things predicated in absolute need not be predicated in a certain way, nor need things predicated in a certain way be predicated in an absolute sense. So what was said by you as an introduction was said in such a foolish and ignorant way that it almost seems to me that you wrote these things sitting in front of a bottle of wine. And now we also reject what you said about the points of reasoning.

8.1 ‘None of the ancients, my friend, nor those who built the system of knowledge, nor the others who in their writings made use of these notions, believed that individuals are more substance than form.’

8.2 And what works of the ancients have you ever read, or where have you ever learned with certainty that none of them considered the individuals to be more substantial than the universals? You say loudly that none of them has ever been of this opinion; well, let us also admit that none of the ancients ever said this, even so you will not convince us. In fact, many other things were not discovered by the most ancient authors, and for this reason too they fell into many absurd arguments, such as, for example, on the theory of Being. In fact, failing to see that it is not impossible that the same is One and Multiple – the One is in act, the Multiple in potency and, vice versa, the Multiple is in act, while the One in potency – and forced by their own reasoning, some have eliminated the copula ‘is’, others have reformulated the expression, and yet others have hypothesised that there is something that is not. Still others have finally introduced the theory of atoms. This fact (*scil.* the fact that the One and the Multiple are the same thing) was a beautiful discovery of the Aristotelian school, along with many other things that contribute greatly not only to logic, but also to ethics, physics and theology. But there are also some contributions from Plato’s followers. So why is it any wonder, if even this fact (*scil.* the fact that individuals are more substance than form) was ignored by the most ancient, and if Aristotle, who had more acumen, ingenuity and scientific commitment not only than his

τὴν φύσιν τῶν ὄντων ἀκριβέστατα διηρευνηκότα οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔλαθεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ καλλίστοις εὐρῶν αὐτὸς πρῶτος οὕτως ἐκάλεσε; ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ Θεόδωρος εἰδώς, εἴτ' αὐτὸς φησιν οὕτω πρῶτος καλῶν, εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρων τινῶν παλαιότερων δόξη καὶ διαιρέσει καὶ λέξει χρώμενος.

8.3 Ὅτι δὲ ἀπλούστερον οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῶν φιλοσοφίας δογμάτων ἤπτοντο 5 καὶ ὡσανεὶ ψελλιζόμενοι, πλείστους ὅσους ἔχοντί μοι παράγειν μάρτυρας δύο ὅμως Εὐδημὸς τε καὶ Πορφύριος ἀποχρήσεται. Εὐδημος μὲν λέγων· Παρμενίδου μὲν οὖν ἀγασθείη τίς ἂν ἀναξιοπίστοις ἀκολουθήσαντος λόγοις καὶ ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀπατηθέντος, ἃ οὐπω τότε διεσαφεῖτο; οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πολλαχῶς ἔλεγεν οὐδεὶς — ἀλλὰ Πλάτων πρῶτος τὸ δισσοῦν εἰσήγαγεν —, οὔτε τὸ καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ κατὰ συμβε- 10 βηκός, φαίνεται τε ὑπὸ τούτων διαψευσθῆναι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἀντιλογιῶν ἐθεωρήθη, καὶ τὸ συλλογίζεσθαι οὐ γὰρ συνεχωρεῖτο, εἰ μὴ φαίνοντο ἀναγκαῖον. οἱ δὲ πρότεροι ἀναποδείκτως ἀπεφαίνοντο'. ταυτὶ μὲν Εὐδημος, Πορ- 15 φύριος δέ, ἐκθέμενος τοὺς λόγους σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν τε τὸ ὄν εἰπόντων καὶ τῶν πολλά, καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον δεῖξας θορυβηθέντας τε καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπιχειρή- 15 σαντας λύειν ἐτέροις ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἀτοπωτέροις ἐαλωκότας πρὸς τὸ μὴδ' ἐκπεφευ- 176 ὑποστήναι | δύναται, χαρακτηῖρα ἐμφαίνον ἴδιον. τὰ δὲ ὄντα μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως δὲ 20 μετεληφόμενα τοῦ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον τῷ ἐν ἐκείνῳ εἶναι καὶ ἠρτῆσθαι ἀπ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸ εἶναι'. τὰ μὲν οὖν ῥήματα τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ἔχοι τις ἂν κατιδεῖν τό τε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπλούστερον περὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας εὐρεσιν καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντας ὑπεροχὴν. 'μόνος γάρ, φησιν, Ἀριστοτέλης σύνοιδεν, ὅπως χρὴ λύειν τὴν τοιαύτην καὶ τηλικαύτην ἀπορίαν'. 25 ταῦτα φησι Πορφύριος, ὁ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὑποφήτης, ᾧ κἂν Πλήθων ἴσως παρα- 176 χωρήσειεν.

8.4 Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ὡς ἄτοπον ἐπάγει, τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν παθητὴν τῆς ἀπαθοῦς συμβαίνειν προτέραν εἶναι καὶ μᾶλλον οὐσίαν. τοῖς μὲν τὰ καθόλου χωριστὰ καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ ὑφειρηκότα τιθεμένοις δόξειεν ἂν ἄτοπον εἶναι. 30 πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὸ σύνθετον καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ αἰτιατὸν τοῦ γε ἀπλοῦ καὶ ἀφθάρτου καὶ αἰτίου πρότερον καὶ μᾶλλον οὐσία ἂν εἴη; τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου ἀχώριστα

28–29 τὴνⁱ–οὐσίαν] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 163,8–9 Mohler

7–13 Παρμενίδου–ἀπεφαίνοντο] cf. Simpl., in *Phys.* 115,25–116,4 = 120,6–12 Diels
17–22 τὴνⁱⁱ–εἶναι] cf. Simpl., in *Phys.* 94,5–10 Diels

1 διηρευνηκότα Mohler 2 τοῦτ' Mohler 4 παλαιτέρων S Mohler 9 οὐπω] οὕτω Mohler 14 δὲ om. L 16 πρὸς τῷ S 20 ἐμφαίνων S 21 ἐν om. Mohler 22 ἔχει L 24 πρὸ in textu om., supra lin. suppl. L 29 πρότεραν Mohler 30 δοξεῖεν S

predecessors, but also than those who came later, and who so diligently investigated the nature of things, having discovered it, along with many other beautiful things, defined it first as such? And Theodoros, knowing these things himself, either spoke of them himself, thus being the first to do so, or by resorting to the opinion, distinction, and formulation of others, more ancient authors.

8.3 Regarding the fact that those before him only superficially dealt with the principles of philosophy and did so as if they were stutterers, I would be able to present many witnesses if necessary. However, will rely solely on two, Eudemus and Porphyry. Eudemus asked: Can we be surprised at Parmenides who indulged in incredible words and was deceived by things that were not even demonstrated at the time? In fact, no one spoke of the ‘multiple’ (Plato was the first to introduce the concept of ‘double’), nor of ‘per se’ or ‘by accident’, and they were clearly deceived by these concepts. These were discussed for arguments and objections, and syllogism was not allowed, unless it seemed absolutely necessary. In short, the first philosophers affirmed without demonstrations. So Eudemus. Porphyry, after having expounded almost all the arguments of those who said that being is one and of those who argued that it was multiple, and after showing that later philosophers had only had confused opinions and that, having tried to dissolve the arguments, had been overcome by others more incredibly ignorant until they could not escape (the contradiction), introduced the question: ‘Therefore, only Aristotle knows how to resolve such a contradiction. In fact, entities are not all entities in the same way,’ he says. ‘Therefore the One is not a kind of these, but is such that it can exist in itself, showing a character of its own, while the others on the one hand are entities, and on the other do not participate in the same way as the Being, but in different ways, for the fact of being in it and depending on it in order to be.’ These then are the words of the two philosophers, from which we can recognise the great naivety of the ancients regarding the discovery of the truth and the superiority of Aristotle over all those before him. ‘Only Aristotle,’ he says, in fact, ‘knows how such contradiction is to be resolved.’ This says Porphyry, the great interpreter of Plato, to whom one could perhaps also refer Plethon.

8.4 You take as *aporia* the fact that ‘the passive substance comes before the non-passive one and is more substance than it’. Now, for those who argue that universals are separable and that they exist by virtue of individuals, this would not seem to be an *aporia*. In fact, how could the compound, the perishable, the caused be something prior to the simple, the imperishable and the cause, and have more substance than it? For those of the Peripatetic who, on the other

τιθεμένοις οὐκ ἄτοπον πρώτας τε καὶ μάλιστα καὶ κυριωτάτας οὐσίας τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγειν, δευτέρας δὲ τὰ καθόλου. 'πρώτας' μὲν, διότι πρώτοις τοῖς αἰσθη-
 τοῖς καὶ συνθέτοις — ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶ τὰ ἄτομα — ἔπειτα τοῖς ἀπλοῖς καὶ κοινοῖς ἐπι-
 βάλλομεν, καὶ διότι ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τὸ εἶναι ἔχει· 'κυριωτάτας'
 δέ, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων καθ' ὑποκειμένων τῶν καθέκαστα λεγομένων αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰς
 5 τυγχάνουσιν οὐσαι, μήτε καθ' ὑποκειμένου λεγόμεναι μήτε ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ οὐσαι·
 'μάλιστα' δέ, ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ὑποκεῖσθαι ἢ οὐσία χαρακτηρίζεται. τὰ δὲ καθέκαστα
 ὑπόκειται οὐ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι μόνον ἐν ὑποκειμένοις οὖσιν ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοῖς καθόλου καθ' ὑποκειμένων αὐτῶν λεγομένοις. ἔτι δέ, εἰ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸ εἶναι
 ταμάλιστα τὴν οὐσίαν χαρακτηρίζει, ὡς δὴ καὶ Ἀρχύτας φησι, 'μόναν ταύταν' λέ-
 10 γων ὑποκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτὰν καθ' αὐτὰν δύνασθαι νοεῖσθαι' — τούτου
 δὲ τὸ μήτε ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ μήτε καθ' ὑποκειμένου χαρακτηριστικά, ἄμφω δὲ τὰ
 καθέκαστα ἔχει· οὔτε γὰρ καθ' ὑποκειμένου οὔτε ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ εἰσι, τῶν γενῶν
 καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ, ἀλλ' οὖν καθ' ὑποκειμένων τῶν πρώτων
 οὐσιῶν λεγομένων — πῶς οὐκ ἂν μάλιστα οὐσίαι τὰ καθέκαστα εἶεν, ἀκριβέστε-
 15 ρον ἢ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰ εἶδη τοὺς χαρακτῆρας σώζοντα τῆς οὐσίας; ἀλλὰ μὴν τὰ μὲν
 καθόλου δυνάμει τὰ καθέκαστα, τὰ δὲ καθέκαστα ἐνεργείᾳ τὰ καθόλου περιέχει.
 τὸ γὰρ καθόλου, εἰ μὲν ὡς ἀκατάτακτόν τις θεωροῖ, περιεκτικὸν ὄρα τῶν κατὰ
 μέρος, εἰ δ' ὡς κατατεταγμένον, περιεχόμενον ὄρα ὑπὸ τῶν καθέκαστα, μέρος ὄν
 αὐτῶν καὶ συμπληρωτικὸν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν μετὰ τῆς διαφορᾶς. εἰ οὖν οὕτω
 20 ταῦτα ἔχει, τὸ δ' ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ δυνάμει πολλῶν κυριώτερον καὶ τιμιώτερον εἰς οὐ-
 σίας λόγον, πῶς οὐκ ἂν κυριώτατα καὶ μάλιστα οὐσίαι εἶεν τὰ καθέκαστα;

9.1 Τῆ σφετέρᾳ ἐπαμύνειν βουλόμενος δόξῃ, ὡς οὐχ ὑφεστήκα-
 25 σι καθ' αὐτὰς αἰδέαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀτόμοις ἢ ἐπινοίαις ψιλαῖς ἐπι-
 θεωροῦνται. |

177 9.2 Ἔοικας σὺ οὐ δόγματα μόνον καὶ ὄρους φιλοσοφία προσήκοντας, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἃ παισὶν ἀρχομένοις δηλα, ἀγνοεῖν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν σου καταγελάσειεν, ἐπινοί-
 αις ψιλαῖς ἐν τοῖς ἀτόμοις τὸ καθόλου λέγοντος θεωρεῖσθαι; εἰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀτό-
 μοις θεωρεῖται, οὐκ ἐπινοία ψιλῆ, ἀλλ' ἐπινοία ἂν θεωροῖτο. εἰ δ' ἐπινοία θεωρεῖ-
 30 ται ψιλῆ, ὕστερον κατὰ συμβεβηκός ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀτόμοις τὸ εἶναι ἔχον
 διπλοῦ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ καθόλου κατὰ γε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς
 μετὰ τὰ πολλά. τὸ γὰρ πρὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰ καὶ τινες τῶν ὑπομνηματιστῶν οὐ
 Πλάτωνι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει προσποιούσιν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τὸ τοῖς πλείστοις

23–25 Τῆ –ἐπιθεωροῦνται] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 163,16–18 Mohler

1–9 οὐκ–λεγομένοις] cf. Simpl., in *Cat.* 80,28–81,5 Kalbfleisch 9–11 ἔτι–νοεῖσθαι] cf. Simpl.,
 in *Cat.* 76,9–12 Kalbfleisch

3 συνθετοῖς Mohler ante 6 οὐσαι! scr. εἶναι, postea del. L 18 θεωροῖ e θεωρεῖ corr. L 24 ἢ in
 textu om. S L, supra lin. suppl. L post 30 ὕστερον add. καὶ S 32 τὸ] τὰ Mohler

hand, maintain that universals are not separable, it is not absurd to call individual substances ‘first’, ‘mainly’ and ‘properly so called’, substances ‘second’ to universals. ‘First’, since we first conceive the sensibles and compounds – and these are the individual substances – and then the simple and common things, and furthermore because in the individual the common substances also have their being. ‘Properly said’, because while the others are called particular subjects, these are substances by virtue of themselves, and are not said of a subject, nor are they in a subject. ‘Mainly’, because the substance is characterised by being a subject, and individuals are subject not only to the accidents that are in the subjects themselves, but also to universals, which are called the subjects themselves. And again, if being in itself characterises substance to the highest degree, as Archytas also says, saying that ‘only this underlies other things and can be conceived as in itself’, the characteristics of this condition are not being in a subject, nor the being said of a subject, while the individuals have both; in fact they are not said of a subject, nor are they in a subject, while the kinds and species, even if they are not in a subject, are nevertheless said of subjects of raw substances – just as individuals could not be mainly substance, which preserve the characteristics of the substance more precisely than the kinds and species. Certainly, on the other hand, universals potentially include individuals, and individuals actually include universals. In fact, if one looked at the universal as uncoordinated, one would see that it contains individuals, while if one conceived it as coordinated, one would see that it is contained by individuals, since it is part of them and completes their substance with its being different. If this is the case, that is, if being in act is something more proper and closer to the concept of substance of being in potency, how could individuals not be substances ‘properly so-called’ and be ‘mainly’ substances?

9.1 ‘Wanting to defend one’s opinion, according to which ideas do not exist in themselves, but are observed in individual substances or pure concepts’.

9.2 You seem to be ignorant not only of the principles and proper philosophy terms, but also of things that are clear even to schoolchildren who are taking their first steps. In fact, who would not laugh at you, you who say that the universal is observed with pure concepts in individual substances? Indeed, if one observes in individuals, one can observe not by means of a pure concept, but of a concept. If the universal is observed by means of a pure concept, it is subsequent, accidental and does not have being in the individual, being in fact the universal double according to the Peripatetic in the many and after the many. If what stands before the many some of the commentators attribute not only to

δοκοῦν θετέα τὰ νῦν ἂν εἶη. ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς μὲν φασι τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀτόμοις οὐσιω-
δῶς κατ' ἐπίνοιαν ἔξω τοῦ ἡμετέρου νοῦ θεωρούμενον εἶτε ἐξηρημένον εἶη καὶ
ἀκατάτακτον εἶτε καὶ κατατεταγμένον. μετὰ τὰ πολλὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐν-
νοίαις ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως ὑφιστάμενον, ὑστερογενὲς ὄν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κοινοῦ μᾶλλον
καὶ ἀδιαφόρου ἔννοιαν ἐπιδεχόμενον, ἐννοηματικὸν καὶ ὄν καὶ καλούμενον.

9.3 Εἰ μὲν οὖν τοσαύτην ἀμαθίαν νοσεῖς, ὥστε τὰ γε τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖν, ἐλεᾷ
σε τῆς κακοδαμονίας, καὶ σοι μεταδοτέα ἂν εἶη αἰσθήσεως. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοῶν
ἐκὼν εἶναι ἐθελοκακεῖς ἢ καὶ κραιπαλῶν ταῦτα συγγέγραφας, πληγῶν σοι δεῖ καὶ
μάλα πολλῶν. τί γὰρ μαθὼν ὑβρίζεις εἰς ἄνδρας, ὧν οὐδὲ τὸ πυκτίον ἄξιός ἂν
εἶης λαβὼν ἔπρεσθαι σφίσι, καθαπερεὶ τις τῶν οἰκετῶν; κακοήθης δ' ὧν αὐτὸς καὶ
ἀχάριστος, Ἀριστοτέλη τοιοῦτον καλεῖς, τὰς σὰς ἐκείνῳ μοχθηρίας προστριβόμε-
νος, ἀνδρὶ, οὗ τὴν σοφίαν οὐχ ἡ Ἑλλάς μόνον καὶ Ἰταλία, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ καθ'
ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένη θαυμάζει, καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καθάπερ τινὰς Πυθικοὺς χρη-
σμους ἀσπάζεται τε καὶ διὰ τιμῆς ἄγει. καίτοι πῶς ἀχάριστος Ἀριστοτέλης Πλά-
τωνι, ὅς γε λοιδορεῖται μὲν αὐτῷ οὐδοπασσοῦν; οὐκ οὖν ἂν εὐροῖς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς αὐ-
τοῦ συγγράμμασιν. εὐθύνει δὲ μόνον καὶ ἐλέγχει ἔνθα τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὄρα κινδυ-
νεύουσαν, Πλάτωνι κἀνταῦθα ἐπόμενος, μὴδὲν εἶναι τῆς ἀληθείας εἰρηκότη πρε-
σβύτερον. καίτοι εἰ καὶ κακοήθης Ἀριστοτέλης τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀντειπῶν, πῶς οὐ
τοιοῦτος μᾶλλον ἂν εἶη Πλάτων, οὐκ ἐλέγξας μόνον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
σκώψας εἰς αὐτοὺς ἱκανῶς, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γε Ὀμήρου ἀρξάμενος; Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ οὐ
μόνον οὐ λοιδορεῖται εὐθύνων τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλγοῦντι ἔοικεν ἀν-
τιλέγων αὐτοῖς. καὶ τὴν πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἀντιλογίαν ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς 'προσάντη' κα-
λεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐ κακοήθειαν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἂν τις φαίη νοῦν ἔχων. ἐξέτασιν δὲ τῆς ἀλη-
θείας ἀκριβεστάτην λέγων αὐτά, ὀρθότατα ἂν λέγοι παρὰ δικαίαις κριταῖς.

9.4 Πῶς δὲ καὶ φθονερός Ἀριστοτέλης ἡ δόξης κενῆς ἐραστής, ὅς γε μῦθοις
μὲν καὶ συμβολικοῖς αἰνίγμασι ποιητῆ μᾶλλον πρέπουσιν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο; οὐδ' αὖ
φύρδην τε καὶ ἀτάκτως διδάσκει τὰς ἐπιστήμας, ἀπέραντον πόνον τοῖς βουλομέ-
νοις τοῖς βιβλίοις προσκεῖσθαι παρέχων, τὰ πλείω δὲ μὴδὲ διασαφῶν πότερον
τῆς ἀντιφάσεως μέρος τίθεται, πολλὰ δὲ χαίρειν εἰπὼν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, τάξει τε
ἀρίστη καὶ φράσει φιλοσοφία πρεπούση καὶ ποιητικῆς | ιδέας ἀπηλλαγμένη, ἰδία
περὶ ἐκάστης ἐπιστήμης βιβλία κάλλιστά τε καὶ πλείστα συντεταχώς, καὶ οὕτως
εὐμενέστατά τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατα τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου γένους προμηθησάμε-
νος, καθαπερεὶ τις πατὴρ κοινὸς τὸ συμφέρον τῶν υἱέων ὄρων, προὔθηκε τοῖς

3–5 τὸ–ἐπιδεχόμενον] cf. Simpl., in Cat. 83,8–10 Kalbfleisch 22 προσάντη] cf. Arist., EN 1096a 12 25–26 ὅς–ἐχρήσατο] cf. Simpl., in Cat. 6,30–32 Kalbfleisch

1 τανῶν S 3 ταῖς] τοῖς L 4 ἀφερέσεως S 8 συγγέγραφας] σὺ γέγραφας L 9 ἄξιον L 11 σὰς om. Mohler 15 οὐδ' ὀπωσοῦν S 16 συγγράμμασιν L 18 τοῖς] τοὺς S | αὐτοῦ S 19 αὐτοῦ S 24 ἀκριβεστάτην om. S 30 ἰδίας Mohler 31 βιβλία S 33 πατὴρ supra lin. scr. L | τὸ om. S

Plato, but also to Aristotle, we must, however, refer to the opinion of most in the present. They say that what is in the many is observed in the individuals in substance with our minds, outside our own intellects, whether this is abstract, indefinite or determined. After the many (they say that) there is what subsists in our concepts by abstraction, which is subsequently generated and accepts the notion of the common as well as the undifferentiated, intellectual in name and in fact.

9.3 If then you are suffering from such great ignorance, to the point of ignoring such things, I have compassion for your misfortune, and you should be aware of it. If, on the other hand, you are deliberately acting in bad faith or have written these things whilst drunk, not out of ignorance, you need beating, and a lot too. Why are you insolent to men you would not even be worthy of following, like a servant, to carry books? You who are truly so wicked and ungrateful speak of Aristotle this way, attributing your wickedness to him, to a man whose wisdom is admired not only by Greece and Italy, but by the whole world known to us, which welcomes and holds his words in high esteem as if they were oracles of the Pythia. Well, how would Aristotle be ungrateful to Plato, since he does not insult him under any circumstances? You certainly would not find anything in his works. He corrects and refutes only where he sees that the truth is in danger, and even in that case he moves in the footsteps of Plato, according to whom nothing is more precious than the truth. And even if Aristotle had been malevolent towards those before him, how would he be different from Plato, who not only refuted his predecessors, but also ridiculed them for free, starting with Homer himself? Aristotle, on the other hand, not only does not offend when he corrects their opinions, but on the contrary, he almost suffers in opposing them. And the act of opposing Plato in a passage of *Ethics* defines him as ‘hateful’; thus, a sensible person would not say that these words are a manifestation of evil. In defining them instead as ‘a very accurate search for the truth’, he would speak the truth before just judges.

9.4 And how could Aristotle be envious or long for vain fame, he who never made use of stories and rhetorical devices that are more suited to a poet? And, again, he did not convey the science confusedly or without order, causing infinite toil for those who wanted to devote themselves to study or without clarifying mostly which part of the contradiction he put into being, saying that he appreciates things like an excellent disposition of matter and a style that is suited to philosophy and is far from the poetic manner, having privately composed numerous and extraordinary particular works on each discipline, and caring for the good of mankind in such a benevolent and useful way. Like a common father who looks to the good of his children, he proposed these works

βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς συνεῖναι παντοδαπῆς οὔσι παιδείας μεστοῖς, σωτήρ ἀγαθὸς τῶντι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀναφανείς.

9.5 Σὺ δέ, ὦ βδελυρέ, τὰς σαυτοῦ μοχθηρίας αἰδοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις προστρίβεσθαι. ὅς γε φθόνῳ τε καὶ ἐπὶ χαιρεκακία καὶ κενῆς ἔρωτι δόξης τοσοῦτον ἐαλώ- 5
 κεις, ὥστε μήτε σοι τῶν νῦν μηδένα ἐν λόγοις οἶον τε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι νομίζειν, τὴν
 κατὰ διάθεσιν ἄγνοιαν καὶ ταῦτα νοσοῦντι κακίστην οὔσαν, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς τῶν πέλας
 ταμέγιστα χαίρειν κακοῖς, τὴν ἐκείνων λύπην σαυτῷ ῥαστώνην νομίζοντα, ἐπὶ τε
 τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκτῆκεσθαι τε καὶ καταδαπανᾶσθαι καὶ ἀποπνίγεσθαι ὑπὸ
 τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντός σοι φθόνου καθαπερεὶ τινος πικροτάτου σιγῆς, ὡς καὶ προσαγ- 10
 γέλλειν δι' αὐτὸν σαυτὸν ἔτιμον εἶναι οὐδὲ ζῆν βουλόμενον διὰ βασκανίαν, ὡς
 δὴ τοῖς καὶ ὅπως σου διάπειραν εἰληφόσι πεφύρασαι.

9.6 Ἄλλὰ δὴ καὶ Θραῦκα Ἀριστοτέλη πρότερον, Πλάτωνα δὲ Ἀθηναῖον ἐκά-
 λεις, ὡς δὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδέσιν ἄλλοις ἢ Ἀθηναίοις τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας εὔρεσιν ἀπο-
 νεύμαντος. καίτοι καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Τίμαιος, οἷς ἔπεσθαι φῆς, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖοι· ὁ 15
 μὲν γὰρ Λοκρός, Πυθαγόρας δὲ Σάμιος. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Πλωτῖνος καὶ Πορφύριος· Φοί-
 νικες γάρ. πῶς δ' οὐ συνίης σαυτῷ περιπίπτων νῦν, Πλάτωνι μὲν καὶ Πλήθωνι
 ἔπεσθαι λέγων, τάναντία δὲ ἐκείνοις φρονῶν; οὐ γὰρ Πλάτων Αἰγυπτίοις τε 20
 ἔσπετο καὶ Πέρσαις, καὶ πᾶσι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἑλλησι; τί δαί; οὐ καὶ Πλήθων τὴν Πλά-
 τωνος θεολογίαν σεμνύνων, ἦν καὶ τὴν πολυτίμητον αὐτοῦ βίβλον φησὶ περιέ-
 χειν, τὴν ἀπὸ Ζωροάστρου εἶναι φησίν, ἀνδρὸς Πέρσου καὶ οὐδοπωστιοῦν Ἑλλά- 20
 δος φωνῆς ἐπαῖοντος; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν σου τοιοῦτο τερέτισμα. κάκεινο δέ σου
 πῶς οὐκ ἀγροῖκον, Θραῦκα Ἀριστοτέλη λέγοντος, ὡς δὴ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ Θρα-
 κικῆς, ἀλλ' οὐ Μακεδονικῆς οὔσης πόλεως, ὡς ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἱστορικῶν φασὶ καὶ
 Πτολεμαῖος ἐν γεωγραφικαῖς ὑφηγήσεσι τῆς Ἀμφαξίτιδος τὰ Στάγειρα παράλιον 25
 πόλιν ἀπογραφόμενος, τὴν δὲ Ἀμφαξίτιδα τῆς Μακεδονίας γῆν μετὰ τὴν Ἡδωνί-
 δα κεμένην;

9.7 Καί μοι δοκεῖς αὐτός, ὦ κάθαρμα, πρὸς μὲν τὸ πρᾶξαι τι καὶ νοῆσαι καλὸν
 καὶ μάλα τις σκαιὸς καὶ ἀγροῖκος, διαβολὰς δὲ συρράψαι καὶ συκοφαντήσαι καὶ
 λοιδορήσασθαι καὶ μάλα νεανικὸς καὶ γεννάδας. ὅπου γε οὐδὲ αἰσχύνῃ λέγων
 ἔπεσθαι σε Πλάτωνι καὶ Τιμαίῳ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ, μηδὲν ὅλως εἰδώς, οὔθ' ὅτι Πλά- 30
 των οὔθ' ὅτι Πυθαγόρας ἢ Τίμαιος ἐδογματίσαν, οὔτ' ἄλλος τις τῶν παλαιῶν. ἀλλ'
 ἴσως τοῖς Πλήθωνος ἐντυχῶν καὶ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνα καλῶς συνιείς οἶει σαυτὸν ὑπ'
 ἀφροσύνης σοφώτατον γεγονέναι, ὅς γε, ὑπὸ βραδυτήτος νοῦ, ὅσα μὲν τοῖς ζη-

12–14 Ἄλλὰ–ἀπονεύμαντος] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 162,31–35 Mohler

24–25 Πτολεμαῖος–πόλιν] cf. Claud. Ptol., *Geogr.* 3,12,8–11

4 ἐπιχαιρεκακία Mohler 5 ἀμιλλᾶσθαι S 8 δαπανᾶσθαι L 9–10 προσαγγέλλειν S L: correxi
 18 ἔσπετο Mohler; cf. *infra* 13.4 | δαί] δέ S Mohler 19 αὐτοῦ Mohler 20 οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν S
 21 τερέτισμα S L: correxi 29 λοιδορήσθαι Mohler

to those who wanted to study them as full as they are of every kind of doctrine, truly revealing himself to be a saviour to everyone.

9.5 You, vile being, are ashamed of attributing your iniquities to others. You who are taken by envy and malevolence and by the desire for vain fame, to the point of believing that none of the scholars of the present can contend with you, you who are by predisposition affected by ignorance, and by a very serious ignorance, to the point of rejoicing greatly in the misfortunes of those who are close to you, considering their suffering a joy, and of pining for their successes and suffocating because of the envy that dwells in you like a very annoying woodworm, to be ready even to denounce you alone, not wanting to live for malice anymore, as you have been discovered to do by those who have somehow made your acquaintance.

9.6 And then, you said before that Aristotle was a Thracian, while Plato was an Athenian, as if God had granted the gift of truth to no one else but the Athenians. Yet even Pythagoras and Timaeus, whom you say you follow, are not Athenians: the latter in fact is from Locri, while Pythagoras is from Samos. And even Plotinus and Porphyry are not: they are in fact Phoenicians. How is it possible then that you do not understand that you contradict yourself now, when on the one hand you say you follow Plato and Plethon despite having opposite opinions to theirs? Did not Plato follow the Egyptians and the Persians and all other peoples more than the Greeks? Well? And does Plethon, who praises Plato's theology, contained, according to him, in his precious work, not say that it is that of Zoroaster, who was a Persian and completely ignorant of the Greek language? And yet such is your rant. And perhaps that other slip up of yours is not coarse either, when you say that Aristotle is a Thracian, as if his homeland were a Thracian city and not a Macedonian one, as the other historians and Ptolemy say, who in *Geography* speaks of Stagira as a seaside town of Amphaxitis, and of Amphaxitis as a region of Macedonia that is located beyond the Edonis?

9.7 It seems to me that you, scoundrel, are very clumsy and coarse when it comes to doing and thinking about something useful, and instead you are rather shrewd and skilful in throwing accusations, in slandering and in offending for free, since you are not ashamed to say you follow Plato, Timaeus and Pythagoras, even without knowing anything about this, nothing about what Plato nor what Pythagoras and Timaeus, or as any other of the ancients, professed. Perhaps you have come across Plethon's writings and not understanding them well, you foolishly believe that you have become very cultured. Because of your slowness of understanding as regards the (salient) issues, you

τουμένοις προσῆκε, παρήκας, συνειλοχῶς δὲ ἅττα ἐκ τῶν Πλήθωνος οὐ δεόντως παρενείρεις, ἀλλ' ἀκαίρως αὐτὰ παραβύεις καὶ παρακολλᾶς, τῶν καττυνόντων διαφέρων οὐδέν. ἔστι δ' ὅτε ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας καὶ λόγους ἐξεμείς εἰκῆ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν συντείνοντας οὐδαμῶς, ὡς δὴ κάκεῖνο τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι κοινὸν Ἀριστοτέ-
 179 λει καὶ Πλάτωνι, ὡσπερ Θεοδώρου διίσχυριζομένου | κοινόν τι τοῖν ἀνδροῖν τού- 5
 τοιν εἶναι. καὶ μοι ἔπεισι τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ μάλα ἐν καιρῷ σοι φάναί· Ἐερ-
 σίτ' ἀκριτόμυθε, λιγύς περ ἔων ἀγορητής'. Ἐπίσχεσ σαυτοῦ τὴν ἀκόλαστον γλῶτ-
 ταν, ἄπτύσας — τὸ τῆς παροιμίας — εἰς κόλπον', μὴδὲ κάνθαρος ὢν Ἀριστοτέλει
 λέοντι μάχου. σαυτὸν μὲν γὰρ ταμέγιστα βλάψεις, ἐκεῖνῳ δ' οὐδένα μῶμον προσ-
 10 τρίψῃ, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἥλιον ἀμαυρῶσαι βουλόμενος βάλλων πηλῷ. ἀήτητον γὰρ
 τὸ κλέος τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ οἱ λόγοι, καὶ οἷοι τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἀντιλέγοντας ῥᾶστα ἂν
 διολλύναι. ἔασας οὖν καὶ αὐτός, ἀνθρωπίσκε, ἀντιλέγειν αὐτῷ, καὶ σαυτὸν κατὰ
 τὸ Δελφικὸν γράμμα γνούς, πυξίον λαβών, τοσοῦτου γὰρ ἄξιός εἰ, κάθου.

10.1 Οὐκ ἔρρωταί σοι ὁ λόγος καίπερ μέγ' ἀύχουντι ἐπ' ἐπιστή-
 μη τῇ λογικῇ. 15

10.2 Ἐρρωταὶ καὶ μάλα καλῶς, ὦ ἡλίθιε. καὶ ἔοικας σύ — μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πάνυ
 δηλός εἰ — σοφίσασθαι μὲν καὶ παραλογίσασθαι καὶ μάλα πρόθυμος εἶναι· αἰεὶ γὰρ
 ἡ φύσις σου ῥέπει πρὸς τὸ κακοποιόν, ὑπὸ δ' ἀβελτηρίας οὐδὲ τοῦτο οἷός τε εἶναι
 ποιεῖν, ὡς ἐξ ἄλλων τε κομιδῆ ἐάλως καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐκ τῶν νῦν ἀντιλογίων. οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ἀρχὰς γοῦν ἐπιστήμης λογικῆς ὅλως εἰδῶς φαίνῃ, ἔπειτα αὐτὸς ὢν τετυφω-
 20 μένος Θεόδωρον ἀλαζόνα καλεῖς, ἄνδρα τὸ μέτρον τε ἐν πᾶσι τηροῦντα καλῶς
 καὶ τὸ εἶναι πρὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν εἰπερ τις ἄλλος τιμώντα, ὡς μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ἐκεῖνῳ
 ἐς δεῦρο συγγενομένων, ὃς οὐκ ἄγαταί τε καὶ ὑπερεπαινεῖ τὸ σῶφρον τε καὶ φι-
 λόσοφον ἦθος αὐτοῦ. πάντας γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐφημίαν
 ἀνήρηται, τὸ δ' ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγγίχουν καὶ ἀκριβὲς τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐκ ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι 25
 μόνον, τίς οὐχ ὑπερθαυμάζει; ὃν αὐτός, ἀμαθέστατε, ἐξελεγχθῆναι φῆς μὴδ' ὅτι-
 οῦν ἐπαίοντα διαλεκτικῆς, ἐν Ἰταλία καὶ παιδευθέντα καὶ διαπρέψαντα καὶ τῶν
 πρώτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀξιοθέντα τιμῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆδε σοφῶν χειροτονη-
 θέντα διδάσκαλον. ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τοσαύτης νῦν οὔσης ἀφθονίας ὧδε σοφῶν ἀν-
 30 δρῶν, πῶς δὴ πιστεύσειεν ἂν τις τοσοῦτον χρόνον αὐτοὺς ἀπατάσθαι, ὥστε αὐ-
 τὸν τούτους Ἑλληνα Ἰταλοὺς οὕτω καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς τιμὰς
 προστιθέναι καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς δωρεάς, εἰ μὴ δι' ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀρετὴν τε καὶ λό-
 γους; οὐ γὰρ διὰ σπάνιν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ. πῶς δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐρρωῶσθαι φῆς τὸν

14–15 Οὐκ-λογικῇ] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 164,19–20 Mohler

6–7 Θερσίτ'–ἀγορητής] Hom., *Il.* 2,246 8 πτύσας–κόλπον] cf. Theocr., *Id.* 6,39 et 20,11; Luc. *Apol.* 6,13 et *Nav.* 15,21; Thphr. 16,14

2 παρενείροις S: παρονείρεις Mohler 18 ὑπὸ δ' ἀβελτηρίας] ὑπ' ἀβελτηρίας S
 20–21 τετυφόμενος S: τετυφώμενος Mohler 21 τὸ μέτριον in textu, τὸ μέτρον in marg. scr. L
 23 ἐπαινεῖ S 27 διατρίψαντα S 33 σπάσιν Mohler

have left them alone, while, after having collected some scattered things extracted from Plethon, you do not cite them on purpose, but you attack and try to make them stick by force and in an inappropriate way in the discourse, in no way different from those who patch things up. It also so happens that out of sheer stupidity you spew random words that do not pertain to the subject at all, such as the fact that there would be nothing in common between Aristotle and Plato, as if Theodoros affirmed that there is something in common between those two. And it seems to me that the famous Homeric verse is just right for you: ‘O Thersites who talks nonsense, even if you are a loud speaker’. Hold back your intemperate tongue, ‘spitting in your lap’, as the saying goes, and do not, you who are a scarab, fight Aristotle, who is a lion. You will in fact damage yourself greatly, but you will not cause him any dishonour, no more than if, wanting to obscure the sun, you threw mud at it. In fact, the glory of that man is indestructible and so are his words, capable of easily annihilating those who contradict them. So, after having stopped contradicting him, little man who is not much else, and after having ‘known yourself’, as the well-known warning from Delphi says, take the tablet, take notes, and sit down, since you are only worthy of this.

10.1 ‘Your argument does not hold water, you who trusts so much in the knowledge of logic’.

10.2 It does hold water, stupid. And it seems — it is actually very clearly so — that you are very much in the mood to split hairs and lie; your nature in fact always leans toward fraud, but because of your stupidity, you are not able to do it, because you are invariably found out, even due to the present contradictions. You, in fact, do not seem to know the basics of logic, and more so, as arrogant as you are, you call Theodoros a show-off, a man who keeps his measure well in every circumstance and who prefers being to appearing, if anything, someone else, so much so that none of those who have frequented him until now do not admire and praise his being wise and knowledgeable. Truth be told, he arouses in everyone the urge to praise him, but who would not be amazed at the insight into everything and the precision of that man, not only in eloquence? You, fool, you say that he has been refuted since he would have no knowledge of dialectics, even though he was trained in Italy, distinguished himself by his merits, was held in the highest regard by his fellow students and was elevated to master by the learned. But even if it were a case of very great generosity on the part of such learned men, who could ever believe that they have been deceived all this time, to the point of loving him, a Greek, they who are Italians? Why would they praise him and add honours upon honours, gifts upon gifts, if not due to his exceptional value and his writings? Certainly not for lack of learned men — not at all. And how can you say that his argument does not hold water, when it holds it

λόγον, ὅς γε καὶ μάλα εὖ ἔχει; ἀληθῆ τε γὰρ ἔλαβε καὶ συλλογιστικῶς συνεπέρανε.

10.3 Σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν τὸ δευτερον ἀρνήσασθαι τῶν λημμάτων ἐβούλου, τί σοι βούλεται τὸ μὴ ἐν τῆδε τῇ ὑποθέσει τὸ ἀξίωμα ἀληθεύειν, ἢ ἴν' ἀφρονέστατος ἀνθρώπων ἀναφανῆς; εἰ δὲ τὸ πρότερον ἀρνήσασθαι βούλει, ἐχομένως μὲν τῷ σῶ σκοπῷ λέγεις, πληγῶν δ' ὅμως σοι δεῖ τοιαῦτα ἀρνούμενῳ ἀξιώματα, ἃ γε οὐδεὶς ὄστις οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώσει, δῆλα καὶ τυφλοῖς ὄντα· ἀεὶ γὰρ δι' ὃ ὑπάρχει ἔκαστον, | ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει. εἰ οὖν διὰ τὰ καθόλου τὰ καθέκαστα, τὰ καθόλου μᾶλλον οὐσίαι. εἰ δὲ διὰ τὰ καθέκαστα τὰ καθόλου, τὰ καθέκαστα μᾶλλον οὐσίαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν διὰ τὰ καθέκαστα τὰ καθόλου. μὴ ὄντων γὰρ τούτων οὐδ' ἂν τὰ καθόλου εἶεν ἐν τοῖς καθέκαστα τὸ εἶναι ἔχοντα. τὰ καθέκαστα ἄρα μᾶλλον οὐσίαι. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλέγχειν ὑπ' ἀδυνασίας ἐξέκλινας. ἀπατηθεὶς δὲ καὶ νομίσας ταυτὸν εἶναι τὸ διὸ τῷ ἐξ οὗ, ἔτι πρὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα ἀπαντᾶς δεικνύς, ἐφ' ὧν ὀρθῶς καὶ ἐφ' ὧν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἂν ῥηθεῖη.

10.4 Ἰδωμεν δὲ οὕτως. διὰ τὸν Θεὸν φῆς τὰ νοητὰ, καὶ διὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα Τηλέμαχος. καίτοι τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸν Θεὸν τὰ νοητὰ λέγειν ἀληθές, ἢ τελικόν ἐστιν αἴτιον. διὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα δὲ ὁ Τηλέμαχος πῶς μὴ ὄντος τελικοῦ αἰτίου τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως; τὸ μὲν γὰρ δι' ὃ τῷ τελικῷ ἀπονέμομεν, τῷ δὲ ὑλικῷ τὸ ἐξ οὗ. τῷ δὲ ποιητικῷ, εἰ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶ φύσεως τῷ ἀποτελουμένῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐδὲν κωλύει τὸ ἐξ οὗ ἀπονέμειν· εἰ δ' οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸ ὑφ' οὗ. ὑπὸ Θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὰ πάντα παρηχθαι φαμέν, ἐκ τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου δὲ τὸν Σωκράτη. ὄντος οὖν διὰ Σωφρονίσκον Σωκράτους, τελικόν αἴτιον ὁ Σωφρονίσκος ἐστὶ. μὴ ὄντος δὲ τελικοῦ τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου, οὐ δι' ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐκείνου ὁ Σωκράτης. οὕτως μὲν οὖν λαμβάνοντι τὸ διὸ, ἔωλός σοι ὁ λόγος δοκεῖ. ψευδῆ τε γὰρ λαμβάνεις καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν συμπεραίνεις. ἦν δ' ὡς τὸ οὗ ἄνευ τὸ δι' ὃ λαμβάνης, ὥσπερ φαμέν διὰ τὸν ἀέρα τὰ ζῶα ἀναπνεῖν, ὡς ἄνευ αὐτοῦ ἀναπνεῖν μὴ δυνάμενα, καθ' ἡμῶν μὲν οὐδ' οὕτω περαίνεις οὐδέν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰ εἶδη διὰ τὰς πρώτας οὐσίας εἶναι φαμέν, ὡς μὴ οὐσῶν ἐκείνων μὴδὲ ταῦτα οἷόν τ' εἶναι. τό γε μὴν διὰ Σωφρονίσκον λέγειν εἶναι Σωκράτη, ὡς δὴ μὴ ὄντος Σωφρονίσκου μὴδ' ἐκεῖνον εἶναι, οὐτ' εὐλογον οὗτ' ἀληθές. περιῆν γὰρ Σωκράτης καὶ Σωφρονίσκου τεθνηκότος. ἀλλὰ δὴ κάκεινο πῶς οὐ γελοῖον, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἀπλοῦ τίθεσαι αἴτιον, ὡς δὴ μὴ καὶ συνθέτου δυνατὸν εἶναι; καὶ ὡς ἔοικε, σὺ σαυτοῦ τὸν σὸν πατέρα αἴτιον νομίζεις μόνον, περαιτέρω δὲ οὐδέν. οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου νοῦν σὺ νομίζεις αἴτιον ἄρα, οὐ-

4 τὸ' -ἀληθεύειν] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 164,26-28 Mohler 7-8 ἀεὶ -ὑπάρχει] cf. Theod. Gazes, *Adv. Pletonem* 154,33 et Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 164,14 Mohler 15-16 διὰ' -Τηλέμαχος] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 164,28-33 Mohler

3 ἐβάλου Mohler 7 οὐκ in textu om., in marg. suppl. L 21 Σωκράτην L | οὖν e corr. L 23 ἐξ om. Mohler

perfectly? In fact, he has spoken the truth and has proven everything syllogistically.

10.3 If your intention was to deny the second term of syllogism, what is the use of saying that the axiom is not true in its premise, if not to show yourself as the most foolish of men? If, on the other hand, you want to deny the first, you speak appropriately for your purpose, but you should receive a beating for the mere fact of denying these axioms, which no one can deny, as clear as they are even to the blind: ‘in fact always that because of which each thing exists, that thing exists to a greater degree’. If, therefore, the individuals exist because of the universals, the universals are more substance. If, on the other hand, universals exist because of the individuals, the individuals are more substance. But it is the universals that exist because of the individuals (in fact, if these did not exist, the universals could not have their being in the individual); the individuals are therefore more substance. You have avoided, because of your inability, refuting these arguments: deceived yourself and convinced yourself that $\delta\iota' \omicron$ (= ‘that because of which a thing exists’) and $\acute{\epsilon}\xi \omicron\tilde{\nu}$ (= ‘that out of which a thing originates’) are the same, and you have then opposed the axiom, explaining what would be correctly expressed and what not.

10.4 Let us put it this way. You say that the intelligible exists because of God, and Telemachus because of Odysseus. And so, to say that the intelligible exists because of God is true, since God is the final cause. So how can Telemachus exist because of Odysseus, since Odysseus is not the final cause? In fact, we associate $\delta\iota' \omicron$ to the final cause, and $\acute{\epsilon}\xi \omicron\tilde{\nu}$ to the material cause. If it is of the same nature as the effect produced, nothing prevents us from associating $\acute{\epsilon}\xi \omicron\tilde{\nu}$ to the efficient cause; if, however, it is not of the same nature, we associate $\upsilon\phi' \omicron\tilde{\nu}$ to it. We say that everything is created by God, and Socrates by Sophroniscus; therefore, since Socrates exists because of Sophroniscus, Sophroniscus is the final cause. But since Sophroniscus cannot be the final cause, Socrates does not ‘exist because of’ Sophroniscus, but instead ‘originates from’ him. When $\delta\iota' \omicron$ is interpreted in this way, your argument appears very weak. In fact, you speak falsities and cannot come up with anything against us. And even if you interpret $\delta\iota' \omicron$ as ‘that without which (a thing exists)’ — let us say, for example, that animals breathe because of the air, since they could not breathe without it — even so, you do not have anything against us. In fact, we say that kinds and species exist because of the raw substances, since if these are not there, these cannot be. Hence, to say that Socrates exists because of Sophroniscus, since, if Sophroniscus did not exist, the other would not exist either, is neither logically correct nor true: in fact, Socrates was alive even after Sophroniscus died. So how can it not also be ridiculous that such a view also considers the simple to be the cause of the simple, while it cannot be the cause of the compound? Apparently,

δέ γε τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν, ἧς τὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐλίκων φθάνειν Πλήθων διίσχυρίζεται.

10.5 Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν σοῦ τοιαῦτα. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτό σου λόγος τί σοι πρὸς τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν βούλεται; οὐδὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, κἂν εἰ τὸ μὲν σύνθετον ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἶδους, τὸ δὲ εἶδος τῆς ὕλης μᾶλλον αἴτιον τοῦ συνθέτου. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ ταῦτα 5 εἶναι τὸ τὰ εἶδη τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα μᾶλλον εἶναι οὐσίας ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τὸ εἶδος μᾶλλον οὐσίαν εἶναι τῆς ὕλης. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τιθέμεθα Ἀριστοτέλει ἐπόμενοι, τὸ μὲν εἶδος θεῖον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐφετὸν λέγοντι, τὴν δὲ ὕλην αἰσχροὺς καὶ ὅσα τῆς ὑφέσεως, εἰ καὶ μὴ καθ' αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμβεβηκός. εἰ δὲ οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖς, τί τοῦ Κοροΐβου διενήνοχας, εἰπέ μοι. 10

11.1 Τουτὶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον κατόρθωμα. ὁ δ' ὡσπέρ τι μεγάλα τοῖς προκειμένοις συμβαλλόμενον συμπεράνας ἐπιφέρει ἕτερον λόγον αὐτός τε ἀπα- 181 τώμενος καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπατήσια θέλων. φησὶ γάρ· | ὅ τι ἕτερον ἐνεργεῖα μὴ ὄν αὐτό τε εἰδοποιεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐντελεχεῖα παράγει, ἐκεῖνο ἐστὶ πρῶτον ὄν καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπάρχον. τὰ δὲ εἶδη τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα παρά- 15 γει εἰς τὴν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ ταῦτα τὴν κατὰ μέρος.

11.2 Εἰ μὲν ἐξηρημένα τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης ἡμεῖς ἐπιθέμεθα, λόγον ἂν ἴσως εἶχεν, ὅπερ αὐτὸς φησὶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔνυλα ταῦτα τιθέμεθα, οἷον βεβαπτισμένα ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ὑπάρχοντα, οὐκέτι συγχωροῦμεν, ὅπερ αὐτὸς οἶε συναέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς τὰ εἶδη τὰ καθέκαστα παράγει εἰς τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴ καταβληθεῖσα πρῶ- 20 τον ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ, ἧτις δεκτικὴ αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὴν ἐσομένων ἐστίν. ἐκεῖνη μὲν ἐποίησε τοδὶ οὐ ποιητικὴ πέφυκε, κάκεινο ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἕτερον, μέχρις ἂν τοῦ τέλους τύχῃσι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ φυσικὸν εἶδος, οὐπὲρ ἀρχὴ τὸ καταβληθὲν πρῶτον ὑπῆρχε. καθόσον μὲν οὖν τοῦ εἶδους ἐφιεμένη ἡ φύσις πάν- 25 τα ποιεῖ, ὑφ' οὗ κινεῖται, οὐχ ὡς εἶδους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τέλους, καὶ τούτου τυχοῦσα ἴσταται καὶ οὐ πολυπραγμονεῖ περαιτέρω, ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδῶν τὰ καθέκαστα παράγεσθαι ἂν ῥηθεῖεν, καθόσον δὲ τὰ εἶδη, δυνάμει ὄντα ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ, ἐνεργεῖα τοιαῦτα γίνεται διὰ τὰ καθέκαστα — ὁ γὰρ δυνάμει ἄνθρωπος διὰ Καλλίαν ἐνεργεῖα τοιοῦτος γέγονε —, τὰ εἶδη διὰ τὰ καθέκαστα εἰς τὸ ἐνεργεῖα παράγεσθαι ἂν ῥηθεῖεν. καὶ μᾶλλον τε οὐσίαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ καθέκαστα τῶν καθόλου ἂν εἶεν, 30 ὡς μὴ ἂν δύνασθαι ὑπάρχειν μὴ ὄντων γε τῶν καθέκαστα, ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ εἶναι ἔχοντα, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἐνεργεῖα ὑπάρχειν ἔχοντα καὶ ἐνεργεῖα ὑπὸ τούτων περιεχόμενα, κἂν ἐκεῖνα δυνάμει ταῦτα γε περιέχη. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ καθέκαστα τοῖς κα-

13–16 ὁ –μέρος] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 165,7–9 Mohler

8–9 τὸ –συμβεβηκός] cf. Arist., *Phys.* 192a 16–25 20–23 ἀλλ' –εἶδος] cf. Simpl., in *Phys.* 311,1–7 Diels

7 τὸ¹ om. L 13 γάρ add. Μιχαῆλος Mohler | ὅ τι] ἔτι Mohler 16 καὶ ταῦτα om. S 21 ἐπομένους Mohler 27 ῥηθεῖν in textu, -en supra lin. scr. L: ῥηθείη Mohler 31 αὐτοῖς Mohler

you consider your father only a cause, and nothing more. And you do not even consider the mind of the sun a cause, nor the soul of the cosmos, whose influences Plethon claims reach up to orbit.

10.5 So these things are such for you. After that, what is your argument aiming at in relation to the contents of the argument itself? In fact, in no case is it against us, even if you add that the compound is made up of matter and form, and that form, more than matter, is the cause of the compound. In fact, even if this is the case, it does not happen that forms are necessarily more substance than individuals, but that form is more substance than matter. That is something we who follow Aristotle also believe, as he affirms that form is divine and perfect and that is what one tends towards, while matter is vile and constitutes what is low, if not even for itself, but by accident. In short, if you ignore such important things, tell me, why did you ever compete with Coroebus?

11.1 So this here is his great achievement. And he, as someone who has produced something that is very useful to the topic, puts forward another argument, deceiving himself and with the intention of deceiving others. In fact, Michael says that ‘what gives shape to something else that is not in act and induces it to be in act, is the first being and of most substance. Forms induce universals to act, and moreover to a particular act’.

11.2 If we understood forms as being completely separate from matter, things would perhaps actually be as you say. But, since we conceive of them as something inherent in matter, as if they were immersed in matter, we can no longer accept what you believe is a certain conclusion. In fact, not only do the forms induce individuals to act themselves, but there is, first of all, a principle established in the matter, which is capable of receiving this same principle and what will be after it. This principle has created that of which it is the cause, and this has created more, and this more, until the end is reached. And this is the natural form, the principle of which is what was first established in it. Therefore, since nature, tending to form, creates everything, and is moved by it, not only as a form, but also as an end, and after having achieved it, stops and does not proceed any further, it could be said that individuals are induced to act by the forms. But inasmuch as the forms, which are potentially in matter, become such in actuality because of the individuals – in fact, a man in potency becomes such in actuality due to Callias – it could be said that the forms are induced to the act by the individuals. And it is precisely for this reason that the individuals would be more substance than the universals, so that the latter could not exist if the individual universals did not exist, which have their being in them and which, through them, have the possibility of being in act and are contained by them in act, even if those in potency contain these. And if we say that the individuals

θόλου συναναιρεῖσθαι φαμέν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις τὸ εἶναι ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκείνων συμπληρωτικῶν ὄντων τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν.

11.3 Τουτί μὲν οὖν σου τὸ γρίφον, ὡς ὄρας, διαλέλυται. σὺ δ' ὥσπερ μετ' ἐπιστήμης ἀπάσης τοὺς λόγους πεποικῶς μάλα σοβαρῶς τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰρημένους ἀξυμβλήτους καλεῖς, ὡς δὴ τῷ οὕτω φάναί καὶ οὕτως ἔχειν ἐπόμενον, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ τυφλῷ δηλον ἐσόμενον, τίς ὁ τοῖς ἀσυμβλήτοις παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον χρώμενος. μόλις δὲ νῦν ἀνανήψας, πρότερον κραιπαλῶν, διδοὺς τὴν προτέραν τῶν προτάσεων, ἀρνούμενος δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν, τὰ ζητούμενα φῆς λαμβάνειν ὡς ὁμολογούμενα, ὥσπερ εἰ ἐτίθει ταύτην ἀξιωματικῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδεδειχῶς ἐτύγγανεν ὦν. σὺ δ', εἰ μὲν οἷός τε εἶ λόγῳ αἰρεῖν τὰ καθόλου τά γε ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς, μὴ οὐκ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τῶν πρώτων μὴ οὐσῶν οὐσιῶν — τοῦναντίον γὰρ Θεόδωρός τε καὶ πρό γε αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀποδεδείχασαν —, τί οὐχ αἰρεῖς; εἰ δ' οὐχ οἷός τε εἶ, τί ληρεῖς ὥσπερ ἀπ' ὄνου καταπεσῶν; πῶς δὲ καὶ ἀσυμβλήτους φῆς τὰς προτάσεις, ἐν οἷς τὸ μέσον, ᾧ τὰ ἄκρα συνάπτεται, ὑπόκειται μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ, κατηγορεῖται δὲ τοῦ ἐσχάτου;

12.1 Ἐπεὶ, πρὸς Θεοῦ, πόθεν ἔμαθες λέγειν τὰ εἶδη τὸ εἶναι ἔχειν διὰ τὰ καθέκαστα, ἀναγκαῖον ὄν τὰ καθέκαστα ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὰ εἶδη, λόγοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄντα. |

182 12.2 Εἴρηται πρότερον, ὡς οὐ περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐκείνων ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς. σὺ δ', ἐξ ὧν τε εἶπες, ἐξ ὧν τε νῦν λέγεις, τὴν τε διαφορὰν πάνυ τοι ἐλέγχῃ μὴ συνιείς, καθ' ἣν Πλήθων πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλη περὶ οὐσίας διαφέρεται, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἀρχόμενος δι᾽ ἰσχυρίζομην, τά τε εἶδη τὰ χωριστὰ μὴ δ' ὅπως οὖν συνιέναι πεφώρασαι, ὅπως οἱ περὶ Πλάτωνα τίθενται, ἐν τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ νῶ ταῦτα λέγων ὑπάρχειν καὶ λόγους αὐτοῦ ταῦτα δημιουργικοὺς εἶναι οὐκ ἀνοουσίους. ἦν τε οὖν τὸ πρῶτον νοῦν καλῆς, ἀμαρτάνεις τῶν περὶ Πλάτωνα Περιπατητικῆν τὸ τοιοῦτο καινοτομίαν καλούντων καὶ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸν νοῦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν αὐτὸ τιθεμένων· ἦν τε τὸν προσεχῆ τούδε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δημιουργὸν νοῦν καλῆς, καὶ οὕτω πλημμελεῖς οὔτε διακρίνων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ εἶδη οὔτε πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα τιθέμενος — δέον διακεκριμένα τε καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα τίθεσθαι, ὡς διὰ πολλῶν ἐφόδων ὁ Πρόκλος δείκνυσι —, κἂν μὴ τὸ ἐν δὲ μόνον τῷ πρώτῳ τίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὄν ἀναθῆ, τὸν δὲ δημιουργὸν συνάφη τοῖς εἶδεσιν, ὃ δὴ καὶ Πλήθων ἀξιοῦν δοκεῖ.

16–18 Ἐπεὶ–ὄντα] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 165,21–23 Mohler

25–26 Περιπατητικῆν–καινοτομίαν] cf. Procl., *Theol. Plat.* 2,31,21–22 Saffrey – Westerink
27–28 τὸν–νοῦν] cf. Georg. Gemist. Plethon, *Epist. ad Bessarionem* 458,24 Mohler

3 γρύφον S L: correxi 5 τῷ] τὸ S | φάναί S L: correxi 25–26 Περιπατητικῶν L

disappear with the universals, we can say it not because those (the universals) have their being in them (the individuals), but because they are complements of their substance.

11.3 So this enigma of yours, as you see, is quickly solved. Yet, as if you had made your arguments with all the science in the world, you define, with great arrogance, the arguments of others as ‘incomprehensible’, as if saying so followed being so and it would be clear even to a blind man who uses incomprehensible arguments against all logic. After you have just recovered from the hangover, you who were previously obviously drunk in affirming the first of the statements and in denying the second, you say to take the issues for granted, as if he (= Theodoros) had posed that statement only axiomatically and had not proven it. Rather, if you are able to prove by a convincing argument that the universals that are in the many are not impossible, not being first principles — although in fact Theodoros and Aristotle before him proved the opposite — why not do so? If you are not capable of that, why are you squawking as if you fell off a donkey? And how can you say that those sentences are incomprehensible, when in them the middle term, to which the extremes of the syllogism are linked, is subordinate to the first and the last is a predicate?

12.1 ‘Then,¹ by God, where did you learn to say that forms have their being because of individuals, when it is necessary for individuals to exist because of forms, which are God’s words.’

12.2 It has already been said that our argument is not about those forms, but about the forms in the many. From the things you have said and those you now say, you, on the other hand, show well that you do not understand the difference whereby Plato departs from Aristotle in the matter of substance, which I also stated at the beginning, and it turns out that you do not understand separable forms at all, as the Platonists understand them, because you say that they reside in the intellect of Almighty God and that they are his demiurgic words not devoid of substance. And if you then call the first principle ‘intellect’, you depart from the Platonists, who call this statement a ‘peripatetic novelty’ and place it beyond not only intellect, but Being itself; and if you call the Demiurge close to this heaven of ours ‘intellect’, even so you are mistaken, neither separating forms from him nor placing them before him (they must necessarily be considered

¹ In the text edited by Mohler one reads here, instead of ἐπεὶ, the imperative εἰπέ. It is a correction made by Mohler. I checked the most important witnesses to the text of Michael Apostoles’ *Obiectiones* (cf. 165,21 Mohler), all of them transmitting the reading ἐπεὶ. This is also the case with two autographs by Apostoles, i.e. Pal. gr. 275 (fol. 179v) and Cantabr. Trinity College, O.1.23 (fol. 92r). The Cambridge copy — which was not included in Mohler’s edition — should be studied more in details. For it is Apostoles’ working copy, thus bearing evidence to corrections and additions made by the author himself.

12.3 Καὶ οὕτω διχῆ πλημμελεῖς, τῆ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον νοῦν καλῶν, ὑπὲρ τὸν νοῦν τιθεμένων ἐκείνων, τῆ δὲ τὰ εἶδη μὴ διακρίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ. Πλάτων γε μὴν ἔοικεν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἔν ὄν τὸ ἐξηρημένον ἔν τίθεσθαι ἀξίων, ἐν οἷς ἐν Φιλήβῳ μὲν εἰπὼν μεμῖχθαι τὸ ὄν ἐξ ἀπειρίας καὶ πέρατος, τούτοις ἀμφοῖν τὸν θεὸν ὑποστά-
 5 τιν φησίν, οὕτως ἐκεῖ τὸ πρῶτον καλῶν. ἐν δὲ γε τῆ πρώτῃ τῶν Παρμενίδου ὑποθέσεων σαφῶς ὑπὲρ τὸ ἔν ὄν τὸ ἐξηρημένον ἔν ἀποδείκνυσιν, ὡς δὲ κἂν τῷ Σοφιστῇ ἀπηντηκῶς ὁ Ἐλεάτης ξένος πρὸς Παρμενίδην, ἐν εἰπόντα τὸ ὄν, ἄτοπα πλείω ἐπιφέρει τοῖς μὴ διακρίνουσι τὸ ἐξηρημένον ἔν τοῦ ἐνὸς ὄντος. τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος, φησιν, ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν οὐκ ἔσται τά τε πράγματα ὀνομάζειν οὐχ οἶόν τε καὶ
 10 τό τε ὄνομα τῷ πράγματι καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ ὀνόματι ταυτὸν ἔσται. καὶ ταύτη τό τε πρᾶγμα πράγματος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀνόματος πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ὀνόματος ὄνομα, ἀλλ' οὐ πράγματος ἔσται.

12.4 Ὡν αὐτὸς ἐπαῖων οὐδέν, τά τε παρατυχόντα μηδενὶ ξὺν νῶ φθέγγη, μᾶλλον δ' ἐμεῖς ὅ τι κεν ἐπ' ἀκαιρίμαν γλῶσσαν ἔπος ἔλθῃ προφέρων εἰκῆ καὶ νόθ' ἄττα δόγματα τολμᾶς ὑπ' ἀμαθίας Πλάτωνι προσποιεῖν, Πλατωνικὸς μὲν καὶ
 15 λίαν γλιχόμενος εἶναι, οὕτω γε μὴν τοῖς Πλάτωνος προστυχῆς γεγωνῶς, δέον ἢ μετὰ τῆς ἀκριβεστάτης ἀληθείας καὶ ἐπιστάσεως περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀποφαίνεσθαι, οὕτω τοι θείων ὄντων καὶ ὑψηλῶν καὶ τῆν τῶν πολλῶν ἕξιν ὑπερβαλλόντων, καὶ ἐν οἷς μέγιστος κίνδυνος ἀποπεπλανῆσθαι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ἢ τῷ δευτέρῳ
 20 χρησάμενον, ὃ φασί, πλῶ σιωπῆν ἄγοντα τὰ σαυτοῦ τε πράττειν καὶ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντά σοι μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ λέγοντα περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶσθα, ἀσχημονεῖν καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνειν παρὰ πᾶσιν, ὅσοις νοῦ καὶ σμικρόν τι προσήρτηται'. ἀποσεμνύνεις μὲν γάρ σου τὸν λόγον, παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους λέγων ἄνθρωπον εἶναι καὶ παρὰ πάντας ἵππους ἵππον, καὶ τῆν ἀνθρωπίνην εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν τῇ τῶν
 183 εἰδῶν θεωρίᾳ Πλάτωνα διίσχυριζόμενος τίθεσθαι, ἐν | τῇ τάγαθοῦ θεωρίᾳ, μᾶλλον ἐν Πολιτείαις αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντος ἐκείνου, πρὸς ἣν δὴ δόξαν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ἠθικοῖς ἀπαντᾷ. ἦν δὲ τις σε ἔρηται τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνον καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τῆν
 25 εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκείνην τίς ἐστίν, ἐλεγχθήσῃ παρὰ πόδα μηδὲν εἰδῶς. ἀποκρινόμενος μὲν μὴδ' ὀτιοῦν, ἰλιγγίων δ' ὑπ' ἀπορίας, πολλὰ χασμῶμενος καὶ ὁ νῦν μεγαλαυχίας τε καὶ φρονήματος ἀπρεποῦς ἔμπλεως ὢν, τῶν καθηλίων τότε εὐ ἴσθ' ὅτι διοίσεις οὐδέν.
 30

3–4 ἐν¹–πέρατος] cf. Procl., *Theol. Plat.* 3,30,19–21 Saffrey – Westerink 5–6 ἐν–ἀποδείκνυσιν] cf. Procl., *Theol. Plat.* 2,36,7–37,3 Saffrey – Westerink 6–12 κἂν–ἔσται] cf. Procl., *Theol. Plat.* 3,67,24–68,2 et 69,10–24 Saffrey – Westerink 13 μηδενὶ–νῶ] Aristoph., *Nub.* 580; cf. *supra* 2.3 14 ὁ–ἔλθῃ] Dion. Hal., *Comp.* 1,37 19–20 τῷ–πλῶ] cf. Plat., *Phaed.* 99d; *Phil.* 19c; Arist., *Pol.* 1284b 19 22 ὅσοις–προσήρτηται] Plat., *Phil.* 58a

4 μεμῖχθαι S L: correxi | τοῖτοις L 6 σαφὲς S 17 τῆς om. S Mohler 18 τοι e τῶν corr. L 20 χρῆσάμενος L 26 πολιτείας Mohler

separate and prior to him, as Proclus repeatedly shows), even in the case where one would make not only the One but also Being coincide with the first principle, and join the Demiurge to forms. Moreover, Plethon also seems to maintain this.

12.3 And so you are wrong in two ways, on the one hand in calling ‘intellect’ the first principle, when it is a matter of things that are beyond the intellect, and on the other hand in not separating the forms from the intellect. Yet Plato seems to believe that the One-transcendent is placed beyond the One-that-is, when in the *Philebus*, asserting that Being is composed of unlimited and limited, he states that divinity is superintendent of both, thus calling it on that occasion the ‘first principle’. In the first argument of the *Parmenides* he clearly reveals that the One-transcendent is beyond the One-that-is, just as in the *Sophist* the stranger from Elea, presenting himself before Parmenides, who calls Being ‘One’, accuses those who do not discern the One-transcendent from the One-that-is of more absurdity. For, he says, there will be no multiplicity in entities, and it is not possible to give names to things, and the name is the same as the thing and the thing as the name, so the thing will be a thing of the thing, but not of the name, and the name of the name, but not of the thing.

12.4 Not understanding any of this, you speak without any knowledge of the arguments that are needed, but rather, you vomit ‘whatever words you can get on to your tongue’ by pulling them out at random, and have the audacity to attribute false beliefs to Plato. Driven by your ignorance, you are all too eager to be Platonic at all costs while never applying yourself to Plato’s concepts. It is necessary either to speak about these matters with the utmost truth and care, for they are matters so divine, sublime and beyond the understanding of most, and in which there is a great risk of distracting from the truth, or to use the ‘second way’, as they say, keeping silent, doing what is your own business and not attributing to yourself things that do not suit you, rather than, in speaking of things you do not know, behaving in an unseemly manner and provoking laughter from all those who have even a shred of sense. For you exalt your work by saying that man is beyond all men and the horse beyond all horses, and by claiming that Plato placed human happiness in the theory of Ideas, when he had argued in the *Republic* that happiness is mostly placed in the theory of the highest good, a doctrine against which Aristotle argued in his *Ethics*. But if one were to ask you what that man and horse and happiness are, it would immediately come out that you know nothing. Without in any way giving an answer, confused by the difficulty, remaining speechless, and now truncated with vainglory and shameful pride, know that then you will be no different in anything from donkeys.

12.5 Ἐπειτα τοσαύτην ἀμαθίαν αὐτὸς νοσῶν καὶ οὕτω τοι πόρρω τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποπλανώμενος, Θεοδώρῳ φῆς μὴ πάνυ τοι τῆς ἀληθείας μεμεληκέναι, ὅτι οὐχ ἔπεται τῇ Πλήθωνος δόξει, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ἀριστοτέλους, ἀνδρὸς πολλῶ ἀμείνονος ἢ κατὰ Πλήθωνα. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ ψεῦδος τῆς ἀληθείας κενῆς ἔνεκεν δόξης, ὡς αὐτὸς φῆς, πεφώραται προτετιμηκῶς. τούναντίον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἐκ νέου παρὰ πάντα τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον πεπρεσβευκῶς φαίνεται. οὐκ οὖν αὐτῷ οὔτε περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, ἐν οἷς πολλὸς κίνδυνος ἀποπεπλανηθῆναι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, οὔτε περὶ τῶν φαυλοτάτων παρὰ τὸ ἀληθές οὔτε δεδόξασται τι ὡς γοῦν ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει οὔτε συγγέγραπται. ἀλλὰ φύσει τε ἀρίστη καὶ πρὸς τῇ φύσει σπουδῇ καὶ πρό γε τούτων τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβῳ, δι' ἣν ἡ ἔλλαμψις τε καὶ ἡ τοῦ πόθου πλήρωσις παραγίνεσθον, πάνθ' ἄπερ ἐγκεχειρήκεν, ἧ φησι Πλάτων, 'δίκην ἐλαίου ἀσφορητὶ ῥέοντος', λείως τε καὶ ἀπταιστως καὶ ἀνυσίμως κατορθῶν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ φωνῇ φαίνεται.

12.6 Σὺ δ', ἔμπληκτε, νοῦ τε παχύτητι καὶ τρόπων μοχθηρία καὶ κενῆς ἔρωτι δόξης τὸ μὲν ἀληθές οὐδέποτ' ἐζήτησας οὔτε παρὰ σαυτοῦ εὐρεῖν οὔτε παρ' ἐτέρου μαθεῖν. τερατείαις δὲ χαίρων καὶ καινοτομίαις αἰεὶ φασματολογεῖς, καὶ πλάτων καὶ τινὰ ὄσαι ὡραὶ διηγῆ τούτους ἀπλουστέρους ἐκπλήττων, μυριάκις δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας μεταδοξάζων τὲ καὶ μεταβαλλόμενος νῦν μὲν τοῖς Πλάτωνος τίθεσαι, νῦν δὲ τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους, τὰ πλείω δὲ τοῖς Ἀριστίππου καὶ Πύρωνος, τὸ μὲν ἀληθές πάντη τε καὶ πάντως ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀφαιρούμενος, τέλος δὲ νομίζων τὴν κατὰ μέρος σωματικὴν ἡδονήν, δι' ἣν κἂν φονεύσειας κἂν τὸν πατέρα τὸν σαυτοῦ, εἰ περιῆν, τύψειας, βοσκηματώδη τινὰ καὶ Σαρδαναπαλικὸν βίον ζῶν, καθάπερ ἀργυρώνητον ἀνδράποδον δέσποιναν θεραπεύων τὴν Φιλήβου θεόν. καὶ οὐπω λέγω, ὅτι οἷς τε λόγοις ἐκεῖνοι πειθόμενοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐτίθεντο, ὅπως τε ἐτίθεντο, τοπαράπαν οὐκ οἶσθα. ἀλόγως δὲ πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν σοι φέρῃ, καθάπερ τῶν πλοίων τὰ ἀνερμάτιστα. οὕτωσι πάνυ τοι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς λόγον ποιούμενος μέμφῃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἀμελοῦσιν αὐτοῦ.

13.1 Εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ἀδύνατον φάσκων τί τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι μὴ οὐσῶν τῶν καθέκαστα οὐσιῶν, ἄρ' οὐ διαμένουσιν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, τὰ καθόλου; οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ ὅλως τὰ νοητά;

13.2 Ἀποφθάρηθι, κάθαρμα. αὐτόν σε γὰρ μᾶλλον αἰσχύνεσθαι ἔδει, ἀνδράσι μαχόμενον, πίθηκον ὄντα, οἷς οὐδὲν τι αἰσχύνῃς ἄξιον οὔτ' | εἴρηται οὔτε διαπέ-

28–30 Εἴτ'–νοητά] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 165,33–35 Mohler

10–11 ἔλλαμψις–πλήρωσις] Greg. Naz., *in sancta lumina* (orat. 39), 164,16–17 Moreschini

12 δίκην–ῥέοντος] Plat., *Theaet.* 144b

4 οὖν] ὁ Θεόδωρος Mohler 6 αὐτῷ L | μᾶλλον om. S | αὐτοῦ S | πεπρεσβευκῶς L

16 κενотоμίας S 17 ὄσαιῶραι L: ὄσας ὡρας Mohler 19 Ἀριστίππου L 24 τε¹ om. Mohler

31 ἀποφθάρηθι Mohler 32–412,1 διαπεπράκται S

12.5 And then, sick of such great ignorance and so far removed from the truth, you say that Theodoros is not interested in truth at all, since he does not follow the doctrine of Plethon, but that of Aristotle, a much better man than Plethon could ever be. Therefore, he is not learned to prefer falsehood to truth for the sake of a vain fame, as you say. On the contrary, from his youth and throughout his life, it is evident that he did not observe anything else with greater interest than it. Neither around matters of great importance, in which there is a great risk of deviating from the truth, nor around minimal matters has he ever argued verbally or written anything contrary to the truth, as far as is possible to human nature, but thanks to his excellent nature and beyond, thanks to study and even before that thanks to the fear of God, through which comes enlightenment and the satisfaction of desire, all that he has undertaken, as Plato says, 'like oil flowing without a sound', he shows that he accomplishes it smoothly, without error and effectively, in both languages.

12.6 As for you, foolish man, because of your dullness, wickedness, and desire for vain fame, you have never sought to find either the truth by yourself or to learn it from others. Enjoying vacuity and absurdity, you are always talking about admirable things, and inventing strange things you continually tell them by impressing the simple-minded, changing your opinion a thousand times a day, and changing sides, now adhering to the doctrines of Plato, now those of Aristotle, mostly those of Aristippus and Pyrrho, keeping the truth away from the facts in the most absolute manner, holding as your ultimate end the particular bodily pleasure, moved by which you would be able to kill and even beat your father, if he were still alive, living a life as an animal and in the manner of Sardanapale, like a bought slave serving the divine mistress of Philebus. And I do not say that you do not know at all what arguments had persuaded them to expound these opinions and how they expounded them, but you are carried along by what you think, like a ship without ballast. By reasoning in this way about the truth, you accuse others of disregarding it.

13.1 'Are you not ashamed then to say that it is impossible for anything else to exist once individual substances do not exist? Do not universals then continue to exist? Do not souls and intelligibles continue to exist?'

13.2 Go to hell, you scoundrel. You should rather be ashamed to stand up against men of such kind, you ape, men who have said or done nothing to be

πρακται. μὴ οὐσῶν γάρ, φησι Θεόδωρος, τῶν πρώτων οὐσιῶν ἀδύνατόν τι τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι, τῶν ἢ καθ' ὑποκειμένων αὐτῶν λεγομένων ἢ ἐν ὑποκειμέναις αὐταῖς ὄντων. τά τε γὰρ συμβεβηκότα πῶς ἂν εἶεν μὴ τούτων οὐσῶν; τίνος γὰρ ἂν καὶ εἶεν συμβεβηκότα; τά τε γένη καὶ τὰ εἶδη τά γε ἀχώριστα συναναίρεθῆι ἂν τοῖς καθέκαστα ἀνηρημένοις. τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν τὴν γε ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ τὰς χωριστὰς οὐσίας μήτε καθ' ὑποκειμένων τῶν πρώτων οὐσιῶν λεγομένας μήτε ἐν ὑποκειμέναις αὐταῖς οὐσας, οὐδὲν κωλύει εἶναι μὴ οὐσῶν τῶν πρώτων οὐσιῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον Ἀριστοτέλη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶ ἐπομένους συκοφαντεῖς ὡς τὸ εἶδος τῇ ὕλῃ συμφθειρεσθαι φάσκοντας, εἰ μὲν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἂν ἤψω λόγων Ἀριστοτελικῶν, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἡσηγμένοις συκοφαντῶν. ἐκ πολλῶν γὰρ τις τῶν Ἀριστοτέλει εἰρημένων δύναίτο ἂν τὴν γε ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον ἀποδείξει. ἐπεὶ δὲ μηδὲν εἰδὼς αὐτός τε ὑνηεῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους ἀναπέθεις ταυτὰ σοι φρονεῖν, ἡμῖν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποδεδειχόσιν ἀθανασίαν, ἐπομένοις Ἀριστοτέλει, οὐ σοῦ γε ἔνεκα — οὐ γὰρ συνοίσεις ἀσυνετώτατος ὢν —, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὴ ἐντυχανόντων τοῖς τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους βιβλίοις, ὡς ἂν μὴ παρακρουσάμενος λάθῃς αὐτοῦς, οὕτω σου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιχείρημα ἀπαντητέα ἂν εἶη.

13.3 Ἐν τοίνυν τῶν περὶ ψυχῆς πρώτῳ· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἔοικε, φησίν, ἐγγίνεσθαι οὐσία τις οὔσα, καὶ οὐ φθειρεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἂν ἐφθειρετο ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ γήρα ἀμαυρώσεως'. συμφανὲς οὖν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀθάνατόν τε αὐτὸν τίθεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μάλα ἐρρωμένως ἀποδεικνύναι· ἀκμάζει γὰρ τῶν ὄντι, ἀλλ' οὐ συναμαυροῦται τῷ σώματι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ τῷ σώματι οὐσῶν συνακμαζουσῶν τε καὶ συναμαυρουμένων αὐτῷ. ἔτι ἐν τῷ περὶ γενέσεως ζῶων δευτέρῳ· ἔοικε δὲ ὁ νοῦς, φησί, θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι καὶ εἶναι θεῖος· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπικοινωνεῖ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ σωματικῇ ἐνέργειᾳ'. εἰ τοίνυν ἔξωθεν ἐπισηρῆται καὶ ἔστι θεῖος, οὐτ' ἐκ τῆς ὕλης ἀπὸ τοῦ δυνάμει εἰς τὸ ἐνεργείᾳ παράγοιτ' ἂν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τίνος κρείττονος αἰτίας καὶ τελεωτέρας, τοῦ Θεοῦ δηλαδή, διὸ καὶ θεῖος· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεῖον οὔτε συνεκτείνοντο ἂν τῇ ὕλῃ ἐπισηρχόμενον ἔξωθεν, εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐδεμία σωματικῇ ἐνέργειᾳ ἐπικοινωνεῖ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ αὐτοῦ, χωριστὴν δὴπου τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔχει. εἰ δὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν χωριστὴν ἔξει — ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ ψυχῆς φησίν· 'εἰ ἔστι τι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργων ἢ παθημάτων ἴδιον,

1–3 μὴ–ὄντων] Theod. Gazes, *Adv. Plethonem* 154,34–36 Mohler

1–3 μὴ–ὄντων] cf. Arist., *Cat.* 2b 5–6 4–5 τά¹–ἀνηρημένοις] cf. Simpl., in *Cat.* 83,30–85,33 Kalbfleisch 18–20 ὁ–ἀμαυρώσεως] Arist., *de An.* 408b 18–20; cf. Philp., in *de An.* 11,20–22 Hayduck 21–23 ἀκμάζει–αὐτῷ] cf. Philp., in *de An.* 14,38–15,4 Hayduck 24–25 ὁ–ἐνέργεια] Arist., *GA* 746b 27–39 31–414,1 εἰ–χωρίζεσθαι] Arist., *de An.* 403a 10–11; idem *infra* 13.4

6–7 οὐσίῳν L 13 ταυτὰ] ταυτὰ σοι Mohler 23 τῷ] τῶν S Mohler 24 ἐπισιέναι S 25 ἔστι] εἶναι S 28 ἐπισηρχόμενος S L: corr. Mohler

ashamed of. Theodoros says: ‘For since the first substances do not exist, it is impossible for any other of the things to exist or to be predicated on the same subsistent substances or to be in the same subsistent substances’. For how could accidents exist in the absence of these substances? Of what, in fact, would they be accidents? The inseparable kinds and species would disappear in the absence of the individual. But since they are neither predicated on the first subsistent substances nor subsistent in them, there is nothing to prevent the human soul and the separable substances from existing even if the first substances do not exist. You slander not only Aristotle but also those who follow him as saying that form comes to disappear with substance. If you had even essayed Aristotelian works in any way, you would not be so shameless in your slanders. Indeed, it could be proven on the basis of many things said by Aristotle that the human soul is immortal. But since, although you know nothing, you behave like a swine and persuade simpletons to think as you do, we, who have proven the immortality of the soul on the basis of what Aristotle says, should not answer your arguments for you — for you are obtuse to the utmost degree, it would be of no use — but for those who do not read Aristotle’s books, so that you cannot deceive them underhandedly, like this.

13.3 Then, in the first of the books *On the soul* he says: ‘The intellect seems to generate itself as a substance that is, and not to destroy itself; for it would otherwise be destroyed by the weakening of old age’. So it is very clear from what has been said that he considers the soul immortal, and that he also proves this very strongly; for it grows, but does not weaken with the body, whereas all other things that are subject to a body grow and weaken along with it. Again, in the second book *On the Generation of Animals*, he says: ‘The intellect seems to come from without and to be divine: for it has nothing in common with its activity that of the body’. If, therefore, it comes from without and is divine, it cannot be brought from power to act by matter, but from a more powerful and perfect cause, namely God, and is therefore divine. Not only could God’s divinity not be equalled by matter, since it comes from without, but if no activity of the body is common with its activity, then they have a distinct activity. In fact, in the first of the books *On the soul*, he says: ‘If there is any function or sensation of the

ἐνδέχοιτο ἂν αὐτὴν χωρίζεσθαι' —, εἰ δὲ ταῦτα, διαμένει ἂν δήπου καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τοῦδε ἀπαλλαγὴν.

185 13.4 Ἔτι ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς πολλαχοῦ τὸν νοῦν φησὶ χωριστόν, 'χωρίζεσθαι γάρ, φησιν, αὐτόν, καθάπερ τὸ αἶδιον τοῦ φθαροῦ' καὶ 'χωρίζεσθαι δὲ μόνον | 5 τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἔστι, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ αἶδιον', καὶ 'οὐδὲ μεμίχθαι εὐλογον τῷ σώματι αὐτόν', καὶ 'τὸ μὲν αἰσθητικὸν οὐκ ἄνευ σώματος, ὁ δὲ χωριστός', 'καὶ οὗτος ὁ νοῦς χωριστός καὶ ἀμιγῆς καὶ ἀπαθὴς τῇ οὐσίᾳ'. εἰ οὖν χωριστόν φησι τὸν νοῦν, ἢ τῇ οὐσίᾳ μόνον ἢ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ ἢ καὶ ἀμφοῖν χωριστόν δοξάζει; ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν οὐσίᾳ μόνῃ χωριστόν ὑπολαμβάνειν αὐτόν ἡγεῖσθαι οὐκ εὐλογον. ἐν γὰρ 10 τῷ πρώτῳ φησιν· 'εἰ μηδὲν ἔστιν ἴδιον αὐτῆς — ἔργον ἢ πάθος δηλαδή — οὐκ ἂν εἶη χωριστή'. καὶ γὰρ ἀνερέργητον μένειν καὶ μάτην εἶναι συνέβαινε ἂν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦδε ἀπαλλαγὴν. οὐδὲν δὲ οὔτε τὸν θεὸν οὔτε τὴν φύσιν μάτην ποιεῖν ἐν πολλοῖς αὐτὸς φησιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔχοντα χωριστὴν τὴν οὐσίαν ἀχώριστον ἔχειν ὑποληπτέα ἂν εἶη δοξάζειν αὐτόν. ἔσπετο γὰρ 15 ἂν τὸ αἰτιατόν τοῦ αἰτίου κρεῖττον εἶναι, αἰτίου μὲν τῆς οὐσίας οὔσης, αἰτιατοῦ δὲ τῆς ἐνεργείας, διὰ μέσης γε μὴν τῆς δυνάμεως. ἄτοπον δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τῷ τυχόντι περιάπτειν, μὴ ὅτι γε Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λέγοντι· 'εἰ ἔστι τι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργων ἢ παθημάτων ἴδιον, ἐνδέχοιτο ἂν αὐτὴν χωρίζεσθαι'. λείπεται δὴ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν χωριστὴν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτὸν λέγειν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, διαμένειν δήπου καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τοῦδε ἀπαλλαγὴν. 20

13.5 Ἔτι Ἀριστοτέλης ἀμερῆ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποδείκνυσιν, οὐ τὴν λογικὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν. εἰ γὰρ ἄλλω μὲν, φησι, μορίῳ ἢ αἴσθησις τοῦ λευκοῦ, ἄλλω δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ἀντιλαμβάνεται, παραπλήσιον ἂν ἦν, ὡς εἰ τοῦ μὲν ἐγώ, τοῦ δὲ σὺ αἰσθοιο. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, κρίσις οὐκ ἂν ἦν. ἐν γὰρ δεῖ τὸ κρῖνον εἶναι. 25 ἀμερῆς ἄρα ἢ αἰσθητικὴ; εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, κἂν ἢ λογικὴ πολλῶν κρεῖττον οὔσα. τούτου ὑποτεθέντος, ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ φθειρόμενον ἢ καθ' αὐτὸ φθίρεται, ὡς τὸ μέλαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ, ἐναντίου γε ὄντος, καὶ τὸ σύνθετον εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη, ἢ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ὡς ἢ ἁρμονία τῇ λύρᾳ συμφθαρεῖσα, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὸ εἶναι ἔχουσα

3–4 χωρίζεσθαι–φθαροῦ] Arist., *de An.* 413b 26–27; cf. Phlp., *in de An.* 11,3 et 25 Hayduck
4–5 χωρίζεσθαι–αἶδιον] Arist., *de An.* 430a 22–23; cf. Phlp., *in de An.* 11,5–6 Hayduck
5–6 οὐδὲ–αὐτόν] Arist., *de An.* 429a 24; cf. Phlp., *in de An.* 11,13–14 Hayduck 6 τὸ–
χωριστός] Arist., *de An.* 429b 5; cf. Phlp., *in de An.* 11,18 Hayduck 7 καὶ¹–οὐσίᾳ] Arist., *de An.*
430a 17–18; cf. Phlp., *in de An.* 11,19 Hayduck 10–11 εἰ–χωριστή] Arist., *de An.* 403a 11–12
17–19 εἰ–χωρίζεσθαι] Arist., *de An.* 403a 10–11; idem *supra* 13.3 22–23 εἰ–ἀντιλαμβάνεται]
cf. Phlp., *in de An.* 13,5–6 Hayduck 23–24 ὡς–αἰσθοιο] Phlp., *in de An.* 13,11–12 Hayduck
24 ἐν–εἶναι] cf. Phlp., *in de An.* 13,14 Hayduck 25–416,5 τούτου–ψυχῆ] cf. Phlp., *in de An.*
16,18–25 Hayduck

5 μεμίχθαι S L: corr. Mohler 7 ἀπαθὴς] καθαρὸς S 8 καὶ om. S 11 ἀνέργητον Mohler 12 τὴν¹
om. Mohler 14 ἂν in textu om., in marg. suppl. L 15 αἰτίου¹] αἰτία S 27 ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ L | τὸ supra
lin. scr. S 28 ἢ om. L

soul that is proper to it alone, it can be admitted to be separate.’ If this is the case, it can then continue to exist even after departing from this life.

13.4 Again, in several places in the books *On the soul* he says that the intellect is separable. For he says that ‘it is separate like the eternal from the perishable’, that ‘only what exists can be separate, and this alone is immortal and imperishable’, that ‘it is not reasonable to think that it is mixed with the body’, that ‘the faculty of perceiving does not exist without the body, but the intellect is separate’, and that ‘this intellect is separate, unmixed, immune from substance’. If, therefore, it is separate, do you think it is separate only by substance, by activity, or by both? It is unreasonable, however, to suppose that Aristotle believes it to be separate by substance alone. For in the first book, he says: ‘If there is nothing – clearly action or passion – peculiar to it (= the soul), it could not be separated. For it would happen that it (= the intellect) would remain inactive and useless after separation from this body.’ But he says in several places that neither God nor nature does anything by chance. Nor is it conceivable that he should think that it has separable activity and inseparable substance. For it would follow that the thing caused is stronger than the cause, whereas the substance is the cause, the activity the thing caused, by means, however, of the potency. It would be absurd to attribute these theses to anyone, and all the more so to Aristotle, who says in the first book: ‘If there is an act or passion of the soul peculiar to it, it would be admissible for it to be separate.’ It remains that according to him both substance and activity are separate; if so, the intellect continues to exist even after separation from this body.

13.5 Again, Aristotle proves that the soul is composed of several parts, not only the rational, but also the sensory. He says: ‘If sensation was perceived as one part white and on part black, it would be more or less as if I felt one thing and you another.’ If that were the case, there would be no possibility of distinction. Necessarily only one must be the part that distinguishes. Perhaps the psychic one is without parts? If so, the rational one would be much better. That being so, since everything perishes either of itself, like the black because of the white that is its opposite and the compound in the parts of which it is composed, or by accident, like the harmony that dissolves together with the lyre (in that it has its being and is in no way separate from it), the soul by accident could not

καὶ οὐδ' ὄτι οὖν χωριστόν, ἢ ψυχὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς μὲν οὐκ ἂν φθαρεῖη — δέδεικται γὰρ ἤδη χωριστὴν ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν — ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ καθ' αὐτό. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη διαλυθεῖη ἂν — οὐ γὰρ σύνθετος, ἀμερῆς γε οὔσα, ὡς δέδεικται — οὔθ' ὑπὸ ἐναντίου· οὐθὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ ἐναντίον οὐσία γε οὔση. οὐδαμῶς ἄρα φθείρεται ἡ ψυχὴ.

5

13.6 Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῖν ἐπομένους Ἀριστοτέλει ἰκανῶς ἀποδέδεικται, ἀπαντητέα ἂν εἶη καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιχειρημά σου. τῷ οὖν ἐντελέχειαν λέγειν Ἀριστοτέλη τὴν ψυχὴν ἔπεσθαι οἶει καὶ τὸ θνητὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι, νομίζων ἅπασαν ἐντελέχειαν ἀχώριστον δεῖν εἶναι τοῦ οὗ ἔστιν ἐντελέχεια, ἀπλῶς αὐτὴν λαμβάνων λεγομένην πλεοναχῶς. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ τὴν φυτικὴν | καὶ ἄλλως 186 τὴν αἰσθητικὴν καὶ ἄλλως τὴν λογικὴν ἐντελέχειαν εἶναι φαμέν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ φυτικὴν ὡς μορφωτικὴν καὶ διαπλαστικὴν τοῦ τῆς αἰσθητικῆς ὄργανου καὶ λογικῆς, καὶ ὡς χρωμένην αὐτῷ ἀπλουστερόν γε μὴν ἢ κατὰ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν τε καὶ λογικὴν, καθ' ἣν δὴ καὶ τὰ ἔμψυχα λέγεται ζῆν. τὴν δὲ αἰσθητικὴν ὡς αἰσθησιν τῷ ὄργάνῳ παρεχομένην, καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ χρωμένην ποικιλώτερον δὲ ἢ κατὰ τὴν φυτικὴν 15 καὶ ὡς κατὰ τόπον κινουῦσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τελειότερον ἄγουσαν, καθ' ἣν δὴ καὶ ζῶν τὸ ἔμψυχον λέγεται. ἀπλῶς δὲ ἀμφοτέρας ταύτας οὔτως ἐντελεχειᾶς τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ ὀργανικοῦ σώματος καὶ εἶδη διοριζόμεθα ὡς, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἀπλῶς εἶδος τὸ φυσικὸν ἢ καὶ τὸ τεχνητὸν ἐν τῇ προστυχοῦσῃ ὕλῃ ἐγγίνεσθαι εἴπομεν οἶον τὸ λίθου καὶ ἀνδριάντος, ἐκείνου ταύτας ὅλας γινομένης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνο τούτων. τὴν δὲ λογικὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ τελειότατον ἄγουσαν καὶ λογικῶς καὶ χρωμένην 20 καὶ πείθουσαν τὸ ὄργανον ζῆν, κοσμοῦσαν τε τὰ πάθη καὶ λόγῳ παιδεύουσαν αὐτὰ πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ἑαυτῆς ποιουμένην ἐκεῖνο, ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην γινομένην ἐκείνου.

13.7 Τούτων οὔτως ἐχόντων τὴν μὲν φυτικὴν καὶ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν ἀχωρίστους εἶναι ἀνάγκη, τοιαύτας τὲ ἐντελεχειᾶς αὐτὰς ὑπάρχειν, μὴ οἷας χωρὶς τοῦ 25 οὗ εἰσιν ἐντελέχειαι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ σώματι συναπόλλυσθαι τῶν ἐνεργειῶν αὐτῶν ἀχωρίστων οὐσῶν. τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ γεννήσῃ ἢ γεννητικὴ χωρισθεῖσα, ἢ ἢ θρεπτικὴ θρέψῃ, ἢ αὐξήσῃ ἢ αὐξητικὴ; τί δ' ἂν ἢ αἰσθητικὴ κινήσῃ κεχωρισμένη; ἢ πῶς ἂν αἰσθοῖτο χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος; ὧν δ' αἰ ἐνέργειαι ἀχώριστοι, καὶ αὐτὰς πάντῃ ἀχωρίστους ἀνάγκη εἶναι. τὴν δὲ λογικὴν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν αὐτῆς, ὧν μὲν δηλονότι τοῦ σώματος χάριν αὐτῇ μόνον δεῖ καὶ αἷς οὐχ οἶον τε χρῆσθαι χωρὶς σώματος, ταύτας ἀχωρίστους τε ἀνάγκη εἶναι καὶ τῷ σώματι συναπόλλυσθαι, ὧν δὲ δεῖ ταύτῃ οὐ τοῦ σώματος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτῆς χάριν καὶ αἷς οἶον τε χρῆσθαι καὶ χωρὶς σώματος, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλῶ κρεῖττον ἢ μετὰ σώματος — αὐτὰ δ' εἰσὶ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι —, ταύτας χωριστάς τε εἶναι καὶ μὴ τῷ σώματι συναπόλ- 35

27–28 τί–αὐξητικὴ] cf. Phlp., *in de An.* 204,16–17 Hayduck

3 συνετέθει S 4–5 αὐτὴ ... οὐσία S Mohler 10 λεγομένης L 16 τελειώτερον S 18 εἶδη e corr. L: ἤδη S 19 καὶ in textu om., supra lin. suppl. L 27 γεννήσοι Mohler 28 θρέψοι Mohler αὐξήσοι Mohler 29 τοῦ om. L 29–30 ἀνάγκη ἀχωρίστους S 31 μόνων S 33 δεῖ] δὴ S

therefore perish. It has already been proven, in fact, that it has both substance and activity separate. Nor could the soul perish of itself. It could neither dissolve into the parts of which it is composed — it is not a compound, since it is without parts, as has been proven — nor on account of any of its opposites, for there is no opposite for it which is substance. In no case, therefore, does the soul perish.

13.6 Once we have sufficiently proven, we who follow Aristotle, that the soul is immortal, we should answer your argument. So, you believe that the fact that Aristotle says that the soul is act follows from the fact that it is mortal, because you think that necessarily everything that is act is inseparable from that that is act, and you conceive this in a simple way whereas in fact it is said with many meanings. For we say that the act is now vegetative, now psychic, now rational. A ‘vegetative’ act is so because it shapes and moulds the organ of sensation and reason, and because it uses it, but in a simpler way than the sensory and the rational; because of this, living beings are said to ‘live’. A ‘sensitive’ act is so because it gives the organ the faculty of perception, because it uses it in a more varied manner than the vegetative act, and because it moves through space and leads towards what is more perfect; because of this, we say that the living being is an ‘animal’. We call both of them thus, simply, acts of the physical and organic body and forms, for even if we were to say that the simple natural or even artificial form is inherent in any matter, such as the form of a stone or a statue, these would be entirely acts of the body and not the body act of those. And the ‘rational’ act, finally, is so since it leads towards the most perfect, rationally uses the organ and persuades it to live. It orders the passions, educates them to obey the commands of reason and makes the organ part of itself, but does not become a part of that.

13.7 This being so, the vegetative and the sensory are necessarily inseparable, and these acts are such, not that they exist as such without that of which they are acts, but that they die with the body, precisely because their activities are non-separable. For if the act were divided, what could generate the generative activity, or what could nourish the nourishing one, or what could make the augmentative one grow? And, as they are separate, what would move the psychic one? Or simply how would it perceive without the body? Acts whose activities are not separable are also required to be non-separable. On the other hand, it is necessary for the rational act to be separable because, among its activities, those of which it clearly needs only for the body and of which it is unable to make use without the body are necessarily inseparable and perish with the body, whereas those of which it needs not only for the body but also for itself, and of which it is possible to make use even without the body, indeed much better than with the body (i.e. thinking and willing), these are necessarily

λυσθαι, καὶ αὐτὴν ἀνάγκη χωριστὴν εἶναι. τοιαύτην γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐντελέχειαν ὑπάρχειν, οἷαν καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ οὗ ἔστιν ἐντελέχεια εἶναι, καὶ τῷ ὄργανῳ, ὅπερ ἐχρῆτο, μὴ συναπόλλυσθαι. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔστι τίς ἐνέργεια ταύτης χωριστὴ σώματος, καὶ αὐτὴν χωριστὴν ἀνάγκη εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ σώματος χωρισμόν.

13.8 Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀποδοὺς τὸν ὄρισμόν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιφέρει· 5
 'ἐνίων δὲ ἡ ἐντελέχεια τῶν μερῶν ἔστιν αὐτῶν', περὶ τῆς φυτικῆς καὶ αἰσθητικῆς τοῦτο λέγων. 'οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔνια γε οὐδὲν κωλύει' χωριστὰ δηλαδὴ εἶναι, περὶ τῆς λογικῆς τοῦτο λέγων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ πράττει τί χρωμένη τῷ σώματι καὶ θεωρεῖ μὴ δεομένη αὐτοῦ, 'οὐδὲν κωλύει', φησι, μέρη τινὰ χωριστὰ τοῦ σώματος εἶναι 'διὰ τὸ μηδενὸς εἶναι σώματος ἐντελεχείας', κἂν εἰ ἅπανα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐντελέ- 10
 χεια εἴρηται. ἐκώλυε γὰρ ἄν, εἰ καὶ καθ' ὅλην ἑαυτὴν καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν 187 ἑαυτῆς σώματος ἦν ἐντελέχεια. ἐπεὶ δὲ | καθ' ὅλην μὲν, οὐ κατὰ πᾶσαν δὲ ἐνέργειαν ἑαυτῆς — οὐ γὰρ δῆπου κατὰ τὸν νοῦν· εἴρηται γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ 'χαλεπὸν καὶ πλάσαι ποῖον μόριον ἢ πῶς ὁ νοῦς συνέξει' — οὐδὲν κωλύει, φησιν, ἐντελέ- 15
 χειαν μὲν εἶναι, ἔνια δὲ τῶν μερῶν χωριστὰ. 'ἔτι τε ἄδηλον, φησιν, εἰ οὕτως ἐν- 15
 τελέχεια τοῦ σώματος ἢ ψυχῆ ὡσπερ ὁ πλωτὴρ πλοίου', διὰ τούτων ἐναργέστερον δεικνύς, ὅπως ἐντελέχειαν φησὶ τὴν λογικὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς γὰρ πῆ μὲν χρωμένην, πῆ δὲ μὴδ' ὅλως. τοιοῦτο γὰρ τὸ τοῦ πλωτῆρος παράδειγμα. εἰ οὖν ἡ αἰσθη- 20
 τικὴ ἢ πάντῃ χρωμένη ἀχώριστος δῆπου τῷ χρῆσθαι, ἢ πῆ μὲν χρωμένη, πῆ δὲ μὴδ' ὅλως, οἷα τυγχάνει οὕσα ἢ λογικὴ, τὸ μὴ χρώμενον αὐτῆς χωριστὸν ἔσται 20
 πάντῃ, οὐκέτι τε χωρισθεῖσα ἐντελέχεια σώματος ἔσται, οὐδέ γε ψυχὴ κινήσεως, ὡς οὐδὲ ὁ πλωτὴρ τῆς νεῦς διαφθαρείσης ἔτι πλωτῆρ, ἀλλ' ὅλη νοῦς, τῶν οἰκείων καὶ συγγενῶν ἀντιλαμβανομένη τρανώτερον. ἄτοπον δὲ οὐδὲν διὰ τῆς ἐντε- 25
 λεχείας πλεοναχῆ λεγομένης τὸν ὄρισμόν ἀποδοῦναι τῆς ψυχῆς πλεοναχῆ λεγομένης κάκεινης, τῶν γὰρ πλεοναχῆ λεγομένων τοὺς ὄρισμοὺς δι' ὁμοίων ἀποδι- 25
 δόναί προσήκει. τοῦ γὰρ ὑγιεινοῦ τῶν πλεοναχῆ λεγομένων ὄντος — ὑγιεινὸν γὰρ σιτίον καὶ σφυγμὸν καὶ ἀέρα φαμέν — διὰ τοῦ συμμετρου πλεοναχῆ λεγομένου τὸν ὄρισμόν ἀποδίδομεν, ὑγιεινὸν γὰρ λέγοντες τὸ συμμετρως ἔχον πρὸς ὑγιείαν. διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, μέλλων ἀποδιδόναι τὸν ὄρισμόν, 'εἰ δὴ τι κοινὸν ἐπὶ 30
 πάσης ψυχῆς δεῖ, φησιν, εἰπεῖν' ὡς τοῦ ὅρου ὀλοσχερῶς καὶ τὸν ὑπογραφικὸν 30
 ἀποδοθησομένου τρόπον.

13.9 Ὡς μὲν οὖν Ἀριστοτέλης ἀθάνατον οἶδε τὴν λογικὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς παρὰ τὸ πλεοναχῶς ἠπάτησαι, δῆλον. τοῦ δὲ δοκεῖν τισι μίτ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυ-

6–10 ἐνίων–ἐντελεχείας] cf. Arist., *de An.* 413a 5–7; Phlp., *in de An.* 204,18–19 Hayduck
 13–14 χαλεπὸν–συνέξει] cf. Arist., *de An.* 411b 18 14–15 οὐδὲν–χωριστὰ] cf. Arist., *de An.*
 413a 6–7 15–16 ἔτι–πλοίου] cf. Arist., *de An.* 413a 8–9 26–29 τοῦ–ὑγιείαν] cf. Phlp., *in de*
An. 206,1–18 Hayduck 29–30 εἰ–εἰπεῖν] cf. Arist., *de An.* 412b 4 30–31 ὡς–τρόπον] cf.
 Phlp., *in de An.* 205,30–206,1 Hayduck

21 κινήσεως] κυρίως L Mohler 24–25 τὸν–λεγομένης¹ om. S 28 γὰρ om. L 29 δῆ] δέ Mohler

separable and do not perish with the body. For it is necessary for the act to be such as to be even without that of which it is an act, and not to perish with the organ of which it has made use. Since an activity of this act is separate from the body, it is then necessary that it too be separate and continue to exist after separation from the body.

13.8 Aristotle, having expounded these arguments, introduces the definition of the soul: ‘The act of some parts belongs to the parts themselves’, he says, speaking of the vegetative and sensory. ‘But there is nothing to prevent others not being so’, i.e., separable, he says, speaking of the rational. For since the soul does something by making use of the body, but contemplates without needing it, ‘nothing forbids’, says Aristotle, that some parts be separated from the body ‘by the fact that they are not acts of anybody’, even if the whole soul is said to be an act. For there would be some impediment if the act were of the body in its whole self and in all its activity. But since it is so in the whole of itself, but not in all its activity, for it is not so as far as the intellect is concerned, as is said in the first book *On the soul*: ‘It is difficult even to imagine what part or how the intellect will hold it together’. There is nothing to prevent, says Aristotle, that it is act, but that some of the parts are separate. ‘It is still not clear’, he says, ‘whether the soul is the act of the body as well as the helmsman of the ship’, showing with these words more clearly how he understands the rational soul to be an act, since it sometimes uses it, sometimes not at all. Such is indeed the example of the helmsman: then, if the sensory part which makes use of it altogether is indivisible precisely on account of the fact that it makes use of it, the part of it which does not make use of it sometimes not at all, that is to say, the rational part, will remain altogether separate. The act, once separated from the body, will no longer be an act, nor will the soul be a soul, once separated from the movement — just as the helmsman of the ship, once it is destroyed, is no longer the helmsman — but all intellect, taking more clearly what is proper and akin to it. It is not at all absurd that, given a multiple meaning of act, one should also give a multiple definition of soul. For it is right to give things that have multiple meanings definitions through similar things. For since health is proper to things said in more than one way — we call food healthy, the heartbeat healthy, air healthy — we give the definition through that which conforms to it said in more than one sense, calling in fact generally ‘healthy’ that which is in conformity with health. This is why even Aristotle, wanting to give a definition, says: ‘If it is necessary to say something that is common to every soul’, as if to give a definition in a general and descriptive way.

13.9 That it seems to some that Aristotle, both in his books *On the soul* and in his writings on ethics, treats the argument of the immortality of the soul not

χῆς μήτ' ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς ἰσχυρίζομενον ἄπτεσθαι Ἀριστοτέλη τοῦ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐνδοιάζοντι ἑοικότα, ὃ δὴ καὶ Πλήθων ἐν ὄνειδει προφέρων αὐτῷ φαίνεται — καίτοι τὸ θνητὴν αὐτὸν αὐτὴν δοξάζειν οὐκ εἶρηκε πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα κατ' αὐτοῦ νεανιευσάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ συκοφαντίαν αὐτὸ καλεῖ —, αἴτιον τὸ τὰς ἐπιστήμας κατὰ γένη διελόμενον τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐκάστη λόγους ἀπο- 5 διδόναι πειρᾶσθαι, διακεκριμένην τὴν διδασκαλίαν ποιούμενον σφῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μιγνύντα τε καὶ συγχέοντα, τὸ τοὺς ἐκάστης ὅρους ὑπερπηδᾶν πρὸς ἀπαιδεύτου ἡγούμενον.

13.10 Ὡς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ ζῶων μορίων πρώτῳ δῆλον ποιῶν 'πότερον, φησί, περὶ πάσης ψυχῆς τῆς φυσικῆς ἐστὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν ἢ περὶ τίνος; 10 εἰ γὰρ περὶ πάσης, οὐδεμία λείπεται παρὰ τὴν φυσικὴν ἐπιστήμην φιλοσοφία'. εἴη γὰρ ἂν πάντων ἢ φυσικὴ γνῶσις, εἴπερ ὁ μὲν νοῦς τῶν νοητῶν ἐστὶ νοῦς, ὡς καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις τῶν αἰσθητῶν αἴσθησις, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἐπιστήμης περὶ νοῦ καὶ τῶν 188 νοητῶν θεωρῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα θεωρία ἢ αὐτὴ | πάντων. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἢ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν σκέψις τῆς πρώτης φιλοσοφίας ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦ νοῦ ἐκεί- 15 νης ἂν εἴη. ταῦτ' ἄρα οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς ἐναργέστερον περὶ τούτου διαλεχθῆναι ἠθέλησε, τῇ πρώτῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ τὴν τοιαύτην πραγμα- τείαν παρείς. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' οὕτως οὐδένα λόγον περὶ τούτου πεποιημένος οὐδὲ πάντη καταλελοιπῶς φαίνεται· ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐν τε τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς ἐν τε τοῖς περὶ 20 ζῶων ἐδίδαξεν, ἐρρωμενέστατα ἂν τις ἔχοι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποδεικνύναι ἀθάνα- τον, ὡς δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἤδη καλῶς ἀποδέδεικται, ἐξ αὐτῶν λαβοῦσι τῶν Ἀριστοτελι- κῶν ῥημάτων τὰ λήμματα.

13.11 Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ κἂν τοῖς περὶ φύσεως ποιεῖ. ἐν γὰρ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὴν φύσιν ποιητικὸν ἐπιστήσας αἴτιον φυσικῶ πρέποντα ποιῶν, ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ καὶ τὴν 25 ἐξηρημένην αἰτίαν ζητεῖ — ἢ δέ ἐστὶ τὸ πρῶτον κινεῖν — οὐ μὴν ὡς ἄσχετον καὶ ἀπόλυτον, ἀλλ' ὡς σχέσιν ἔχουσαν πρὸς τὸ κινητόν, ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως ἀναδρα- μῶν εἰς αὐτὴν. τοῦτο γὰρ φυσικοῦ, οὐ τὰ ἔνυλα μόνον καὶ κινητά, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐξ- ηρημένα σκέπτεσθαι καὶ ἀκίνητα, οὕτω γε μὴν ὡς σχέσιν ἔχοντα πρὸς τὰ κινητά. 'ἄνευ γὰρ κινήσεως, ἢ φησι Θεόφραστος, περὶ οὐδενὸς λεκτέον ἂν εἴη τῷ φυσικῶ'. ἐν δέ γε τοῖς μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ πάντα ὑπερναβὰς καὶ δι' ἄλλης ἐφόδου τὴν 30 μίαν τῶν πάντων ἀρχὴν καὶ μάλα ἐπιστημονικῆς ἀνευρῶν καὶ προσηκούσης τῇ πρώτῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐν εἶναι αὐτὴν διατείνεται. καὶ ταυτὸν ἐκεῖ νοῦν τε καὶ νοητὸν καὶ νόησιν εἶναι καὶ οὐσίαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν. ἐξάψας δ' αὐτῆς πάντα κα-

10–11 πότερον–φιλοσοφία] Arist., PA 641a 33–36 10–16 πότερον–εἴη] cf. Phlp., in de An. 10,16–21 12–16 εἴη–εἴη] cf. Arist., PA 641b 1–4 29–30 ἄνευ–φυσικῶ] cf. Thphr. Fragmenta 18 Wimmer (= Simpl., in Phys. 20,19–21 Diels) 32–422,2 καί!–κοίρανος] cf. Simpl., in Phys. 148,19–22 Diels

2 ἐνδιάζοντι S L post corr.: ἐνδοιάζοντι corr. Mohler; cf. infra 11.11 7 τοὺς e τῆς corr. L 10 φυτικῆς L 15 περι! om. S Mohler 23 κἂν S 24 ποιητικὴν Mohler 31 ἐπιστημονικῶς S

assertively, but almost as if it were in doubt, which even Plethon seems to blame him for (although he did not say that Aristotle thinks it is mortal, although he has hurled many insolences at him), is because he tries, having distinguished knowledge by kinds, to make arguments appropriate to each of them, keeping their teachings distinct, without mixing them up and confusing them, believing it proper of an uneducated person to override the definitions of each.

13.10 Why does Aristotle himself, clarifying this in the first book *On the Parts of Animals*, say: ‘Is the argument related to the physical soul in general or to one in particular? If in general, there remains no science other than physics’. Physics would in fact be knowledge of all things, since intellect is intellect of the intelligible, and sensation is sensation of the sensible, and it would be the task of the same science to investigate the intellect and the sensible, since an investigation of things in relation to each other would be the same for all. Then, since the study of the intelligibles belongs to the first philosophy, the study of the intellect should also be its prerogative. Therefore, neither in the books on the soul nor in those on ethics does he wish to discuss them more clearly, having reserved this treatment for the first philosophy. Nevertheless, it does not appear that he does not discuss them at all, nor that he leaves them out altogether, but from the things he teaches in the books on the soul or in the writings on animals, one could firmly prove the immortality of the soul, as, moreover, we too have already well proved, drawing from those writings the content of Aristotle’s words.

13.11 He also writes this in the books of the *Physics*. In the second, he deals with nature as an efficient cause, writing that this is the prerogative of physics, and in the last, he then investigates the transcendent one – which is the Prime Mover – not insofar as it is infinite and imperishable, but insofar as it is in relation to being in motion, thus moving from motion to this. For this is the object of physics: not only material or moving things, but also the contemplation of transcendent and immovable things, insofar as they are in relation to moving objects. ‘Without motion, in fact,’ as Theophrastus says, ‘physics can explain nothing’. In the books of the *Metaphysics*, once all this has been overcome and the unique cause of all things has been found through a different approach, one that is truly scientific and suited to first philosophy, it is argued that this cause is one. And there the intellect, the thinkable and the thought, the substance, the potency and the act are one. And attaching everything to it as to the surest

θαπερεί τινος ἀσφαλεστάτης ἀγκύρας καὶ σεβασθεὶς αὐτὴν ἐνθέως ἀναβοᾷ· ‘οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος’. οὕτως Ἀριστοτέλης οἰκείως ἐκάστης ἐπιστήμης τοὺς λόγους ἀποδιδούς καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ φυσικῶς θεωρεῖ καὶ τὰ θεολογικὰ θεολογικῶς. καὶ τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσιν αὐτῷ ὡς ἐνδοιαστῶς ἀπτομένῳ, τοῦ γε περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς λόγου, οὐκ ἐνδίδωσιν, οἷός τε ὦν δεῖξαι σφίσι μηδὲν περαίνουσι κατ’ αὐτοῦ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἀρκεῖ. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σου ἴδωμεν. 5

14.1 Λέγεις σὺ Ἀριστοτέλει συνηγορῶν τὰ ἡμῖν γνωριμώτερα πρῶτα καὶ κυρίως ὄντα εἶναι. τὸ δ’ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει. ἀλλὰ τὰ τῷ νῶ γνωριμώτερα, ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα, ἧ φησι καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν φυσικῇ, ἀντιφάσκειν μὴ αἰσχυρόμενος. 10

14.2 Θεόδωρος ‘τὰ ἡμῖν γνωριμώτερα καὶ πρῶτα κυρίως’, ἀλλ’ οὐ ‘πρῶτα καὶ κυρίως ὄντα’ φησίν, οὐδ’ οὕτω ταῖς χωρισταῖς καὶ θείαις οὐσίαις ταῦτα παραθεωρῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καθόλου, τοῖς γε ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἤς δὴ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης δόξης ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐν κατηγορίαις μόνον, ἀλλὰ κἀν τῇ φυσικῇ, οὐκ ἀντιφάσκων ἑαυτῷ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐμπληκτε οἶει, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα σύμφωνος ὦν. νομίσας δ’ ὧ κακόδαμον, ὡς εἰ λάβοις Θεόδωρον κυρίως ὄντα τὰ καθέκαστα εἰρηκότα, ἐπάξειν ἄτοπὸν τι κατ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν λέξιν μετέθηκας, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔλαθες κακουργῶν. δεδόσθω δὲ ὅμως 15 καὶ κυρίως ὄντα τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστα | εἰρηκέναι, οὐδ’ οὕτως ἡμᾶς αἰρήσεις. ἀποδέδεικται γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πρότερον τὰ καθέκαστα πρῶτας καὶ κυριωτάτας καὶ μάλιστα οὐσίας ὄντα. σὺ δ’ εἰ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀντειπεῖν ἐβούλου αὐτῷ, τί οὐ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀπήντας, ὧ τὰ καθέκαστα δείκνυσι πρῶτα; ἀλλὰ παρεῖς τὸ ἀντιλέγειν, ἄτοπὸν τι οὐδαμῇ προσῆκον ἐπάγεις καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι φάσκεις, αὐτὸς ὦν ἀναιδέστατος πάντων. ἐπεὶ οὖν σὺ πρὸς τοῦτο οὐδ’ ἀντιβλέψαι ἐτόλμησας, ἡμεῖς αὐτὸ καθάπερ ἀήτητον ἐάσαντες πρὸς τὸ ἄτοπὸν σου ἀπαντῶντες φαμέν, ὡς ἄλλως μὲν τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστα πρῶτα, ἄλλως δὲ τὰς χωριστὰς καὶ 25 θείας οὐσίας πρῶτας φαμέν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ καθέκαστα, καὶ δι’ ἃς ἔφαμεν πρότερον αἰτίας καὶ ἔτι ὡς δι’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν χωριστῶν ἐκείνων καὶ θείων οὐσιῶν ἀναγόμενοι γινώσκιν, πρῶτα φαμέν· τὰς δὲ χωριστὰς οὐσίας, ὡς καὶ φύσει καὶ ἀξιώματι καὶ τῷ αἰτίῳ τῶν τῆδε πολλῶ πρεσβυτέρας οὔσας καὶ ὡς διακυβερνώσας τουτὶ τὸ πᾶν. πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου δύναμις ἐκεῖθεν κυβερνᾶται, ὡς ὁ 30 ἡμέτερος προστάτης Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν.

7–10 Λέγεις–αἰσχυρόμενος] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 166,15–18 Mohler 11–12 τὰ–ὄντα] Theod. Gazes, *Adv. Plethonem* 154,36–155,1 Mohler

1–2 οὐκ–κοίρανος] Arist., *Metaphys.* 1076a 4 (= Hom., *Il.* 2,204) 7 Ἀριστοτέλει συνηγορῶν] cf. Arist., *Phys.* 184a 16–23 18–20 ἀποδέδεικται–ὄντα] cf. *supra* 8.4

1 ἀγκύρας e corr. L 8 τῷ om. L 12 καὶ θείαις in textu om., in marg suppl. S 19 αὐτοῖς S L Mohler: correxi 26 γὰρ in textu om., supra lin. suppl. L | ἔφημεν L (cf. *infra* 23.2)

anchor and idolising it as if by divine invasion, he cries out: ‘It is not good for many to command, let one alone be the commander’. Thus Aristotle, as he appropriately presents timely arguments for each science, observes physical phenomena physically and theological ones theologically. And in the face of those who accuse him of having treated confusingly, for example, the subject of the immortality of the soul, he does not bend, but rather is able to prove to them that they can prove nothing against him. So far as this argument is concerned, that is enough; let us now see the rest of your arguments.

14.1 ‘You say in agreement with Aristotle that the things most knowable to us are first and most proper entities, but this is not so. Things knowable by the intellect, on the other hand, are such, as Aristotle also says in the *Physics* without being ashamed to contradict himself.’

14.2 Theodoros says that the things that are most knowable to us are ‘properly prime’, but not that they are ‘prime entities’ and ‘in a most proper way’, without looking at them in this way as separate and divine substances, but as universals, the things that are in the many. Aristotle is not only of this opinion in the *Categories*, but also in the *Physics*, without contradicting himself, as you, fool, think, but rather confirming himself. O miserable one, thinking that, if you had caught Theodoros saying that individuals are ‘entities in a more proper way’, you could have brought something absurd into play against him. You have modified the quotation, but you have not failed to make a mistake. Let’s even admit that he said that individuals are ‘entities in a more proper way’: even then you would not put us on the spot. In fact, it has been proven by him and ourselves before that individuals are prime substances in their own right and to the highest degree. You, if you also wanted to oppose him in this case, why did you not also reply to this argument, by which it is proven that individuals are ‘prime’? But, leaving aside the fact that you wanted to counter-argue, you do not bring anything absurd into play when you say that Aristotle ‘is not ashamed’, you who are the most shameless of all. So, since you did not have the courage even to oppose this issue, we, leaving it aside as something unobjectionable, in response to your absurdity say on the one hand that we call individuals ‘first’, and on the other that we call separate and divine substances ‘first’. We call individuals ‘first’ both for the reasons we have stated above and, again, because through them we are led to the knowledge of the separate and divine substances — the separate substances, because both by nature and definition they are far more important than the cause that generated the things of this world, and because they govern this universe. For every movement of this earth is governed from there, as our guide Aristotle says.

15.1 Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τόδε ἀπαντητέον. ὦν, φῆς, πρώτως τὰ συμβεβηκότα κατηγορεῖται, ταῦτα πρότερα εἶναι καὶ κυριώτερα καὶ μᾶλλον ὄντα.

15.2 Ἐὼν, φησι Θεόδωρος, πρώτως τὰ συμβεβηκότα κατηγορεῖται, ταῦτα πρότερα εἶναι καὶ κυριώτερα καὶ μάλιστα ὄντα, τοῖς καθόλου καὶ ἀχωρίστοις αὐτὰ παραβάλλον, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν πάντων ἀρχῇ. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· 'ὁ γὰρ τίς 5 ἄνθρωπος περιπατεῖ, οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ συμβεβηκός'. σὺ δ' οὕτω μωρὸς εἶ, ὥστε συκοφαντεῖν ἐθέλων ἐπὶ φανεροῖς οὕτω συκοφαντεῖς, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδένα ἂν λήσης, ἀλλὰ κἂν ὑπὸ παιδῶν ἀλοῖης συκοφαντῶν καὶ καθάπερ τις μαινόμενος καὶ λυττῶν, δάκνειν μὲν καὶ μάλα ἐπιθυμῶν, μὴ δυνάμενος δέ, εἶτα συνηγορεῖς Πλήθωνι, ὃς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον συνήκας αὐτοῦ, καθότι Ἀριστοτέλους ἐπιλαμβάνεται, ἢ εἰ ἐτύγχανες ὦν λίθος καὶ οὗτος ὑπερμεγέθης. εἰ γὰρ ᾤετο Πλήθων Ἀριστοτέλη, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας οἶει, τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν χωριστῶν οὐσιῶν κυριωτέρας λέγειν οὐσίας, ῥᾶστα ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ διαβραχέων ἐξήλεγξεν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐπόνησεν ἂν, ὥστε καὶ ἀποκαμεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ᾤετο λέγειν, 15 ἀλλ' ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἦν, τὸ τὰ καθόλου τὰ γε ἀχώριστα δευτέρας εἶναι οὐσίας, πρὸς ὃ δὴ καὶ ἀπαντᾷ Πυθαγορεῖοις ἐπόμενος τοῖς καθόλου τοῖς γε ἀχωρίστοις τὸ πρώτως ὑπάρχειν ἀπονέμουσι, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον ἐν τοῖς μεριστοῖς καταλείπουσιν.

15.3 Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ τῶν Πυθαγορείων θέσις οὐκ ἄλογος — ἀλλ' οἷόν τε λόγοις ἐνδόξοις, ἄλλοις τε καὶ οἷς Πλήθων χρῆται, κατασκευάσαι αὐτήν —, ἄλλος 20 ἂν εἶη λόγος. ἀλλ' ὅτι γε ἡ πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλη Πλήθωνος διαφορὰ τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι, καὶ τυφλῶ φασὶ δῆλον. σὺ δ' οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων εἰδώς, καθάπερ τις | σπερμολόγος παρακρούσματα ἅττα καὶ ταῦτα φαῦλα συνειλοχῶς φλυαρεῖς, μηδὲν μὲν περαίνων, γέλωτα δὲ μόνον ὀφλισκάνων παρὰ τοῖς ἔχουσι νοῦν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ Πλήθων, εἰ περιῆν καὶ σε συνηγοροῦντα εἶδεν αὐτῶ, παρήνευσεν ἂν σοι σιγᾶν, ἐκεῖνα 25 τὰ ἰαμβεῖα καὶ μάλ' ἐν δίκῃ εἰπών· 'μέν, ὦ ταλαίπωρ', ἀτρέμας σοῖς ἐν δεμνίοις. ὄρᾳς γὰρ οὐδέν, ὦν δοκεῖς σάφ' εἰδέναί'.

16.1 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον. ἴδωμεν δέ σου καὶ ἃ περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν φλυαρεῖς, ὡς ἂν σου καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ ἀμαθὲς ἐλεγχθῆ. ἐροῦμεν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα, οὐ τὰ εἶδη ἀναιροῦντες, ἀλλὰ σὲ μηδέν, ἐξ ὧν λέγεις, δεικνύντες περαίνοντα. οὐ 30 γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ τάληθῆ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι δεῖ, καὶ τοῦτο μετ' ἐπιστή-

1–3 Ἀλλὰ – ὄντα] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 166,22–23 Mohler 4–5 Ἐὼν – ὄντα] Theod. Gazes, *Adv. Plethonem* 155,7–8 Mohler 6–7 ὁ – συμβεβηκός] Theod. Gazes, *Adv. Plethonem* 155,9–10 Mohler

15–18 ἀλλ' – καταλείπουσιν] cf. Simpl., in *Cat.* 91,22–26 Kalbfleisch 26–27 μὲν – εἰδέναί] Eur., *Or.* 258–259

6 καὶ om. L 12 ὑπερμέθης L 19 πυγορείων L 25 αὐτῶ S L: correxi 26 ἀτρέμα Mohler

15.1 ‘What remains then is to answer this: “That of which”, you say, “accidents are primarily predicated, these are first substances, properly so called and in a greater degree”’.

15.2 ‘That of which’, says Theodoros, ‘primarily the accidents are predicated, these are first substances, properly so called and in the highest degree’, contrasting these with universals and indivisibles, but not with the first cause of all things. Therefore he adds: ‘A certain man walks, not a man, as by accident’. But you are so stupid that, wanting to slander at all costs, you do it so openly that it cannot go unnoticed by anyone, and you would be discovered even by children to be slandering and raving like a madman, intending almost to bite, but without succeeding; then you pronounce in favour of Plethon, you who have not even understood of him in what way he contrasts himself with Aristotle, nor whether you are a pebble and he a rock. For if Plethon had thought, as you think because of your foolishness, that Aristotle defined individual substances as more proper than separable ones, he would have refuted him more easily and more briefly, and he would not have exerted himself so much that he would have been easily overthrown. But he did not think that Aristotle said so, but — which was also true — that universals, indivisible, were second substances; and against this assumption he replied by following the Pythagoreans, who attribute to universals, indivisible, being primary substances, while they attach the least importance to divisible things.

15.3 Even if the Pythagoreans’ thesis were not unreasonable — indeed it is possible to support it too, but with appropriate arguments, different from those used by Plethon — the argument would be different. But that there is such a difference between Plethon and Aristotle is clear even to a blind man. You, without knowing anything about these things, like a magpie going about collecting delirious and nonsensical things, speak nonsense without concluding anything good, but only arousing laughter in those who have an ounce of sense. And it seems to me that Plethon, if he were still alive and saw you supporting him in this way, would invite you to be silent, addressing these jumbles to you with good reason: ‘O unhappy one, stay quietly in your bed. For you see nothing of what you think you see clearly.’

16.1 So far, this is our judgement on these matters. Let us also see the nonsense you say about forms, in which way your ignorance is also exposed by them. We will speak in relation to these things not to refute the forms, but to prove that you do not come to any conclusion about the things you say. For it is not enough to say the truth; you must also prove it, and this with the support of

μης. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ παντὸς καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος, τὸ δ' ἐπιστήμην ἐπαγγελλομένου. πρῶτον οὖν σου τὸ πρῶτον διακωδωνίσωμεν.

16.2 Ἄπαν γεννητὸν ἐστὶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ὁμοίας τῷ εἶδει. τῶν δὲ γεννητῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἀπὸ σήψεως γεννᾶται τῆς γῆς οὐχ ὁμοίας οὔσης αὐτοῖς. ἐκεῖνα ἄρα γεννᾶται ἐκ τῶν εἰδῶν ὄντων αὐτοῖς 5 ὁμοίων τῷ εἶδει.

16.3 Τουτὶ μὲν οὖν σου πρῶτον καὶ λίαν ἀπαίδευτον. εἰπὼν γὰρ ἅπαν γεννητὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ὁμοίας εἶναι τῷ εἶδει, ἐπάγεις τῶν δὲ γεννητῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἀπὸ σήψεως γεννώμενα οὐκ ἀφ' ὁμοίας αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἀρχῆς, ἀντίφασιν οὕτω φανεράν συγχωρῶν. ἀντιφάσκει γὰρ τὸ ὁμοίας τῷ οὐχ ὁμοίας· ἅπαν δὲ ἀνάγκη ἢ 10 φάναι ἢ ἀποφάναι. ψευδὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν γεννητῶν ἀπὸ σήψεως γίνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ πολλά, ἀλλ' ὀλίγα ἄττα, ὅπου γε ἔνιοι καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀλίγων τούτων ἀμφισβητοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ τὰ εἶδη λέγειν τὰ γε χωριστὰ ὅμοια τῷ εἶδει τοῖς γεννητοῖς εἶναι καὶ λίαν ἀναίσθητον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ συνωνύμως τὸ εἶδος ἐκεῖνο τῶν γε εἰδῶν τῶν χωριστῶν καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν κατηγορεῖται — καθὼς ὅμοια τὰ νοητὰ 15 τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς φῆς —, εἶδος τε ἔσται εἰδῶν τοῦ γε πρὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ ἅμα ὁ τρίτος εἰσαχθήσεται ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πρόσσεστι τούτοις τὸ καὶ εἶδος εἰδῶν εἰρηκέναι δέον γένος εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εἶδους, ἀλλὰ γένους τὸ εἶδος εἶδος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συνώνυμα λέγειν τὰ γεννητὰ τοῖς χωριστοῖς Πλήθων οὐ συγχωρεῖ, ὁμώνυμά τε λέγων τίθεσθαι τοὺς ἀξιοῦντας τὰ εἶδη καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη βιαζόμενον 20 καλῶν. εἰ δ' ὁμωνύμως, πρῶτον μὲν πῶς τὸ ὁμωνύμως κατηγορούμενον εἶδος; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ κύων τοῦ τε χερσαίου τοῦ τε ἀστρώου εἶδος, ἀλλ' ὁμώνυμος φωνή. τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἶδη τοῖς γεννητοῖς ὅμοια λέγειν, παραδείγματα ὄντα οὖσιν εἰκόσιν, οὐ πάνυ τοι ἐσκεμμένως εἴρηται, δέον μᾶλλον ὁμοίαν φάναι τὴν εἰκόνα τῷ παραδείγματι. ὅλως δὲ κἂν εἰ δοθεῖν πάντα αὐτῷ ἀτοπώτατα ὄντα, καὶ 25 οὕτως ἀσυλλόγιστα συμπεραίνει. οὐ γὰρ εἰ ἅπαν γεννητὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐστὶν ὁμοίας αὐτῷ τῷ εἶδει, τὰ δὲ | εἶδη ὅμοια τῷ εἶδει τοῖς γεννητοῖς, συλλογισμὸς τις 191 ἔσται ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῷ ταῦτα εἶναι.

17.1 Ἔτι πᾶσα γνῶσις ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν ἀφθάρτων, ἀναγκαίων ὄντων τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι ἄλλως ἔχειν. τὰ δὲ φυσικὰ πάντα ἐστὶ φθαρτὰ καὶ μεταβλητὰ, συμβεβηκότα ὄντα τῷ ἄλλως ἔχειν δύνασθαι. ἢ 30 γνῶσις ἄρα οὐκ ἔσται περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀφθάρτων πέρι. ἅπερ εἰσὶν αἱ ιδέαι.

3–6 Ἄπαν–εἶδει] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,4–7 Mohler 29–33 Ἔτι–ιδέαι] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,7–10 Mohler

21–23 εἰ–φωνή] cf. Simpl., in *Cat.* 26,21–26 Kalbfleisch

2 διακωδωνίσωμεν L 7 πρῶτον om. S Mohler 8 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς bis scr., postea primum del. L | τῷ εἶδει om. L 9 αὐτοῖς e corr. L 10 ἢ om. S Mohler 11 ἀποφάναι S 17 πρόσσεστι S: προσέτι Mohler 27 τῷ¹ om. S Mohler

knowledge. To do the first thing, in fact, is possible for anyone, the second only for those who stand for knowledge. So we will now examine your first assumption.

16.2 ‘All generated things come from a principle equal to them in form. But many generated things are generated from the corruption of the earth, which is not equal to them. Those things are then generated from forms that are equal to them in form.’

16.3 So this first assumption of yours here is far too crudely constructed. After saying, in fact, that all generated things come from a principle equal to them in form, you add that many of the generated things are generated by corruption, a principle not equal to them, thus establishing an obvious contradiction. The fact that they are equal contradicts the fact that they are not equal; everything is necessarily either affirmed or denied. It is false that many of the things generated come from corruption; for they are not many, but few, and some disagree even about these few. But, of course, to say that forms, separated, are equal to generated things as far as form is concerned is far too stupid. For if you say that form is synonymically that which is proper to forms, separate, and to the sensible (which is why you say that the intelligibles are similar to the sensible), it will then be the form of forms, proper both to that which comes before the many and to that which is in the many, and you will thus arrive at the paradox of the ‘third man’. Add to this the fact of saying that you must call the form of forms ‘kind’: for form is not form of form, but of kind. Even in saying that generated things are synonymous with respect to separable things, Plethon disagrees, saying that the proponents of the Ideas considered them to be homonymous, and pointing out that Aristotle himself strongly opposed them. But in the case of homonymy, one must first ask: how can the form be predicated homonymically? The dog, in fact, is not a form common to the animal and the constellation, but a word with the same name. To say, then, that forms are similar to generated things, when those (= forms) are models of those other things, which are images, is utterly far-fetched, whereas it is rather necessary to say that it is the image that is similar to the model. Even if one were to give him everything for good, absurd as it may be, even then he would arrive at syllogistically incorrect conclusions. For ‘every begotten thing comes from a principle equal to it as far as form is concerned, then forms are equal, as far as form is concerned, to begotten things’ will not be a syllogism due to the fact that this is given by necessity.

17.1 ‘Again, all knowledge is knowledge of incorruptible things, which are compelled not to be otherwise. All natural things are corruptible and changeable, since they are constrained from being able to be otherwise. There will

17.2 Περί τῶν ἀφθάρτων καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν ἐπιστήμην φαμέν τὴν γὰρ ἐπιστήμην οἶμαι σε γνῶσιν ἐνταῦθα καλεῖν· ἐξ ἀναγκαίων γὰρ καὶ αἰδίων καὶ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων ἄλλως ἔχειν ἢ ἀπόδειξις, ἧ τὴν ἐπιστήμην κτώμεθα. οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς ἰδέας ἀνάγκη τίθεσθαι, ἅμα μὲν ὁμωνύμως τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα κατηγορουμένων, ὥστε καὶ κτησαμένοις τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκείνων οὐπω τὴν τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπιστήμην συμβήσεται κτήσασθαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῷ τὰ καθόλου, τὰ γε ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς 5 συνωνύμως κατ' αὐτῶν κατηγορούμενα, ἱκανὰ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην ὑπάρχειν, ἀφθαρτα ὄντα καὶ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενα ἄλλως ἔχειν, τῷ τε διαμένειν αἰεὶ — ἕως γὰρ ἂν ἧ τὸ πᾶν, ἄνθρωπος ἔσται καὶ ἵππος καὶ βοῦς —, τῷ τε τὰς ὁλότητας ἀφθάρτους ἔχειν, κἂν ἔχη τὰ μέρη φθαρτά. ἄτοπον δὲ οὐδὲν τίθεσθαι τι τοιοῦτον· τὰ γὰρ ἀπλᾶ σώματα, ἃ στοιχεῖα φαμέν, τὰς ὁλότητας ἀφθάρτους ἔχοντα τὰ μέρη γε μὴν ἔχει φθαρτά. εἰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε φθαρῆσθαι αἰδία τις φαίη τὰ καθόλου, εὐλογαί τε φήσει καὶ Πλάτωνι συνφάδα. ὃς ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ τοὺς θεοὺς φησιν ἀθανάτους μὲν οὐκ εἶναι οὐδ' ἀλύτους τὸ πάμπαν, οὗ τι γε μὴν λυθῆσθαι 10 γε οὐδὲ τεύξεσθαι θανάτου μοίρας.

17.3 Εἰ δὴ τὰ καθόλου τοσαυταχῆ λέγειν ἐνδέχεται αἰδία, ἢ δὲ ἀπόδειξις ἐκ τοιοῦτων, ἧ τὴν ἐπιστήμην κτώμεθα, οὐκ ἀνάγκη, εἴπερ ἔστιν ἐπιστήμη, καὶ τὰ χωριστὰ εἶδη τιθέναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν μὴ ὄντων τῶν χωριστῶν ἐπιστήμη οὐκ ἀναρεῖται· ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ ὧν εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἴτια γνωριστικά, τούτων ἐπιστήμην εἶναι χρή· τῶν δὲ φυσικῶν εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἴτια γνωριστικά, καὶ τούτων δήπου 20 ἐπιστήμην εἶναι ἀνάγκη. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων εἰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχόντων εἶναι φαμέν, τῇ δὲ περὶ φύσεως πραγματεία περὶ τοῦ κινήτου ὄντος ἧ τοιοῦτον ἢ σκέψις ἔστι — τοῦτο δ' αἰεὶ ἧ τοιοῦτον ὡσαύτως ἔχει — καὶ τὴν περὶ φύσεως θεωρίαν ἐπιστήμην ἀνάγκη εἶναι. ὅτι δὲ τὸ κινήτῳ ὄν ἧ τοιοῦτο τῇ φυσικῇ ὑποκείμενον, δηλον ἔξ ὧν τε τὴν φύσιν ἀρχὴν κινήσεως ὀρίζομεθα, ἐξ ὧν 25 τε Θεόφραστος φησι περὶ οὐδενὸς ἄνευ κινήσεως λεκτέον εἶναι τῷ φυσικῷ. εἰ δὲ τις τὴν περὶ φύσεως ἐπιστήμην φιλονεικῶν ἀναιρεῖ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς μεταβολήν, τὴν Ἡρακλείτου θέσιν ἢ καὶ τὴν Κρατύλου συμβήσεται λέγειν αὐτῷ, τοῦ μὲν δις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ποταμῷ μὴ οἶόν τε ἐμβῆναι εἰπόντος, Κρατύλου δὲ μὴδὲ 192 ἅπαξ. εἰ | γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀριθμῷ μεταβάλλειν οὐκ ἐπιστησόμεθα, διὰ τὸ εἶδει μὴ 30 μεταβάλλειν ἐπιστησόμεθα. τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ πάντα φθαρτὰ λέγειν ἡλίθιον πάντη. τὰ τε γὰρ οὐράνια σώματα αἰδία πάντως καὶ ἀφθαρτα. τὰ τε ἀπλᾶ σώματα, ἃ στοιχεῖα φαμέν, κἂν τὰ μέρη φθαρτὰ ἔχη, ἀφθάρτους γε μὴν τὰς ὁλότητας

14–15 ἀθανάτους–μοίρας] cf. Plat., *Tim.* 41b 2–4 20–21 τῶν–ἀνάγκη] cf. Arist., *Phys.* 184a 10–14 26–30 εἰ–ἅπαξ] Arist., *Metaph.* 1010a 10–15 29–30 Κρατύλου–ἅπαξ] cf. Plat., *Crat.* 402a–c

2 σε] γε Mohler 6 τὰ om. L 13 τοὺς bis scr., postea primum radendo del. L ante 19 ἀρχαὶ add. αἰ, postea punctis del. L 21 τῶν] ὧν S 24 φύσεως] θέσεως S Mohler 25 φυσικῇ] φύσει S 29 μὴδὲ] μὴ S 31 ἡλίθιον S post 32 σώματα¹ scr. lin. 33 ἃ στοιχεῖα, postea del. L

therefore be no knowledge of natural and corruptible things, but only of incorruptible things. And these are the Ideas.'

17.2 Of incorruptible things we also say that there is 'scientific knowledge' (for I think you mean scientific knowledge there by the simple term 'knowledge'); a demonstration that moves from necessary premises that are always valid and cannot be otherwise is what we acquire scientific knowledge with. It is not for this reason that it is necessary to suppose the existence of Ideas, either because they predicate themselves homonymically of individuals, so that those who have acquired a knowledge of them can never attain a knowledge of physical phenomena, or because universals, i.e. those that are in the many and predicate themselves of those synonymically, are already sufficient for scientific knowledge, since they are incorruptible and, moreover, cannot be otherwise, both because of the fact that they always continue to exist (in fact, as long as the whole exists, man, horse, ox will exist), and because of the fact that they have the incorruptible totality, even if they have corruptible parts. There is nothing absurd in supposing something like this: for the simple bodies, which we call elements, although they have their incorruptible totality, have corruptible parts. Even if, due to the fact that they can never be destroyed, one were to say that universals are eternal, one would be saying reasonable things and agree with Plato. In the *Timaeus* he states, in fact, that the gods are neither immortal nor completely indestructible, but they will in no way be destroyed, nor will the fate of death befall them.

17.3 While it is certainly possible to say in this way that the individual is eternal, and the demonstration of these things is that by which we acquire scientific knowledge, it is not necessary, if there really is knowledge, to also bring separate forms into play. Even in the absence of the separate forms, knowledge is not excluded. On the contrary, if there are things of which there are cognitive principles and causes, there must be knowledge of them. There are cognitive principles and causes of physical phenomena, and of these it is undoubtedly necessary for there to be scientific knowledge. Without these, if we say that there is knowledge of things that are always in the same way, and the study of nature includes the observation of the mobile entity as such — and this is always, as such, in the same way — then the observation of nature is necessarily scientific knowledge. That the mobile entity as such is the object of physics is clear both from the things for which we define nature as the 'cause of motion' and from what Theophrastus says: of nothing that is not in motion can the student of nature speak. If one, wishing to pick a quarrel, were to exclude knowledge of nature on account of change in natural things, one would happen to support the thesis of Heraclitus or that of Cratylus; the former says that it is not possible to bathe in the same river twice, while the latter says not even once.

ἔχει. καίτοι πολὺ κάλλιον ἦν διὰ ταῦτα μέγιστα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου ὄντα καὶ τᾶλλα μικρὰ ὄντα φθορᾶς ἀπολύειν ἢ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν μεγίστων καταγινώσκειν φθοράν. τὸ δὲ καὶ συμβεβηκότα λέγειν τὰ φυσικὰ πάντα οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντος ἦν. τίτι γὰρ καὶ συμβήσεται; τὸ γὰρ συμβεβηκὸς τῶν πρὸς τι. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ καὶ δοθείη τὸ τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπιστήμην μὴ εἶναι, τὰ διανοητά — ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶ τὰ μαθηματικά — ἐπιστητὰ δῆπου θήσουσι; καίτοι οὔτε ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ τὸν αὐτοαριθμὸν θεωρεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μαθηματικὸν ἀριθμὸν, οὔθ' ἡ γεωμετρία τὸ αὐτομέγεθος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μαθηματικόν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπιστήμαι δὲ πάντως αὔται, εἰ μὴ σύ γ', ὧ λῶστε, ἄλλως ἀξιοῖς.

17.4 Εἰ δέ τις διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν νοητῶν ἐπιστήμην βελτίω εἶναι πολλῶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν ταύτην μόνην ἐπιστήμην καλεῖ, τὰς δ' ἄλλας οὐκ ἀποδέχεται — τὸ μὲν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκείνην βελτίω εἶναι καὶ ἀκριβεστέραν καὶ ἡμεῖς τιθέμεθα, ἀνωτέραν τε πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων οὔσαν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιστήμην καὶ θεῖαν· τό τε γὰρ ὑποκείμενον, περὶ ὃ πραγματεύεται, νοητὸν καὶ θεῖον ἐστίν, ταῖς τε ἀρχαῖς ἀπλουστέραις πολλῶ χρήται, τό τε εἶδος τῆς γνώσεως ἀκριβέστερον ἔχει τῶν ἄλλων, κἂν ἡ μὲν τῷ ὄτι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, αἱ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν μαθηματικῶν τῷ ὄτι ἔχονται —, καίτοι περὶ τούτου ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις. ἀλλ' ἔστω νῦν ἐκείνης τὸ ὅτι τοῦ διότι τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβέστερον· οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο ἀπαξιώσομεν μὴ οὐ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας, ἃς ἔφην, ἔπιστήμας καλεῖν, εἰ μὴ σύ γε ταύτας ὑπὸ πλούτου σοφίας ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ βιβλίου διέγραψας. ὁ δ' ἐν Πολιτείαις Σωκράτης ὄμμα, φησι, ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀποτυφλούμενον καὶ κατορυπτόμενον, διὰ τούτων μόνων, τῶν μαθηματικῶν δηλαδή, ζωπυροῦται καὶ ἀνεγείρεται, μυρίων ὄν κρεῖττον σωθῆναι σωματικῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

17.5 Ἄλλ' ἴσως σὺ τῷ βελτίω τὴν σοφίαν εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν τὰς ἄλλας οὐκ ἐθέλεις ἐπιστήμας ἀξιοῦν. οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα σὺ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν ἄλλην ἄλλης κατὰ πλείους τρόπους ἀκριβεστέραν τε οὔσαν καὶ προτέραν, ἐπιστήμας γε μὴν ἀπάσας. ἢ τε γὰρ τῷ διότι χρωμένη τῆς τῷ ὅτι ἀκριβεστέρα ἐστίν, ἢ τε νοητὸν ἔχουσα τὸ ὑποκείμενον τῆς αἰσθητὸν ἐχούσης, ἢ τε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀπλουστέραις χρωμένη τῆς μετὰ προσθήκης τινός. ὣν αὐτὸς οὐδὲν εἰδὼς ἐξελαύνεις μὲν φυσικήν, καταφρονεῖς δὲ τῶν μαθηματικῶν. ὥσπερ δὲ αὐτὸς οὐρανὸν ὑπερναβάς καὶ τοῦ Διὸς γενόμενος ὀπαδὸς τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχὸν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνον συγχορεύων θεοῖς, ἡμᾶς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφημέρους καλεῖς καὶ περιφρονεῖς οὐ τὸν ἥλιον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄναστρον σφαῖραν αὐτήν. |

20–23 ὄμμα–ὀφθαλμῶν] cf. Plat., *Resp.* 527d 5–e 2

1 τᾶλλα S L, corr. Mohler 16 μαθητικῶν S 17 ἀπορήσειεν S 22 μόνον L 23 σωθῆναι om. S 31 ὀπαδὸς S 32 ἡμεῖς Mohler 33 σφαῖραν] σφαῖραν S

If we do not gain knowledge through the change of number, we will gain knowledge through the lack of change of form. To say then that all natural things are corruptible is beyond stupid. For celestial bodies are absolutely eternal and incorruptible. And the simple bodies, which we call ‘elements’, although they have corruptible parts, nevertheless have an incorruptible totality. It would certainly have been much better to free from corruption, through these very great entities of the cosmos, even the small ones, than to acknowledge, through them, the corruption of the larger ones. Then, to assert that all natural things are accidents is not proper for a sane person. Of what are they in fact accidents? The accident is something relative. And even if one were to admit that there is no knowledge of natural things, would one consider the things produced by thought – and specifically mathematics – to be objects of science? Certainly, neither does arithmetic study numbers in an abstract sense, but numbers in a mathematical sense, nor geometry magnitude in an abstract sense, but in a mathematical sense; and the same is true of other things. These are all absolutely sciences, my dear, however much you may think otherwise!

17.4 If, since the knowledge of the intelligibles is far better than that of the other sciences, one calls only that one ‘science’ and admits no others (we also hold that that science is better and more exact, since it is superior to all the other sciences; is more important and divine, for the object it treats is intelligible and divine; and it makes use of much simpler principles, and has a more precise form of knowledge than the others, and if the one mostly uses the ‘that which’, most of the mathematical ones use the ‘because of which’), of course one might have doubts about this. But let the ‘that which’ of the one be more exact than the ‘because of which’ of the others: it is certainly not for this reason we reject the idea of not calling the others I mentioned ‘sciences’ as well, however much you have eradicated them from your book for excess of wisdom. Socrates says in the *Republic*: ‘The eye of the soul, blinded and oppressed by other occupations, is piqued and awakened only by these (sciences), namely the mathematical ones; it is better that this be saved than an infinite number of eyes of the body.’

17.5 But perhaps you, in saying that philosophy is preferable to the other sciences, do not want to consider the others as sciences. For you do not know that, although one of the sciences is in many respects more exact and may come before another, they are still all sciences. And indeed the one that uses ‘because of which’ is more exact than the one that uses ‘that which’, which has an intelligible object, whereas the other has a perceptible one, and makes use of simpler principles than the one that has anything composed. You, knowing nothing of these things, reject physics and do not care for the mathematical sciences. Like one who, having ascended to the heavens, and become a companion of Zeus, dances around him with the other gods the song of Isaac of the mysteries, you

193 17.6 Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ καὶ τὰς μαθηματικὰς διαγράψομεν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀνάγκη δι' αὐτὸ τὰ εἶδη τιθέναι. οὐ γάρ, εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀφθάρτων μόνων ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ εἶδη ἄφθαρτα, συλλογισμὸς τις ἔσται· ἐν γὰρ τῷ δευτέρῳ σχήματι κατηγορικὸς οὐκ ἔστι συλλογισμὸς, εἰ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀντιστρέφουσιν — ὅπερ ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἔστιν —. οὐ γάρ, 'εἴ τι ἰδέα, ἄφθαρτον' καὶ 'εἴ τι ἄφθαρτον, ἰδέα'. πολλὰς γὰρ καὶ ἄλλας 5 οὐσίας οἱ περὶ Πλάτωνα — τὸν γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλη σοῦ χάριν ἐῷ — νοητὰς καὶ νοεράς παρὰ τὰς ἰδέας τίθενται, καὶ πρὸ τῶν εἰδῶν τὸ αὐτοὸν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γε ἐκείνου τὸ αὐτοῦν. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον κατὰ Πρόκλον οὐκ ὄν, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνον. ὥστε καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν μὴ ὄντων, αὐτῶν γε μὴν ἐπιστήμη ἔσται ἀφθάρτων τε ὄντων καὶ αἰδίων. οὐκ ἄρα ἐξ ὧν ὑπέθου, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ βούλει συμβαίνει τῷ ταῦτα εἶναι. 10

17.7 Ἴσως οὖν νεμεσήσουσιν ἡμῖν πλείστοι τοιαῦτα πρὸς σὲ λέγουσιν, ἀνθρωπον ἀμαθῆ τε καὶ βέβηλον. ταυτὸν γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ πρὸς ἀγεωμετρήτους ἀποδείξεσιν ἂν ἐχρώμεθα γεωμετρικαῖς, συγγνώσσονται δὲ ὅμως, ἅτε οὐ σοῦ γε χάριν τοῦ ἀμαθοῦς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων τῷ βιβλίῳ, ὡς δὴ τι λόγου ἄξιον 15 ἔχοιεν ἂν ἰδεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ, βαθυτέρων τε ἀπτομένοις ζητημάτων καὶ τὴν σὴν ἕξιν ὑπερβαλλόντων καὶ τὸν λόγον ἔσθ' ὅτε μηκύνουσι. τούτοις μὲν οὖν σου τοῖν δυοῖν λόγοις ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἀναίσθητόν σε ἀπέδειξεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος οὐδὲν συμπεραίνει. ἴδωμεν δέ σου καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς.

18.1 Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἐπιπλέον ἅπαν οὐκ ἀντιστρέφει διὰ τὸ τῶν οὐκ ἀντιστρεφομένων τὸ ἕτερον πλείω περιέχειν καθολικώτερον 20 ὄν. τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἐπιπλέον ὄντα καὶ καθολικώτερα περιέχει τὰ καθέκαστα ἐλάττω ὄντα καὶ μερικώτερα. τὰ ἄρα εἶδη πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτερα τῶν καθέκαστα.

18.2 Οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐκ τῶν τεθέντων τῷ ταῦτα εἶναι συμβαίνει τὸ τὰ εἶδη πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτερα τῶν καθέκαστα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἀντιστρέφειν μόνον. 25 ὁ δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς συγχωροῦμεν, ἦν περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς καθόλου λέγῃς, εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν χωριστῶν εἰδῶν, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν, ὡς εἴρηται, συμπεραίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ θάτερον τῶν λημμάτων ψευδές. οὔτε γὰρ οὕτω καθόλου τὰ εἶδη φασὶν οἱ κομίσαντες, ὡς τῶν καθέκαστα περιεκτικά, ἀλλ' ἢ πλείστα μερικὰ τῇ μεθέξει ἐκείνων τοιαῦτα λέγεται. οἱ γὰρ καθέκαστα ἀνθρωποὶ τῇ τοῦ αὐτοανθρώπου μεθέξει 30 ἀνθρωποὶ. καὶ ἅμα, εἰ καὶ δώσει τίς τοῦτο, χαλεπὸν καὶ πλάσαι, πῶς περιέξει. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμει, ἄτοπον· ἀτελέστερα γὰρ τῶν καθέκαστα ἔσται ἐνεργεῖα ὄντων, δυνάμει γε ἐκεῖνα ὄντα. εἰ δ' ἐνεργεῖα, γελοῖον· αἰσθητὰ τε γὰρ ἔσται καὶ σωματοειδῆ καὶ ἄπειρον ἕκαστον, ἐξ ἀπίρων τῶν κατὰ μέρος συγκείμενον. οὕτω σύ, Κρόνε, τὰ Πλάτωνος οἶσθα, Πλάτωνι συνηγορῶν. | 35

19–23 Καὶ –καθέκαστα] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,11–14 Mohler

2 τῶν del. L | μόνον L 3 τῷ om. S Mohler 7 τοῦ om. L 12 ἀγεωμετρήτους in ἀγεωμετρίτους mut. S 14 βιβλίῳ] βυβλίῳ S | τι] τοι S Mohler 18 δέ] οὖν S 30 αὐτανθρώπου Mohler 33 τε om. Mohler 34 ἕκαστα Mohler

call us mortal men and look with contempt not only upon the sun, but also upon the very terrestrial sphere devoid of stars.

17.6 But even if we exclude the mathematical sciences, we can still postulate the existence of Ideas. For ‘if there is science only of incorruptible things, Ideas are incorruptible’ will not be a syllogism, as in the second figure there is no categorical syllogism, except in convertible propositions, which is not the case there. For it is not valid to say ‘if the idea is something, it is incorruptible’, and ‘if there is something incorruptible, it is the idea’. The Platonists — I leave out Aristotle for you — postulate the existence of many other intelligible and non-material substances besides Ideas, and before Ideas the Being-in-itself and before that the One-in-itself. The first principle for Proclus is not Being, in fact, but only the One. So even if there are no Ideas, there will be knowledge of those and of incorruptible and imperishable things. It is certainly not on the basis of what you presuppose that what you want ends up necessarily coinciding with the reality of things.

17.7 Most will perhaps resent us speaking to you, an ignorant and novice man, in this way. In fact, it is as if we were using geometric demonstrations against someone who is totally ignorant of geometry. However, they will come to understand, since you will not, you who are ignorant. For the benefit of those who will come across this book, should they ever feel they see anything worthy of mention in it, we deal with rather profound topics that exceed your capabilities and sometimes lengthen the discourse. So, of these two arguments of yours, the first has proven that you are obtuse, the second leads nowhere. Let us then look at your remaining arguments.

18.1 ‘And certainly not everything that is “mostly” finds reciprocal correspondence due to the fact that one of the things that are related contains more things as being more universal. The kinds and species, which are among the “mostly” and more universal entities, include the individuals, which are lesser and more particular. The Ideas then are to be considered in a primary and more proper way.’

18.2 Nor does it necessarily coincide with the reality of things that Ideas are to be considered primary and more proper than individuals, but only that they are not correlative. We also admit this, if you speak of universals in the many. If, on the other hand, you speak of the separate forms, not only — as has been said — is nothing concluded, but one of the premises is false. Even those who have dealt with it do not so generally understand the Ideas as comprising the individual, but these, insofar as they are numerous, are said to be particular because they participate in them. For individual men are men because they participate in man himself. And even if one were to admit this, it would be difficult to imagine how they (the Ideas) could comprehend them. It is absurd for

194 19.1 Καὶ μὲν δὴ τὰ εἶδη τῶν κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι ὀρίζονται αἰώνια παραδείγματα. τὸ δ' ὄν αἰωνίως ὑφέστηκε. πᾶν δὲ τὸ ὑφεστηκὸς παράδειγμα καὶ αἰώνιον καὶ ἐξῆς [...] καὶ τὸ αἰεὶ δὲ ὄν τοῦ παρὰ μέρος ὄντος μᾶλλον ὑπάρχον. τὸ οὖν εἶδος αἰεὶ ὄν τυγχάνει καὶ ἐξῆς.

19.2 Ἐν τούτοις ἄμφοις τοῖς λόγοις τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ διαρρήδην αἰτεῖς. λαβὼν γὰρ τὸ αἰωνίως ὑφεστηκὸς καὶ τὸ αἰεὶ ὄν μᾶλλον εἶναι οὐσίας τῶν καθέκαστα καὶ φθειρομένων, καὶ προσλαβὼν τὸ τὰ εἶδη αἰωνία τε καὶ αἰεὶ ὄντα εἶναι, ὅπερ οὐ δίδεται, οὐ συμπεραίνεις καὶ μᾶλλον οὐσίας εἶναι αὐτά. ἡμεῖς δὲ σοι φαμέν, ὡς ἐὰν μὲν δείξης τὰ εἶδη εἶναι, ἡμεῖς σοι παραχρήμα δώσομεν μᾶλλον τε οὐσίας καὶ κυριωτέρας εἶναι — ἀνάγκη γάρ — ἕως δ' ἂν μήτ' αὐτὸς οἴσῃς τε ἧς δείξαι, μήτ' ἡμεῖς διδῶμεν. τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ αἰτεῖς λαμβάνων τὸ ζητούμενον ὡς ὁμολογούμενον.

20.1 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἅπαν τέτρασιν αἰτίοις γίνεσθαι πέφυκε, ποιητικῶ αἰτίῳ πρώτως, εἰδικῶ ἐπομένως, ὑλικῶ ἀκολουθῶς, τελικῶ ἐφεξῆς. τὰ δὴ οὖν καθέκαστα τῶν γιγνομένων.

20.2 Πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτό σοι οὐ κατὰ Πλάτωνα εἴρηται, τέσσαρα τὰ αἷτια τιθεμένων· Ἀριστοτέλους γὰρ τοῦτο, οἱ δὲ περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ ἕτερα δύο προστιθέασι παραδειγματικόν τε καὶ ὀργανικόν. ἔπειτα τὸ ποιητικὸν οὐχ ἀπλῶς πρῶτον. τῇ γὰρ ἐπινοίᾳ πρῶτον τὸ τελικόν. ὁ γὰρ οἰκοδόμος προεπινοήσας, οἶαν δεῖ τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσαι, οἰκοδομεῖ. ψευδὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ τὸ εἶδος τῆς ὕλης πρῶτον λέγειν κατὰ πάντα τοῦ προτέρου τὰ σημαινόμενα· τῷ γὰρ ἀξιωματι μόνον πρῶτον, ἀγαθόν τε ὄν καὶ θεῖον καὶ ἐφετόν, τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ ἢ τῇ τάξει ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ προτέρου σημαινόμενοις, πῶς πρῶτον; ἀπλῶς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιχείρημα. τὸ μὲν ἅπαν τὸ γινόμενον τέτρασιν αἰτίοις γίνεσθαι, ἀληθές, καίτοι περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ σήψεως ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου καὶ τύχης γιγνομένων ἀπορήσειεν ἂν τις.

20.3 Ἄλλ' ἔστω τοῦτο νῦν ἀληθές, οὐκ ἀμφισβητῶ. τὸ δὲ τὰ καθέκαστα τῶν γιγνομένων εἶναι, εἰ μὲν περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν τοῦτο λέγεις, ἀληθές, εἰ

1–4 Καὶ–τυγχάνει] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,15–21 Mohler 13–15 Ἀλλὰ–γιγνομένων] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,22–24 Mohler

17–18 οἱ–ὀργανικόν] cf. Simpl., *in Phys.* 3,13–19 et 316,21–25 Diels 18–23 τῇ–ἐπιχείρημα] cf. Simpl., *in Cat.* 421,11–29 Kalbflisch

3 καὶ ἐξῆς] πρῶτον καὶ μᾶλλον ὄν τῶν εἰκόνων. τῶν τοίνυν καθέκαστα μᾶλλον οὐσία τὰ εἶδη in textu scr. Mohler coll. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,17–18 Mohler | καὶ^{III} om. spat. rel. L 4–5 καὶ ἐξῆς] τὰ δὲ καθέκαστα φθίρεται παρὰ μέρος, καὶ αὐτῶν ἢ παρὰ μέρος ἐνέργεια. δηλον ἄρα τὸ λῆγον in textu scr. Mohler coll. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,20–21 Mohler 6 τούτοις L Mohler 7 αἰώνιον Mohler 9 οὐ om. L 11 ἀνάγκη Mohler | ἧς] ἧ S post 15 γιγνομένων in textu add. Mohler εἶναι λέγεται — γίγνεται δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἔφαμεν — ὕστερα ὄντα πρῶτων ὄντων, καὶ ἔτι τοῦ εἶδους πρῶτου γε ὄντος τῆς ὕλης, καθ' ὅποτερον οὖν ἂν εἴποις σημαινόμενον τοῦ προτέρου. δηλον ἄρα τὸ λῆγον coll. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,24–26 Mohler 23 πῶς] τὸ S Mohler 24 αἰτίαις Mohler | περὶ om. S 24–25 ἀπ' αὐτομάτου L 25 ταυτομάτου S

them to comprehend the Ideas in potency: for they will be more incomplete than the individuals who are in act, whereas they are precisely in potency. And it is ridiculous, on the other hand, that they understand the Ideas in act: for they will then be sensitive, corporeal, and each one an infinite, being composed of infinite particular substances. You old fool, so you know Plato's writings and agree with him?

19.1 'And Ideas are by definition perennial models of natural things; their Being endures eternally. Every existing model is also eternal etc. [...] and an eternal Being exists more than a particular entity. Therefore form is something that always exists etc.'

19.2 In both of these arguments, you evidently take the basic assumption for granted. For if you postulate that an eternal and ever-existing entity has more substance than individuals who are perishable, and if you add to this the fact that Ideas are eternal and ever-existent, which is not proven, you do not derive from this that they are more substance. We tell you that, should you prove that the Ideas exist, we would grant you instantly that they have more substance and are principally substance (it would indeed be necessary in that case), but until you are able to prove it, we will not grant it. You take the basic assumption for granted, taking as proof what is not yet so.

20.1 'But every generated thing is generated by four causes: first the efficient, then the formal, then the material, and finally the final. Individuals are therefore among generated things...'

20.2 First of all, when you call into question the four causes, you are not speaking according to Plato: this is in fact a concept belonging to Aristotle, whereas the Platonists add two others, the paradigmatic and the instrumental. The efficient one is not, then, the first in an absolute sense. In fact, conceptually the first is the final one. The architect, after first thinking about what kind of house he has to build, builds it. It is also false to say that form comes before matter according to all the meanings of *πρότερος*; for it is first only in importance, in that it is perfect and divine and desirable. In terms of time, or order of succession, or the other meanings of *πρότερος*, how can it come first? It is easy to go against this assumption. The fact that 'every begotten thing is generated by four causes' is true, although one might have doubts about things that are generated by decomposition, or even accidentally or by chance.

20.3 But now, this maybe being true, I do not dispute it. The fact that individuals are among begotten things, if you mean by that things that are begotten and perish, is true, but if you speak of eternal things — I mean

δὲ περὶ τῶν αἰδίων — λέγω δὴ περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων σωμάτων —, ψευδές. ἀγένητα
 195 γὰρ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἄφθαρτα ἐν τοῖς περὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀποδέδεικται. τό γε | μὴν ἐκ πρώ-
 των ὄντων τῶν καθόλου γίνεσθαι τὰ καθέκαστα ὕστερα ὄντα, εἰ μὲν περὶ τῶν
 χωριστῶν λέγεις εἰδῶν — περὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ φαίνεται τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος — οὐ-
 πω ἔδειξας εἶναι ταῦτα. ὥστε πῶς ἔσται πρῶτα; εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐνύλων λέγεις 5
 εἰδῶν, ἢ ψευδῆ λαμβάνεις ἢ ἀσυλλόγιστος ὁ λόγος ἐστί. ψευδῆ μὲν, εἰ τὰ καθό-
 λου φύσει πρῶτα ὄντα ἀπλῶς πρῶτα λαμβάνεις, τῶν καθέκαστα καὶ — ὡς πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς — πρώτων ὄντων καὶ ὡς ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν καθόλου τὸ εἶναι ἐχόντων· ἀσυλλό-
 γιστος δέ, εἰ τὰ καθόλου τῆ φύσει πρῶτα λαβῶν, ἔπειτα τὸ ἀπλῶς πρῶτα ἀντὶ
 τοῦ τῆ φύσει πρῶτα μεταλαμβάνεις, παρὰ τό πῆ καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀπατῶμενος. ὥστε 10
 πῶς δῆλον, φῆς, τὸ λῆγον, ὃ πάντα σὺ τολμῶν, οὕτω περιφανῶς παραλογι-
 ζόμενος;

21.1 Ἔτι γε μὴν δυοῖν τούτοις ὄντοις, νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως, τὸν
 νοῦν ἅπας ὁ τῶν φιλοσόφων δῆμος φασὶ πρῶτον εἶναι καὶ κυριώ-
 15 τερον καὶ μᾶλλον ὄν, καθότι ὁ μὲν ἀεὶ ὦν τὴν τε τῶν νοητῶν πάν-
 των [...].

21.2 Ἐκεῖνο μοι πρῶτον φράσον, ὃ λῶστε, πῶς ὁ νοῦς τῶν νοητῶν πάντων
 καὶ αἰσθητῶν κατάληψιν ἔχει, πῶς δ' ἢ αἰσθησις μόνων τῶν αἰσθητῶν θνητῆ οὐ-
 σα θνητῶν. εἰ γὰρ θνητοῦ τὸ τῶν θνητῶν ἔχειν κατάληψιν, καὶ ὁ νοῦς θνητὸς ἂν
 εἶη, ἢ κατάληψιν ἔχει τῶν αἰσθητῶν θνητῶν γε ὄντων. ἔπειτα οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὰ 20
 αἰσθητὰ θνητὰ, ἀλλὰ τὰ γεννητὰ μόνον καὶ φθαρτά. τὰ γὰρ οὐράνια αἰσθητὰ ὄν-
 τα, αἰδία ὁμως ἐστί. πῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τῶ νῶ μᾶλλον οὐσίαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑφέ-
 στηκεν, ἀληθές, εἰ δ' οὐχ ὑφέστηκε, πῶς; τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις ὑπάρχοντα πῶς ἂν
 μᾶλλον οὐσίαι εἶεν τῶν ἐν οἷς ὑπάρχει καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ ὄντων; εἰ οὖν περὶ τῶν ὑφε-
 στηκόντων λέγεις εἰδῶν, τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ πάλιν αἰτεῖς. οὐπω γὰρ ἔδειξας εἶναι ταῦτα. 25
 ὥστε μὴ ματαιολόγει.

22.1 Πάνυ τοι ὀρθῶς φάσκει καὶ τῆ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀξίως καὶ
 ἐαυτοῦ ἐπιστήμη. εὖ γε, ὃ Πλήθων, ὡς ἄμαχός σοι ὁ λόγος καὶ
 τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους σοφίας πολλῶ τῶ μέσῳ προέχων.

22.2 Εἰ μὲν ἄμαχος ἢ οὐκ ἄμαχος, αὐτό φασὶ δείξει. ἐκεῖνο δέ μοι λέγε, τίσι 30
 τῶν παλαιῶν Πλάτων Ἀριστοτέλους σοφώτερος ἔδοξεν, ὅπου τῶν μὲν θεμένων

11 δῆλον-λῆγον] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,21 et 167,26 Mohler 13-16 Ἔτι-πάντων] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,27-33 Mohler 27-29 Πάνυ-προέχων] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,4-6 Mohler

4 καὶ om. S Mohler 10 τῆ om. Mohler post 15-16 πάντων in textu add. Mohler καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν κατάληψιν ἔχει, ἢ δὲ τῶν αἰσθητῶν μόνων θνητῆ οὐσα θνητῶν ὄντων. ὅσῳ τοίνυν τὸ νοητὸν τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κυριώτερον, καὶ πάλιν τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ νοεῖν, τοσοῦτω καὶ τὰ εἶδη συγγενῆ αὐτῶ ὄντα πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτερα τῶν καθέκαστα αἰσθητῶν καὶ μεταβλητῶν ὑπαρχόντων coll. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 167,29-33 Mohler 18 μόνον L 21 καὶ om. S 24 καὶ om. L Mohler 24-25 ὑφεστώτων S Mohler

heavenly bodies — it is false. For it has been proven in the books *On Heaven* that those are begotten and incorruptible. And then that the individuals, which are successive entities, are generated from the first entities, the universals. If by these you mean the separate forms — indeed, it seems that your discourse is about them — you have not at all proved that this is indeed the case. So how are the first entities? If, on the other hand, you speak of the material forms, either you make a false claim or the argument is not logically rigorous. It is false if you intend universals, which are prime entities by nature, to be ‘prime in an absolute sense’, since individuals, according to us, are prime entities and have in them the being of universals; it is illogical, if, understanding universals to be prime by nature, you then arbitrarily exchange ‘prime in an absolute sense’ for ‘prime by nature’, confusing $\pi\eta$ and $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. So how can you ever say ‘it is clear what follows’, you who are capable of anything, when you so blatantly put forward deceptive arguments?

21.1 ‘Again, of these two things, the intellect and sensation, the whole host of philosophers says that the intellect comes first, is principal and exists most, inasmuch as this, which always exists, has perception of all intelligible things...’

21.2 My dear, explain this to me first, how the intellect has perception of all intelligible and sensible things, while sensation, which is mortal, has perception only of mortal things. For if it is proper for a mortal being to have perception of mortal things, the intellect should also be mortal, since it has perception of sensible things, which are mortal. It follows that not all sensible things are mortal, but only those that are generated and corruptible. For the celestial bodies, although they are sensible things, are nevertheless imperishable. Besides, how can things congenial to the intellect be more substantial? If they exist, that is true, but if they do not exist, how then is it possible? For how could things that exist in other have more substance than the things in which they exist and which are in themselves? So if you speak of ideas as existing, you are again taking the basic assumption for granted. You have not yet proven, in fact, that this is the case. Therefore, do not rant any further.

22.1 ‘Speak very correctly and conveniently to the doctrine of Plato himself. Well said, Plethon, for your speech is unsurpassed and far surpasses the doctrine of Aristotle!’

22.2 Whether it is unsurpassable or not will be clear by itself. Tell me this, rather: To whom among the ancients did Plato seem wiser than Aristotle, since

τῷ Πλάτῳ οἱ πλείους καὶ βελτίους τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους μετ' ἀκριβείας ὑπεμνημάτι-
σαν, τῶν δ' Ἀριστοτέλει θεμένων ἔνιοι Πλάτῳ καὶ ἀντεῖπον. οὕτω δ' ἀχάλινον
ἴσχει τὸ κάθαρμα στόμα καὶ γλῶσσαν ἀκόλαστον, καὶ οὕτω τούτοις ἐαλώκει τοῖς
196 πάθεσιν, ὥστε λόγοις μὲν, οὐ δ' οἰσισινοῦν πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν χρῆται τοῦ ζητουμέ- 5
νου. κἂν χρῆσθαι δέ, παραλογίζεται | μᾶλλον, ἢ συλλογίζεται. αὐτός τε ὑπ' ἀμα-
θίας ἀπατώμενος ῥᾶστα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φενακίζει καὶ λίαν ἐπιθυμῶν, ὑβρίζων
δ' εἰς Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν θεῖον οὕτω τοι ἰταμῶς, ψευδεῖς καὶ ἀσυμβλήτους
τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἐκείνου λόγους καλῶν καὶ Πλήθωνα σοφώτερον αὐτοῦ λέγειν
τολμῶν, δέδοικεν οὐδ' ὅπωςιοῦν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς λοιδορίαις χαίρει. καὶ μέγα ἐπὶ τῷ
προπηλακίζει φρονεῖ, οὐ συνιεὶς Εὐριπίδου, τοτὲ μὲν αἰσχίστην λέγοντος νόσον 10
τὴν 'ἀκόλαστον γλῶτταν', τοτὲ δ' 'ἀχαλίνων στομάτων ἀνόμου τ' ἀφροσύνης τὸ
τέλος δυστυχίαν'. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἤδη τε ἔδωκας δίκην τῆς ἀκολάστου
σου γλώττης ἀπειληφῶς ἀξίας τὰς ἀμοιβάς, καὶ ἔτι δώσεις, ἐπειδάν σου καὶ τὰ
λοιπὰ τερετίσματα διελέγξωμεν. νῦν δέ σου τὸν καλὸν λόγον ἴδωμεν.

23.1 Ποῖον γὰρ ἄλλο τουτουῖ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἀληθέστερον ἢ σο- 15
φώτερον, τοῦ γὰρ μέρους τὸ ὅλον μείζον, καὶ οὕτω τὰ εἶδη τε καὶ
τὰ γένη τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα μείζων οὐσία ἢ μᾶλλον;

23.2 Καὶ πῶς ἀληθὲς ἢ σοφὸν τὸ μείζον τῷ μᾶλλον λέγειν ταυτόν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ
μείζον μεγέθους περὶ οὐσίαν, μεμεγεθυσμένης οὐσίας δηλαδὴ ἢ ὡς μεμεγεθυσμέ- 20
νης. τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον ποιῶ περὶ οὐσίαν, πεποιωμένης οὐσίας δηλαδὴ ἢ ὡς πεποιω-
μένης. αὐτίκα τὸ δίπηχυ τοῦ πηχυαίου μείζον φαμέν, οὐσίαν μεμεγεθυσμένην
ἑτέρα τοιαύτη παραμετροῦντες. καὶ τὸ γένος δὲ τοῦ εἶδους μείζον φαμέν — ἐπὶ
πλέον γὰρ τῷ γένει τις ἢ τῷ εἶδει ἀφορίζει — οὐσίαν ὡς μεμεγεθυσμένην ἑτέρα
τοιαύτη ἀντιπαρτιθέντες. τὴν τε γὰρ ὕλην ἐκτείνεσθαι τῷ ποσῷ, τὰ τε καθόλου
τῷ πολλὰ περιέχειν, οἷον ὄλ' ἄττα καὶ ἐκτεταμένα δοκεῖν. τὸ γὰρ καθόλου ὅλον τί 25
ἔστι. πολλὰ γὰρ περιέχει ὡς μέρη τὸ καθόλου. τὴν δὲ χιόνα τοῦ γάλακτος μᾶλλον
λευκὴν φαμέν, πεποιωμένην οὐσίαν ἑτέρα τοιαύτη παραβάλλοντες. καὶ τὸ εἶδος
δὲ τοῦ γένους μᾶλλον οὐσίαν φαμέν, ὡς πεποιωμένην οὐσίαν ἑτέρα τοιαύτη πα-
ραθεωροῦντες. πεποιῶται γὰρ τὸ εἶδος τοῦ γένους μᾶλλον τῇ διαφορᾷ ποιότητι
οὔσῃ. οὐσιώδει γε μὴν καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐνεργεῖα ἐστίν, οἷον δυνάμει τὸ γένος. διὸ 30
καὶ ὡς πεποιωμένην τὴν τοιαύτην οὐσίαν φαμέν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀπλῶς πεποιωμένην.
οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἡ διαφορὰ ποιότητος ὡς συμβεβηκός, περὶ οὐσίαν γὰρ αὕτη τὸ ποιὸν
ἀφορίζει οὐσιώδης οὔσα, καθ' ὑποκειμένων τε καὶ συνωνύμως κατηγορουμένη

7–8 ψευδεῖς–καλῶν] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,8–9 Mohler 8–9 Πλήθωνα–τολμῶν] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,9–10 Mohler 15–17 Ποῖον–μᾶλλον] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,10–13 Mohler

11 ἀκόλαστον γλῶτταν] Eur., *Or.* 10 11–12 ἀχαλίνων–δυστυχίαν] Eur., *Bacch.* 386–387

4 οἷς τισινοῦν S L 14 τερετίσματα S L: correxi 17 μείζον Mohler

many and the worthiest of the Platonists commented scrupulously on Aristotle's writings, while some of the Aristotelians even contradicted Plato? That rogue thus keeps his unrestrained mouth and intemperate tongue at bay, and is so overcome by these evils that he uses words, yes, but not those that serve as demonstration of what we are seeking. And when he does use them, he cheats rather than using stringent arguments. And you, who, deceived by your ignorance, even have the courage to mock others and so foolishly outrage the divine Aristotle, calling his very wise writings 'false and incomprehensible' and daring to say that Plethon is wiser than him, and do not feel any fear, but rather take pleasure in your own vileness. And you take pride in your mud-slinging, not bearing in mind Euripides, when he speaks of the 'intemperate tongue' as the worst disease and when he says that 'the end of unrestrained mouths and boundless foolishness is misfortune'. But for this you have already paid the price for your intemperate tongue, and you will pay again, once we have refuted the rest of your nonsense as well. Let us now see your beautiful argument.

23.1 'For what other thing is truer and wiser than this axiom here, namely, that the whole is greater than the part, and so the species and kinds are greater substance than the individuals?'

23.2 And in what way is it true or wise to say that 'greater' (τὸ μείζον) is the same as 'more' (τὸ μᾶλλον)? In fact, 'greater' refers to the size of the substance, i.e. what size the substance is and how it has acquired this size. 'More' refers to the quality of the substance, i.e. what quality it has and how it has this quality. Immediately we say that two cubits is 'greater' than one cubit, thus measuring in magnitude one substance relative to another. And we say that the kind is 'greater' than the species (in fact, it is distinguished more by kind than by species), thus comparing in what way one substance is greater than another. For it seems that matter extends in quantity and universals extend to contain the many, as all things extend. The universal is in fact something whole and includes the many as its parts. We then say that snow is whiter than milk, comparing the quality of one substance with another. And we say that the species has 'more' substance than the kind, comparing how the substance has this quality with another. For the species is 'more' endowed with this quality than the kind because of a difference in quality. In relation to substance, the species is such in act as the kind is in potency. Therefore, we also say of such a substance in what way it has a certain quality and not simply that it has a certain quality, for thus there is no difference between quality and accident. This, which

τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ἀτόμων. ταῦτ' ἄρα λευκὸν μὲν λευκοῦ μᾶλλον φαμέν, καὶ αὐτὸ
 ἕαυτοῦ ἦττον καὶ μᾶλλον λευκόν, ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἀνθρώπου μᾶλλον οὐ λέγομεν
 οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἕαυτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ ἦττον ἄνθρωπον. ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ τὸ λευκὸν ποιὸν
 περὶ οὐσίαν συμβεβηκὸς ὄν, καθ' ὃ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἦττον ἐπιδέχοιντο ἄν. τοῖς
 δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἢ ἀνθρώποις τί ἂν εἴη, καθ' ὃ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἦττον ἂν ἐπιδέχοι- 5
 ντο; τὸ δὲ εἶδος τοῦ γένους μᾶλλον οὐσίαν φαμέν διὰ τὴν διαφορὰν ποιότητά τινα
 οὔσαν, οὐσιώδη γε μὴν. καθ' ἣν — ὡς εἴρηται — τὸ εἶδος τοιοῦτον ἐνεργεῖα ὑπάρ-
 χει, οἷον τὸ γένος δυνάμει ἐστί. διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης τὸ μὲν | ποιὸν φησιν ἐπιδέχε-
 σθαι τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἦττον τοῦ θ' ὅπερ ἐστί, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν τοῦ θ' ὅπερ ἐστίν, οὐκ
 ἐπιδέχεσθαι. οὐσίαν γε μὴν μᾶλλον οὐσίας εἶναι τίθεται· τὰς δὲ νοητὰς καὶ θείας 10
 οὐσίας, δι' ἃς ἔφαμεν πρότερον αἰτίας, πρώτας τε καὶ κυριωτάτας καὶ μάλιστα
 οὐσίας φαμέν. τὸ δίπηχυν δὲ τοῦ πηχυαίου μᾶλλον οὐδεὶς φησιν, οὐδὲ τοδὶ τὸ
 λευκὸν τουδὶ τοῦ λευκοῦ μείζον, εἰ μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ὅτι συμβέβηκε τῷ λευ-
 κῷ καὶ ποσῶ εἶναι.

23.3 Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων ἴδωμεν τί Μιχαῆλος φησίν. οὐκ αἰδεῖται, φη- 15
 σί, τὸ καθόλου τοῦ κατὰ μέρος μείζον τιθέμενος, τὰ καθέκαστα
 μᾶλλον οὐσίας τῶν καθόλου λέγων, αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀναιδέστατος ὢν καὶ
 βιαζόμενος οὕτως ἀνέδην τὸ μείζον τῷ μᾶλλον ταυτὸν λέγειν. δέον λόγῳ αἰρεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ μὴ βιάζεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐφ' οὕτω φανεροῖς, ἐφ' οἷς κἂν παῖδες αὐτὸν ῥᾶστα
 ἐξαπατῶντα φωράσαιεν. ἔπειτα ὥσπερ οὐκ ἄρκεσθεις ταῖς κατὰ Θεοδώρου λοι- 20
 δορίαις, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πάντες τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον αὐτοῦ βασκανίας ἀπολαύσαιεν δεινὸν
 ἠγούμενος, λοιδορεῖται καὶ Λατίνοις καὶ μάλα ἰταμῶς, ψελλίζοντας αὐτοὺς
 ὀνομάζων καὶ διεντερευμάτων ξυγκολλητάς, αὐτὸς ὢν ὁ τῶντι ψελλιζό-
 μενος καὶ σπερμολογῶν ἔνθεν κάκεῖθεν καὶ ξυγκολλῶν κάκεῖνα κακῶς. ἐπιστή- 25
 μης τε γὰρ ἀποδέδεικται παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον μῆδ' ὅπως οὖν ἐπαίω, περὶ τε
 γραμματικὴν κἂν παῖδες ἐλέγξαιεν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, οὕτως ἐπὶ φανεροῖς ἁμαρτά-
 νει.

23.4 Ὅλη δὲ ἡ τοῦ λόγου μεταχείρησις κακόζηλός τε καὶ λίαν εὐήθης καὶ με-
 τέχουσα δεινότητος οὐδ' ὀπωστιοῦν. καὶ ἐν οἷς μὲν οὐ δεῖ, πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἀδο-
 λεσχεῖ καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀποκναίει ἀπολόγους Ἀλκίνου διεξερχόμενος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς 30
 καιρίοις ἀμήχανος, ἄφωνος. καὶ δοκεῖ μὲν μέγα τι κνεῖν, ἀποκνεῖ δὲ οὐδὲν ἢ
 μικρόν, ἢ τε ἀγγελία ὑποχάσκουσά τις καὶ κρημνοποιὸς καὶ τὸ ἀηδὲς καὶ ψυχρόν

15–17 οὐκ–καθόλου] cf. Theod. Gazes, *Adv. Plethonem* 155,20–25 Mohler et Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,15–16 Mohler 22–23 ψελλίζοντας–ξυγκολλητάς] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,24–25 Mohler

1 κατ' αὐτὴν om. S | μᾶλλον in textu om., in marg. suppl. S 2 λευκὸν in textu om., in marg. suppl. S 2–3 δὲ–ἄνθρωπον in textu om., in marg. suppl. S 3 ἐκείνης S 4 ἐπιδέχοιτο S Mohler 5–6 ἐπιδέχοιτο ex ἐπιδέχοιτο corr. S 11 ἔφημεν L 23 καὶ in textu om., supra lin. suppl. L ξυγκολλητάς S L, -λ- supra lin. suppl. L | ὢν om. L 24 ξυγκολλῶν S 26 γραμματικῆς Mohler 28 δὲ] τε S Mohler | μεταχείρησις L 29 πέρα] παρὰ S Mohler

is substantial, defines the quality of the substance, and is predicated synonymically on the indivisible subjects in it. Thus we say that one white man is whiter than another, and that this white man is darker or whiter than he is, but we do not say that one man is more man than another, or that this man is less or more man than himself. For in those, whiteness is a quality which for substance is an accident, for which more and less might be admitted. But for men, what is there in men, for which more and less could be admitted? We then say that the species has more substance than the kind because of a difference that is, yes, of quality, but also of substance. Because of this difference, as we have said, the species is such in act as the kind is in potency. Therefore, Aristotle also says that quality admits the more and the less of what is, while substance does not. On the other hand, it is held that one substance is ‘more’ substance; and we say that intelligible and divine substances, through which we spoke before of causes, are ‘first’ and ‘proper’ substances ‘principally’. No one says that two cubits are more cubit than one cubit, nor that this white is greater (than another white), unless by accident it happens that the white is a quantity.

23.3 That being so, let us see what Michael says about this. ‘He is not ashamed’, he says, ‘to affirm that the universal is greater than the particular’, saying ‘that individuals are more substance than universals’, he who is the most shameless of all and who shamelessly persists in saying that ‘greater’ (τὸ μείζον) is the same as ‘more’ (τὸ μᾶλλον); one has to convince with words and not by stubbornly persisting in an assertion, and one has to do so clearly enough that even children could easily catch him at fault. Then, as if he were not already paid off by the insults against Theodoros, and even thought it bad that they could not all profit from his envy of him, he slanders the Latins even more shamelessly, calling them ‘beginners’ and ‘weavers of thoughts’, he who is indeed a beginner and collects thoughts here and there, and who puts them together badly. Throughout the entire discourse, it has been proven that he has no grasp of doctrine at all. With regard to grammar, then, even children could correct his mistakes, so blatantly wrong is he!

23.4 The whole treatment of the argument, then, is distasteful, excessively naive and not at all extraordinary. And where that is not the case, he talks beyond the due and wears out his ears giving Alcinoan speeches; at opportune moments, however, he is resourceless, aphonic. He seems to conceive of something great and then gives birth to nothing that is not insignificant, a message that is open-mouthed, thunderous, obnoxious, all too silly and incap-

κατακόρως ἔχουσα καὶ οὐχ οἷα ῥαστώνην τοῖς μειοῦσιν οὐδεμίαν ποιεῖν. Λατί-
 νους δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ σφετέρᾳ αὐτῶν φωνῇ κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἔμμετρον εἶδος τοῦ λόγου
 Πλάτων, εἰ παρῆν, ἐνθέους ἂν εἶπε καὶ κατεχομένους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Μουσῶν κά-
 κεῖθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνων μελιρρῦτων κρηνῶν καὶ ναπῶν δρεπομένους τὰ μέλη
 φέρειν ἡμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἂν Μάρωνι τῷ θείῳ ποιητῇ. ἐν δὲ τῷ καταλογά- 5
 δην πανδείνους ἂν τις ἴδοι καὶ πιθανοὺς καὶ πολύνους καὶ οἴους θυμὸν τε ἐγεῖραι
 καὶ ὄργην πραῦναι καὶ οἶκτον ἐπισπάσασθαι καὶ λόγους δημοτελεῖς συνθεῖναι καὶ
 μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν, πολὺ τὸ τερπνὸν καὶ ἐπαγωγὸν ἔχοντας, καὶ οὐ μόνον
 παῦρα τε καὶ μάλα λιγέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διοσημείους ἔσθ' ὅτε λέγοντας εἰκότα, ὡς
 μὴδ' ἂν παραχωρήσαιεν τῷ σοφωτάτῳ Κικέρωνι. 10

23.5 Τὰς δ' ἐπιστήμας ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς μεθόδους τῶν λόγων οὕτω τοι λίαν
 ἠκριβώσαν, ὡς μὴδὲ τοῖς περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη, εἰ περιεῖεν ἐκείνοι νῦν,
 παραχωρήσαι ἂν ὅπως οὖν. ἐν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ εὐρηταί τε αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς καὶ μέ-
 198 χρι τῶν λεπτοτάτων διηρεύνηται. καὶ εἰ παρῆς ἐνταῦθα καὶ συμπλακῆναι | ἐβού-
 λου τοῖς κρονικοῖς σου τουτοῖσι λόγοις θαρρήσας καὶ τρυγὸς τῶντι ἀπόζουσι, 15
 παῖδες σε νεήλυδες εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης εἰσβολῆς κάνθαρον, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα ἐξ-
 ἤλεγξαν ἂν. ἢ μὲν οὖν σφετέρᾳ αὐτῶν φωνῇ οὕτω τοι δι' ἀκριβείας σφίσι κατῶρ-
 θῶται. ἤσκηνται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν καλῶς — ὅσοις αὐτῶν πρὸς τῇ σφετέρᾳ καὶ
 τήνδε μεμέληκε κτήσασθαι —, ὡς δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὥσπερ σὺ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπισταμέ-
 νους φωνὴν μακρῶ παρευδοκμεῖν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν μετ' ἐπιμελεί- 20
 ας συνοῦσι συγγράμμασι — τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένη καὶ Ἰσοκράτη φημί — καὶ τῶν
 ἐκείνων ῥημάτων τε καὶ νοημάτων ἐμφορουμένοις δαψιλῶς — συμβαίνει μῆτε
 ὀνομάζοντας πλημμελεῖν τοῖς ἐκείνων χρωμένους ὀνόμασι, κὰν ταῖς συνοουσίαις
 εὐστόχως πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἀπαντᾶν τοῖς ἐκείνων καθάπερ κανόσι χρωμένους
 νοήμασιν, εὐπορίαν τὲ τοῦ λέγειν οὐκ ὀλίγην αὐτοὺς κεκτηῖσθαι, τοὺς τῶν παλαι- 25
 ῶν ἐκμανθάνειν λόγους καὶ ἐκμελετᾶν ὅτι μάλιστα ποιούμενους διὰ σπουδῆς.

23.6 Αὐτῷ δέ σοι οὐδένων ἄλλων σχεδὸν ἢ τοῖς Λιβανίου συγγράμμασιν ἐν-
 τετυχηκότι κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη καὶ ὀνομάζειν καὶ τοῖς νοήμασι χρῆσθαι, πρὸς δὲ
 τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ὄνον τὸ τῆς παροιμίας πρὸς λύραν διατελεῖν. καὶ οὕτω λέγω, ὅτι
 οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου εὐδοκμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκπίπτεις πολλακίς καὶ καταθραύεις, ὃν 30
 εἰσήεις, ὥσπερ οἱ μαλακοὶ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν τοὺς ἥρωας, οὐς ὑποδύονται. ἦν δέ
 ποτε καὶ δεῖση βραχέ' ἄττα ἐξ ὑπογούου εἰπεῖν, διὰ τὸ ὑπ' ἀναληγίας αἰεὶ διατε-
 λεῖν ἀμελέτητον ἄφωνος εὐθὺς γίγνη, ῥημάτων οὐδ' ὀλίγων οὐδ' ὅπως οἰοῦν εὐ-
 πορῶν. τίσι δὲ καὶ ἐντυχῶν τῶν Λατίνων, ὧ βδελυρέ, καὶ γνοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν
 Ἀριστοτελικῶν συγγραμμάτων, κατηγορεῖς αὐτῶν ὡς ἀπ' ἀμάξης βοῶν, ὅτι οὐκ 35

29 ὄνον—λύραν] cf. e.g. Cratin., Frgm. 229

5 Μάρωνι e μάρρωνι corr. L 6 πανδείνους e corr. L: πανδήμους Mohler 8 ἐπαγωγὸν καὶ
 τερπνὸν S 16 ἐκβολῆς S Mohler 17–18 κατόρθωται S 23 συνοουσίας S Mohler 26 διὰ] μετὰ S
 Mohler 30 καταθρήνεις L 32 αἰεὶ Mohler

able of bringing any relief to his readers. As to the Latins, in their own language, a form of speech in verse, Plato, had it been possible, would have said that they are divinely inspired and possessed by the Muses, and that from there, plucking from those fountains and valleys from which the lyrical song flows like honey, they take it away from us, as if one could ever compete with the divine poet Maro. One could observe that they are very skilful, persuasive, and eloquent in prose and able to lift the soul, appease wrath, move to compassion, compose public speeches and speak in complete freedom, that they master grace and the ability to seduce with words, and that they speak not only in a concise and very harmonious manner, but sometimes even in the manner of divine signals, to the point that one cannot help but surrender to the superiority of the very wise Cicero.

23.5 They have studied all forms of knowledge and methods of research in such detail that neither the Platonists nor the Aristotelians, if they were still alive now, could compete. For there is not a single thing that has not been precisely discovered by them and investigated down to the smallest detail. And if it were you here, and you dared to meddle with these stale speeches of yours that reek of scum, even newcomers would realise directly from the incipit of your work that you are a nobody and not a man. Well, their own language is so successful because of its precision; and they also practise ours well (many of them are also interested in learning it, to the detriment of their own), to the point that they far outnumber those who, like you, devote themselves to the Greek language. For they, who study with interest the works of the ancients — by which I mean those of Demosthenes and Isocrates — and are completely imbued with their rhetoric and concepts, do not happen to misquote them when they use their words, and in class they answer questions with shrewdness, using their thoughts as canons. They develop a not-inconsiderable command of language, learn the works of the ancients by heart and practise imitating them as diligently as they can.

23.6 To you, who have read almost no other works but those of Libanius, it necessarily falls to speak and think in his manner, and to be, with respect to the works of the ancient writers, ‘like an ass to a lyre’, as the proverb says. And I certainly do not mean to say that you are not esteemed for your knowledge of the works of that one, but that you often have lapses and spoil everything, for, once you have entered the scene, you are like those soft actors who impersonate heroes. If it ever became necessary to say a few lines suddenly, due to your always living in indolence you would immediately find yourself unprepared and aphotic, unable even to say a few small words. Having read which of the Latins, o fool, and having known them to be inexperienced in the works of Aristotle, do you accuse them, as if shouting from a chariot, of not knowing his writings? And

ἴσασι τὰ συγγράμματα; εἰ δὲ Πυθαγόρας ἦσθα ἢ Πλάτων ἢ Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτός — ἀλλὰ μὴ πῆτιρπτον κίναδος, γαστρί δουλεῦον, ἀμαθέστατον ἀνθρώπιον —, τί ἄν ἐποίεις;

23.7 Ἐκεῖνο δέ σε καὶ μάλα οὐδ' ὅπωςιοῦν ἐλληνικῆς μετασχόντα παιδείας ἐλέγχει, ἐφ' οἷς Θεόδωρον φῆς παρὰ Λατίνων εἰληφότα λέγειν τὸ μεῖζον διαφέ- 5
ρειν τοῦ μᾶλλον, ὡς δὴ μὴ τοιαύτην καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὕσαν τὴν χρῆσιν, καί — ὡς ἔοικεν — ὅσα αὐτὸς οὐκ οἶσθα τῆς ῥωμαϊκῆς εἶναι νομίζεις φωνῆς. πλεῖστα οὖν, πίστευσόν μοι, καὶ κάλλιστα διαγράψεις· σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν οἶσθα. εἶτα ἐρωτᾷ· τίνα τῶν γραμματικῶν ἢ φιλοσόφων πεφώρακας τὸ μεῖζον 10
καὶ μᾶλλον λέγοντα διαφέρειν; ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀντερωτήσομεν αὐτόν, τίνα πεφώρακεν αὐτὸς τὸ μεῖζον καὶ μᾶλλον ταυτὸν λέγοντα; εἰ δέ τις ἢ καταχρώμενος ἀντὶ θατέρου θάτερον ἔλαβεν, ἢ καὶ τῶν λογοποιῶν τίς οὕτως ἐχρήσατο, οἷς οὐ τοσοῦτον πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ὅσον πρὸς ἠδονὴν καὶ κάλλος λέγειν μεμέληκεν, ἀλλ' οὐ λογοποιῶν ἡμεῖς εὐθύνομεν νῦν. ἀλλ' ἃ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους Πλήθων ἀξιοῖ, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμῖν ἀξιοῦσι περὶ αὐτοῦ συγχωρεῖτω. φησὶ γοῦν Ἀριστοτέλη εὐθύνων οὐ 15
ρήτορα εὐθύνειν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρα τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἐπιστήμην ἐπαγγελλόμενον. καὶ Θεόδωρος οὖν Πλήθωνα εὐθύνων οὐ ρήτορα εὐθύνει, ἀλλ' ἀνδρα τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἐπιστήμην ἐπαγγελλόμενον καὶ πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλη τετολημκότα νεανιεύσασθαι. 199
ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, φησίν, ἀδιαφόρως τὸ μεῖζον καὶ μᾶλλον | ἐκλαμβάνει καὶ παρέθηκεν ἄν, φησι, πολλὰ τῷ λόγῳ μαρτύρια, εἰ μὴ 20
καὶ τυφλῷ δῆλα ἦν. αὐτὸς ὧν ὁ τυφλὸς ὁ μὴδὲ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ καθορῶν. καίτοι εἰ εἶχεν, κἄν εἶπεν, κἄν ἐβόησε, κἄν ἐκκεκώφωται ἡμῶν τὰ ὅσα περιθρυλλόμενα. σὺ δ' ὧ μῆλει, φησὶ, τουτουῖ, μέτιθι τὰ αὐτοῦ καί, εἰ μὴ λέγοιμι τᾶληθῆ, οἷον ἄν με βούλοιο κάλει. σοὶ δ' οὐ μῆλει, Μιχαῆλε, πρὸς τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν. πόθεν οὖν σοφὸς ἡμῖν ἀναπέφηνας — Πλάτωνα γὰρ οὐδ' εἶδες — ἢ καθά- 25
περ οἱ γίγαντες ἐσπάρης τε καὶ ἔφυς αὐθημερὸν ὠπλισμένους;

23.8 Ἡμεῖς οὖν, οἷς μέλει, τὰ αὐτοῦ μετελθόντες εὐρομεν ἐν μὲν Κατηγορίαις τὸ μὲν ποσὸν μὴ ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον, τὸ δὲ ποιὸν ἐπιδέχεσθαι λέγοντα. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ ἀρχῶν ἀντιλέγων Ἀναξαγόρα, μήτε τὴν μεγίστην μήτε τὴν ἐλαχίστην τιθεμένῳ, δεῖξας ἀδύνατον, συμπεραίνων φησὶ· ‘δῆλον 30
τοῖνυν ὅτι ἀδύνατον σάρκα ἢ ὅστοῦν ἢ ἄλλο τι ὀπηλικονοῦν εἶναι τὸ μέγεθος ἢ

9–10 τίνα–διαφέρειν] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,25–28 Mohler 19–20 ἀλλὰ–ἐκλαμβάνει] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,28–30 Mohler 20–21 παρέθηκεν–ἦν] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,31–33 Mohler 23–24 σὺ–κάλει] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,33–34 Mohler

2 πῆτιρπτον κίναδος] cf. Soph., *Aj.* 103 22 ἐκκεκώφωται ἡμῶν τὰ ὅσα] cf. Plat., *Lys.* 204c 7–d 1 28 τὸ¹–ἐπιδέχεσθαι¹] cf. Arist., *Cat.* 4a 9, 6b 19 et 10b 26 30–446,1 δῆλον–ἐλαττον] Arist., *Phys.* 187b 20–21; cf. Simpl., *in Cat.* 178,18–19, 278,32 et 290,12–14 Kalbfleisch

2 μὴ ἐπίτριπτον Mohler 17 εὐθύνει e corr. L 20 πολλὰ om. S, post τῷ λόγῳ trsp. Mohler 21 ὁ¹ om. S 22 περιθρυλλόμενα Mohler 25 ἡμῖν om. S Mohler

if you had really known Pythagoras or Plato or Aristotle – but you do not, you consummate scoundrel, slave of the belly, ignorant homunculus – what would you have done?

23.7 This proves that you really have no Greek education, when you claim that Theodoros took it from the Latins that *μείζον* ('greater') is different from *μᾶλλον* ('more'), as if there were no such usage among the Greeks as well, and – apparently – you believe it is proper of the Latin language what you yourself do not know. Well, you will have to revise many fine things, believe me: in fact, you know almost nothing. Then you ask: 'Who among grammarians or philosophers have you caught saying that there is a difference between *μείζον* and *μᾶλλον*?' We then ask you in turn: 'You, rather, who did you surprise by saying that *μείζον* and *μᾶλλον* are the same thing?' If someone has done so, he has either taken one for the other by using them wrongly, or perhaps he is one of the logographers, who do not care to speak so much for truth as for pleasure and beauty. But we are not now criticising a logographer. What Plethon claims of Aristotle, let us also claim of him. For in criticising Aristotle, he says he is criticising not a rhetorician, but a man who professes knowledge of things. And so Theodoros in criticising Plethon criticises not a rhetorician, but a man who professes knowledge of things and who dares to behave recklessly towards Aristotle. But even Aristotle – he says – considers *μείζον* and *μᾶλλον* indistinctly, and – he goes on to say – could also bear witness to this argument, if only it were not clear even to a blind man. Blind is he who does not even recognise what is in his way. If he really had the evidence, he would speak, he would shout, he would deafen our deafened ears. 'You who care about this thing here,' he says, 'go and investigate his works, and if I do not speak the truth, call me what you will. You do not care, Michael, about their words. Whence is it that you have appeared to us wise? Indeed, you have not understood Plato! Were you sown like the Giants and were you born on that very day already armed?'

23.8 So we, who have an interest, having gone to investigate his writings, have found that he says in the *Categories* that quantity does not admit of more and less, but quality does. And in the first book on Natural Causes, contrasting himself with Anaxagoras, according to whom there is neither the greatest nor the smallest cause, after proving that it is impossible, he closes his thought by saying: 'It is clear then that it is impossible for flesh or bone or anything else to be of unspecified size either in the direction of the greatest (*μείζον*) or the

ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαττον'. ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν ἀπέφασκε τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον τοῦ ποσοῦ, ἀποδιδοῦς τῷ ποιῶ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ μείζον καὶ ἔλαττον ἀφορίζει περὶ τὸ μέγεθος. ταύτης δὲ τῆς δόξης καὶ Ἀρχύτας ἐστὶ λέγων κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως· 'καὶ τᾶ ποιότητι δὲ παρέπεται τό τε ἐναντιότητα καὶ στέρησιν ἐπιδέχεσθαι, καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥσον'. καὶ αὐθις· 'καὶ τᾶ ποσότητι δὲ παρέπεται τὸ μὴ ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥσον'. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐν Εὐθύφρονι Σωκράτης τοὺς μὲν περὶ ἀριθμοῦ φησι διαφορομένους τὴν λογιστικὴν ἴσχειν κριτήριον, τοὺς δ' αὖ περὶ τοῦ μείζονος καὶ ἐλάττονος τὴν μετρητικὴν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ βαρέος τε καὶ κούφου τὴν στατικήν· τοὺς δὲ περὶ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων, ἐφ' ὧν δηλαδὴ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον φασί, οὐκ ἴσχειν φησὶ κριτήριον τι διαφορομένους, ἐφ' ὃ ἐλθόντας ἂν τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν, φησι, περὶ τούτων ἀλλήλοις ἐστασί- 5
αζον'. εἰ τοίνυν τὸ μείζον τῷ μᾶλλον ταυτόν, ἢ τοῦ μείζονος ἢ μετρητικὴ κριτήριον οὔσα, καὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον ἦν ἂν δῆπου; ἢ τοῦ μᾶλλον οὐκ οὔσα, οὐδ' ἂν τοῦ μείζονος ἦν ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἦν ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἦν; ἀλλὰ μὴν τοῦ μὲν ἐστὶ, φησὶν ὁ Σωκράτης, τοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν. 10

23.9 Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν εὐρομεν οὐκ Ἀριστοτέλη μόνον ἡμῖν συμφωνοῦντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρχύταν, καὶ πρὸς γε Πλάτωνα, τίνα σε βούλει καλῶμεν; ἀμαθῆ, σοφιστὴν δηλαδὴ καὶ γόητα καὶ ἀπατεῶνα; τουτὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν δίκῃ σὺ σαυτῷ περιέθηκας, τοιοῦτος δ' ὧν κάθαρμα ἄφρονος τοὺς ἄλλους καλεῖς καὶ τὰ μετ' ἀκριβείας πλείστης αὐτοῖς εἰρημένα καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς συνωδὰ ἀρτιγενῆ τε καὶ νεογνά, αὐτὸς 20
ὧν ὁ τὰ ἀρτιγενῆ κάκεινα ἀνεμιαῖα καὶ ἐξαμβλώματα ὀσημέραι ἀπογεννῶν.

24.1 Ἴδωμεν δέ σου καὶ τὴν καλὴν βάσανον· ἡμεῖς φαμεν, θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, παῖδες Ἑλλήνων καυχώμενοι κάκεινων τοῖς ἴχνεσι, καὶ οὐχ ἐτέρων ἐπόμενοι, τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ μείζον εἶναι συγκρίσεως. 25

20 24.2 Ἑλλήνων μὲν σε παῖδα ἴσμεν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πατρός, κάκιστον μέντοι καὶ πατραλοῖαν υἱόν. οὐ γὰρ σε τοῖς ἴχνεσιν ἐκείνων ὀρῶμεν ἐπόμενον, ἀλλ' ἰδίαν τινὰ βαδίζοντα, καὶ ταύτην ἐωλοκρασίας ἀπόζουσαν. εἶτα λαβὼν τὸ μείζον καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι συγκρίσεως, καὶ προσλαβὼν τὴν σύγκρισιν περὶ τε οὐσίαν καὶ μέγεθος εἶναι καὶ τὰ τοιουτότροπα, καὶ λίαν ἀγροίκως ἀπαλλά- 30

20 ἀρτιγενῆ τε καὶ νεογνά] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 168,37–169,4 Mohler 22–24 ἡμεῖς–συγκρίσεως] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,5–7 Mohler 28–29 τὸ–συγκρίσεως] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,7 Mohler 29–30 τὴν–τοιουτότροπα] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,7–8 Mohler

5–6 καί^m–ἥσον] cf. Simpl., in *Cat.* 93,5–6 Kalbfleisch 6–15 ὡς–ἔστιν] cf. Plat., *Euth.* 7b 6–e 5 11–12 οὐ–εἰ] cf. Plat., *Euth.* 7d 3–4

3 τᾶ] τὰ L 5 τᾶ] τὰ L 7 διαφορομένου Mohler 16 Ἀριστοτέλει S 18 ἀπαταιῶνα L 19 τοιοῦτο Mohler | κάθαρμα Mohler | τοὺς om. S | καλεῖν S 20 τε om. Mohler 27 πατρολόαν S L: corr. Mohler (cf. *infra* 28.2) 30–448,1 ἐπάλλαξας S

smallest (ἐλάχιστον).’ In the first case, therefore, he denies the more (μᾶλλον) and the less (ἥττον) of quantity, assigning it to quality, and then in the second he refers the greater (μείζον) and the smaller (ἐλάχιστον) to size. This opinion is also held by Archytas, who says verbatim: ‘And for quality, it follows from admitting the opposition and negation, the more and the less’, and again: ‘And for quantity it follows from not admitting the more and the less’. As the Socrates of *Euthyphro* also says that those who speculate on number adopt the science of calculation as their yardstick. In turn, those who reason about ‘greater’ and ‘smaller’ adopt the practice of measurement as their yardstick, while those who observe the differences between ‘heavy’ and ‘light’ the measurement of weight; those, however, who reflect on ‘good’ and ‘right’ and the like, among which we clearly mean ‘more’ and ‘less’, do not adopt’, he says, ‘any yardstick of judgement by converging on which they could definitively settle the question’. ‘For’, he says, ‘concerning these things they did not quarrel with one another.’ If, then, μείζον were the same as μᾶλλον, the practice of measurement being the yardstick of judgement for μείζον, would it also be so for μᾶλλον? Or, not being so for μᾶλλον, would it also not be so for μείζον, or would it be for both or not at the same time? But, says Socrates, if it is of the one, it is not of the other.

23.9 So, since we have discovered that not only Aristotle, but also Archytas and perhaps even Plato agree with us, what shall we call you? Ignorant sophist for sure, and also charlatan and mystifier? So you have rightly secured this appellation for yourself; and such are you, you scoundrel, who call others ‘brainless’ and things said by them with the utmost care and in agreement with the ancients ‘newly-created things’ and ‘novelties’, when it is you rather who continually gives birth to new things, moreover empty, and abortions.

24.1 Let us now also see your beautiful proof: ‘O admirable man, we sons of Greeks (we are deeply proud of them, and follow in their footsteps and not those of others), we say that μᾶλλον and μείζον are proper to the comparison’.

24.2 We know that you are the son of Greeks and of an excellent father, yet you are a terrible and patricidal son. For we do not see you following in their footsteps, but treading your own track, and it reeks of scum. After having considered that ‘μᾶλλον and μείζον are proper to the comparison’, and having added that ‘the comparison refers both to substance and greatness and to similar things’, and having disposed of the matter so superficially, he (= Michael)

ξας τὸν λόγον, μάλα σεμνῶς συμπεραίνει· ἐκατέρω ἄρα τῷ ὀνόματε οὐδὲν διαφέρετον ἐπὶ πάντων λέγεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ παραπλήσιον, ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τὸ ποῖ καὶ πόθεν ἐρωτήσεως λέγων, μηθὲν διαφέρειν τούτω τῷ ἐπιρρήματε συνεπεραίνει. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ποῖ τὴν εἰς τόπον, τὸ δὲ πόθεν τὴν ἐκ τόπου σημαίνει κίνησιν, ἀντικεῖσθαι δὲ τούτω τῷ κινήσει καὶ μάλα φαμέν. τὰ δ' ἀντικείμενα ταυτὸν εἶναι, πῶς ἂν τις φαίη; οὐ γὰρ διότι ἄμφω ὑφ' ἓν τι τὴν ἐρωτησιν ἐστί, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πάντη ταυτὸν ἔσται, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ἄμφω πυσματικά, ταυτὸν· ἐφ' ὅσον δὲ διαφορῶν κινήσεων πύσματα, οὐ ταυτὸν. οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ μείζον· καθόσον μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν σύγκρισιν ἄμφω, ταυτὸν· καθόσον δὲ τὸ μὲν μεγέθους — ὡς δέδεικται —, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦ, διάφορα. εἰ δέ, διότι τινὲς κατὰ τι ταυτὸν ὑπάρχει, διατοῦτο καὶ πάντη ταυτὸν οἶει, ὥρα σοι λοιπὸν καὶ τὸ λευκὸν καὶ τὸ μέλαν — ἐναντίω ὄντε — ταυτὸν πάντη λέγειν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ γένει ταυτὸν ἄμφω γὰρ χρώματε. καὶ δὴ καὶ σὲ καὶ τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι ἄμφω ζῶω ἐστόν. καίτοι μοι καὶ ἄλλοτε τοῦτο συνεχώρησας. καὶ τὰ ὑπ' Ἀριστοφάνους ἐν Νεφέλαις εἰρημένα ὑπερφυῶς ἐπήνεις. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἀντὶ φιλοσόφου τάχιστα ὁ καλὸς ἡμῖν Μιχαῆλος ὠραῖος ἀλεκτρυῶν ἀναπέφανται, καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν βακτηρίαν λαβῶν ἀμφοτέραις εὖ μάλα κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐφικέσθαι σου πειράσεται ἀνέδην οὕτωσι λήρους κάκεινους διωλυγίους συμπλέκοντας;

25.1 Εἰ δὴ τὸ ποσὸν ἐν μεγέθει κὰν τῇ οὐσίᾳ, τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ μείζον, ἦττον τε καὶ μείον, τὸ ποσὸν συγκρίνει καὶ τὸ ποιόν, τί κωλύει τὸ μείζον ἐπὶ μεγέθους λεγόμενον μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ οὐσίας λέγεσθαι;

25.2 Εἰ μὲν διὰ τὰ προσεχῆ λήμματα μηδὲν κωλύειν φῆς τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ μείζον ταυτὸν εἶναι, σαυτὸν φενακίζεις, οὐχ ἡμᾶς. οὐδὲν γὰρ περαίνεις· οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἐκεῖνα εἶναι ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῦτο συμβαίνει. εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸ ἐκατέρω τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι δυνάμεως, ἡμῖν ἤδη εἴρηται μὴ εἶναι τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ διηκρίνηται ἰκανῶς, οἷας ἐκατέρω δυνάμεως ἐστόν, Ἀριστοτέλει τε καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπομένους φωνῆ, ἀποδεδείχθω δὲ ὁμως καὶ τῆδε. ἔστω γὰρ ἐφ' ᾧ ποδιαῖον μὲν, ἦττον γε μὴν λευκόν, α, ἐφ' ᾧ δ' ἔλαττον μὲν ποδιαίου, μᾶλλον δὲ λευκόν, β. εἰ δὴ τὸ μείζον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ α τοῦ β μείζον ὄν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν εἴη. ὑπέκειτο δὲ τὸ β μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ β τοῦ α μᾶλλον ὄν, καὶ μείζον ἔσται. ὑπέκειτο δὲ τὸ α μείζον ἢ τὸ μὲν α τοῦ β, μείζον τε καὶ οὐ μείζον, τὸ δὲ β τοῦ α μᾶλλον τε καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μείον ταυτὸν | τῷ ἦττον. ὑπέκειτο δὲ τὸ μὲν α τοῦ β ἦττον, τὸ

1–2 ἐκατέρω–τοιούτων] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,8–9 Mohler 19–22 Εἰ–λέγεσθαι] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,9–11 Mohler

14–15 τὰ–εἰρημένα] cf. Aristoph., *Nub.* 1427–1429

3 μηδὲν S 10 τινὲ] τινὲ in ras. scr. S 11 ὅρα S Mohler 20 τε om. S 26 ἡμῖν–δυνάμεως^{II} om. S 29 ποδαίου in textu, ποδιαίου in marg. scr. L

solemnly concludes: ‘Both terms are not different to say all such things. This is as if one, saying that $\pi\omicron\iota$ and $\pi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu$ are proper for comparison, we are to conclude that these two adverbs do not differ in anything. Instead, the $\pi\omicron\iota$ indicates movement towards a place, the $\pi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu$ from a place, and we would rather say that these two movements are contrary to each other. So how could anyone ever say that two contraries are the same thing? Not for the reason that both are in some sense relative to the question, so they will therefore be absolutely the same thing, but inasmuch as both are interrogative, they are the same thing. Inasmuch as they are, however, interrogative particles of different movements, they are not. And so it is with $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ and $\mu\epsilon\iota\zeta\omicron\nu$: insofar as they both fall under the comparative, they are the same thing, but insofar as the former is proper to greatness, as we have seen, and the latter is proper to quality, they are different. But if you think that because two things are the same thing in relation to something, for that reason they are also in an absolute sense the same thing, it is the case then that you say that white and black (which are opposites) are also in an absolute sense the same thing, since they are by kind the same thing: for they are both colours. Then we shall say that you are not at all different from a rooster, since you are both animals. Yet you have already admitted this a few other times, and are in total agreement with what Aristophanes said in the *Clouds*. If it were so, instead of being a philosopher our dear Michael would have the appearance of a beautiful rooster, and who, grasping a stick with both hands, would not be tempted to throw it right at your head, you who so freely put together such immense nonsense?

25.1 ‘If, then, quantity is both in magnitude and substance, and “more” and “greater”, “less” and “less great”, compare quantity and quality, what prevents “greater” which is said of magnitude from also being said of substance?’

25.2 If by these last arguments you mean that there is nothing to prevent $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ and $\mu\epsilon\iota\zeta\omicron\nu$ being the same thing, you deceive yourself, certainly not us. You do not succeed at all: for it so happens that things are not necessarily so. If, on the other hand (you intend to deceive us) through what follows, namely, that ‘each of the two is of the same value’, we have already said that they are not of the same value, and it has been sufficiently explained of what value each is, by Aristotle and those who use the native language of the Greeks, but it is also proven in this way. Let alpha indeed be the size of a foot, but be less white, and let beta on the other hand be smaller than a foot, but whiter. If ‘greater’ were more than alpha, which is greater than beta, it would also be ‘more’. And provided that beta is ‘more’ than beta, which is more than alpha, it would also be greater. And given that alpha is greater than alpha, which is more than beta, it will be greater and not greater, and beta will be more than alpha and not more, since smaller is the same as less. And given alpha less than beta, beta will be

δὲ β τοῦ α μείον, καὶ οὕτω δὴ συναληθεύσει ἅμα ἡ ἀντίφασις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἀδύνατον δὲ τοῦτο. ἀδύνατον ἄρα τὸ λέγειν ταυτὸν τὸ μείζον τῷ μᾶλλον. εἴτ', ὧ κάθαρμα, ὡσπερ ἀναγκαῖον τί συμπεράνας αὐτὸς καὶ ἤδη ἤρηκώς καὶ καταβαλὼν, ἀλλ' οὐ τρίς ἡττηθεὶς μέμφη τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἀξιούσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα δεικνύουσιν, ἀμαθεῖς καὶ κακοήθεις αὐτούς ὀνομάζων, αὐτὸς ὦν ἀπάντων, ὧν ἴσμεν, 5 ἀμαθέστατός τε καὶ μοχθηρότατος·

26.1 Εἰ γάρ τις εἰπὼν μέγεθος μεγέθους καὶ ποσὸν ποσοῦ, καὶ οὐσίαν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἄλλης οὐσίας, ἔπειτα τὸ μείζον προσθεῖς, ὑφελὼν τὸ μᾶλλον, εἴποι ἂν μείζω οὐσίαν εἶναι ἄλλης οὐσίας καὶ μέγεθος [...]. 10

26.2 Ἡμῖν μὲν ἀμαρτάνειν, ὧ λῶστε, δοκεῖ. σοὶ δὲ οὐ (φησι Μιχαῆλος, ὁ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω βουλόμενος μὲν ποιῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενος δέ). οὐκοῦν Ἀρχύτου λέγοντος 'τὴν ποιότητα τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον ἐπιδέχεσθαι' — Ἀριστοτέλει γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἔσποιο σοφὸς ὦν; — ἦν τις τὸ μείζον καὶ ἔλαττον ἀντὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον μεταλάβη, δώσεις σὺ τοῦτο; εἰ γὰρ δώσεις λευκόν, ἦ λευκὸν λευκοῦ μείζον, 15 ἔσται καὶ ἔλαττον. τὸ γὰρ α μείζον ὄν τοῦ β καὶ ἔλαττον αὐθις ἔσται, ἐπειδὴ τὸ β τοῦ α μᾶλλον ὑπέκειτο. καὶ οὕτω μείζον τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ μείζον. καὶ ἡ ἀντίφασις ἅμα ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αὐθις συναληθεύσει. αὐθις δὲ τὸ ποσὸν λέγοντος μὴ ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον, οὐδὲν τὸ μείζον δήπου καὶ ἔλαττον ἐπιδέξεται; οὐκοῦν μέγεθος οὐκ ἔσται μείζον μεγέθους; οὐδ' ὁ Ῥόδου κολοσσὸς ἄρα σοῦ γε 20 πυγμαίου ὄντος, εἰ περιῆν, μείζων ἂν ἦν; οὕτως αὐτὸς ἐπιστήμης εὔῆκεις, βάραθρε, καὶ σοὶ τυγχάνει ὄν πάνυ τῆς ἀληθείας μεμεληκός.

27.1 Σοὶ δὲ γραμματικῆς ἐπιμελουμένω, καὶ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπέραντα μὲν, μηδὲν δὲ δυνάμενα ὠφελῆσαι τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα σχολάζοντας πεπονηκότι. 25

27.2 Ποὺ χύτραις λημᾶς, ὅς γε τὰ Θεοδώρῳ περὶ γραμματικῆς συγγραφέντα ἀπέραντα καλεῖς, διαβραχέων ὡς οἶόν τε καὶ εἰσαγωγῇ πρέποντα συντεθέντα; ὦν οὐ τὴν εὐρεσιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ὑπερφυῶς ἐπαινεῖ πᾶς τις, ἦν μὴ ἦ βάσκανος κατὰ σέ. οὔτε γὰρ παρεῖται τι, ὦν ἔδει ῥηθῆναι, ὡς προσῆκεν εἰσαγωγῇ, οὔτ' αὖ εἴρηται τι πάρεργον ἢ περιττόν. τῆ δ' αὖ μεθόδῳ καὶ διαθέσει οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Μῶμος ἔχει τί μέμψασθαι. ἦ τε ἐρμηνεία καὶ μάλα τῆ ὕλη πρέπουσα. σὺ δ' 30

7–10 Εἰ–μέγεθος] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,14–16 Mohler 11 Ἡμῖν–οὐ] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,17 Mohler 23–25 Σοὶ–πεπονηκότι] Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,18–19 Mohler

13 τὴν–ἐπιδέχεσθαι] cf. *supra* 26 χύτραις λημᾶς] cf. Mich. Apost., *Paroem.* 18,42

3 εἴρηκώς Mohler post 10 μέγεθος in textu add. Mohler μεγέθους καὶ ποσοῦ ποσόν, ὁ τοιοῦτος δοκεῖ σοὶ ἂν ἀμαρτάνειν coll. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,16–17 Mohler 14–15 καὶ ἥττον in textu om., *supra* lin. suppl. L 15 εἰ] οὐ S 19 οὐδὲ S 24 δυναμμένα L | ὠφελῆ S post 25 πεπονηκότι add. in textu ἔδοξε Mohler coll. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,19 Mohler 26 λημμάς S L: corr. Mohler 27 συντιθέντα L 28 πᾶς om. Mohler

smaller than alpha, and so the contradiction will be equally true in the same proposition. But this is impossible. It is therefore impossible to say that ‘greater’ is the same as ‘more’. Well then, o infamous one, as if you had syllogistically concluded something necessary and had already won and refuted it, and not as if you had already been defeated three times, you criticise others for expressing opinions and not proving them, calling them ignorant and malicious, you who are the most ignorant and malicious of all those we know.

26.1 ‘If one, having said that a greatness is more than a greatness, a quantity more than a quantity, and a substance more than another substance, once the “greater” (μεῖζον) has been put in and the “more” (μᾶλλον) taken out, were to say that a substance is greater than another substance, a greatness greater than a quantity, and a quantity greater than a quantity, he would seem to you to be mistaken’.

26.2 My dear, it seems to us that he is wrong. To you it does not (so says Michael, who wants to make a fairly weak argument stronger, without succeeding). So, although Archytas says that ‘quality admits of more and less’ — in fact, being wise, could he not follow Aristotle? — if one were to put greater and smaller instead of more and less, would you allow it? If you give ‘white’, so one white will be ‘greater’ than another white, it will also be smaller. In fact, alpha being larger than beta will conversely also be smaller, since beta is assumed to be ‘more’ than alpha. And so at the same time, it will be larger and not larger. And this contradiction will, on the one hand, be true, but by saying on the other hand that quantity does not admit ‘more’ and ‘less’, nothing will end up admitting ‘greater’ and ‘smaller’. So will a quantity not be greater than a greatness? And would not the Colossus of Rhodes, if it existed, be greater than you, who are a pygmy? To such a high level of doctrine have you come, o villain, and this touches you, for you are so interested in truth!

27.1 ‘To you who take such interest in grammar and have also put much and endless effort into it, without it being of any benefit to those who study it...’

27.2 But where are your eyes, you who call ‘interminable’ the things written by Theodoros on grammar, composed as briefly as possible and perfect for an introduction? Of these, everyone can only greatly praise not only the inventio, but also the dispositio, unless he is envious in your manner. For nothing is left out that needs to be discussed, as befits an introduction. Nor, conversely, is anything negligible or superfluously treated. Not even Momus himself has anything to reproach in terms of method and disposition, and the interpretation

οὕτω πόρρω βασκανίας ἐλαύνεις καὶ φθόνου, ὥστε καὶ τὰ πᾶσιν ἐπαινούμενα συ-
κοφαντεῖς. πῶς δὲ καὶ οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, ὅπου γε τοὺς σπουδάζοντας περὶ ταῦτα —
πλείστοι δ' εἰσὶ — ταμέγιστα ὠφέλησέ τε καὶ ὠφελεῖ, εἰ μήπου σέ γε; ἀνήκεστα
202 γὰρ νοσοῦντα οὐδ' ἂν οὐδ' αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων | ἰάσαιτο. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐφ' ὅτῳ προδή-
λοις πλημμελήμασιν ἐάλως, ὧν δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐστὶν ἃ ἐπισημηνάμενοι παρεγράψα- 5
μεν ἔξω ἐν τοῖς σοῖς, οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες τοῖς ἡμετέροις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκαταμίξει. τὰ
δ' ἄλλα παρήκαμεν τοῖς βουλομένοις ζητεῖν καὶ καταγελᾶν σου. οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν σχολ-
λὴ πάντα σου τὰ ἁμαρτήματα κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν ζητεῖν ἄπειρα σχεδὸν ὄντα. ἦν γὰρ
τις τοῦτο ἔληται, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ διαγράφειν ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ· ἐν γὰρ οὐδὲν σχεδὸν
ὀρθῶς σοι εἴρηται. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ τῶν καλῶν οὐδέν, οὐτ' ἐν λόγοις 10
οὐτ' ἐν ἔργοις· φθόνος δὲ μόνον καὶ ἔρις καὶ ἀμαθία καὶ συκοφαντία καὶ ψεύδη
καὶ ἀπλῶς πάνθ' οἷς εἰκός σέ τε καὶ τοὺς οἴους σὺ χαίρεις, ὧν ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ μικρὸν
καὶ δριμύ τὸ ψυχάριον εἴρηται. οὕτω δ' ἦττων ὁ βδελυρὸς τῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλη
τε καὶ Θεόδωρον βασκανίας ἐστὶν, ὥστ' ἀπόδειξιν μὲν τοῦ ζητουμένου χάριν —
ὡς πολλάκις ἐφθην εἰπὼν — οὐδ' ἠντιναοῦν λέγει, καθάπερ δὲ Μελιταῖον κυνίδι- 15
ον ὑλακτῶν οὐ παύεται, δῆξαι μὲν καὶ διασπαράξει βουλόμενος, οὐ δυνάμενος
δέ, δοξομανεῖς καὶ ἀνοήτους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζων, αὐτὸς ὧν ὁ τῶόν-
τι δοξομανῆς καὶ ἀναίσθητος καὶ μηδὲν μηδέποτε μήτε δράσας μήτε εἰρηκῶς ὑγι-
ές, λογισμῷ μὲν οὐδ' ὀπωσιοῦν, ἀπονοία δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον ἀγόμε-
νος. τοιοῦτον δ' ὄντα τὸν ταλαίπωρον καὶ τοσαύτην ἀμαθίαν νοσοῦντα καὶ δέον 20
ξυνωθέντα που σιγῇ καθῆσθαι, μηδεμίαν ἐπιστήμην λόγων ἑαυτῷ συνειδότα, ἀλ-
λὰ μὴ ἀνταποδυσάμενον εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθεῖναι, οὕτω παναισιχῆ καὶ ῥυπῶντα
τοῖς θεαταῖς φανήσεσθαι μέλλοντα, ἐν λόγοις Θεοδώρῳ παραβαλλόμενον. ὅδ' ἀν-
τεπιδεῖξαι τὸ τῶν λόγων εἶδος αὐτοῦ πάνυ τοι ῥυσὸν ὄν οὐκ ἔδεισεν, οὐδ' εἰ μή τι
ἄλλο, τὰς μυθολογικὰς γοῦν γραίας οὐκ εὐλαβηθεῖς, ἵνα μὴ λάχωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξ- 25
ούλης οὕτως εἰκῆ μύθους καὶ φλυαρίας συνείροντι, καὶ τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑφαρπά-
ζοντι καὶ ἰδιουμένῳ ἐπιτηδεύματα.

28.1 Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν σοὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὰ πείχαιρα περὶ τούτων ἀποτετίσθω, ἐπεὶ
τὸν ἐμὸν Ἡρακλέα, ᾧπερ ἀντιλέγειν ὑπέστης, ἀνθοπλισθῆναι κατὰ σοῦ νῦν οὐ
θέμις, κατ' ἄλλων τε αὐτὸν δικαιοτέρων ὄν χρῆσθαι τῷ ῥοπάλῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ 30
ἅμα ἐμὲ κεκτημένον σύμμαχον σέ τε ἀμυνόμενον λόγῳ αἰρεῖν ἰκανόν, κἄν τις σου
κρείττων ἄλλος ὑπὲρ σοῦ προέλῃται διαμάχεσθαι.

15–16 Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,31 Mohler 17 δοξομανεῖς–ὀνομάζων] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,22–24 Mohler

12–13 μικρὸν–ψυχάριον] Plat., *Theaet.* 195a

2 τοῦς] τὰς Mohler 3 ὠφελήσει Mohler 4 ὅτῳ] οὕτω S 5 πλημμελήμασιν S 6 ἐγκαταμίξει S 11 ἐν ἔργοις] ἐνέργοις S 15 μελιταῖον S 17–18 ὁ τῶόντι om. Mohler 19 αὐτοῦ Mohler 21 ξυνωσθέντα Mohler 24 αὐτοῦ Mohler 30 τε om. S

fits the subject matter very well. You are so seething with animosity and envy that you even mock the things praised by all. Besides, how is it unhelpful, when those who use it to study (and they are many) find it has greatly benefitted them and continues to benefit them – apart from you, evidently? Not even Apollo could heal one afflicted with an incurable disease. You could not have escaped anyone with such egregious errors. And of these, in truth, we ourselves, although we have denounced some, have kept others out of your writing, not deeming it appropriate to mix them with our own. We have set aside the others for those interested in looking them up and laughing at you. We lacked the necessary stimulus to look for all your mistakes carefully, as they were almost infinite. If one were to take the trouble to do so, one would have no choice but to delete everything: in fact, there is hardly a single thing you said correctly. Nor, moreover, is there anything good in you, either in word or deed: only envy and quarrelsomeness and ignorance and slander and lies, and simply everything for which it is likely to please you and those like you, of whom it is said in the *Theaetetus* that they are ‘small and violent souls’. The infamous one is so subjugated by envy towards Aristotle and Theodoros, that, as I have said on several occasions before, he gives no demonstration of the object of investigation. He does not stop barking like a Maltese lapdog, intending to bite and tear to pieces and yet failing to do so, calling others ‘mad for fame’ and ‘fools’ and so on, when it is he who is actually stupid and mad for fame. He and never does or says anything sane, living his whole life not at all in reflection, but in indolence. It is fitting that such a wretch, and one afflicted with such gross ignorance, should stand aside in silence, aware that he possesses no doctrine, and not that, prepared to fight, he should throw himself into a contest, destined to appear so ugly and filthy before the spectators, pitted in dispute against Theodoros. He has not been afraid to show that the appearance of his words is very wrinkled, and has not even guarded himself, if nothing else, against the old, chattering women, lest they sue him for the return of the fables and jibes that he so casually weaves, taking away their occupations.

28.1 Let this then be the reward from me for your actions, since my Heracles, whom you have thought to oppose, should not now take up arms against you, and it is more just for him to use the club of his words against others, since he already has me as a sufficient ally to defeat you, who even try to defend yourself with talk, even if another stronger than you comes forward to fight in your defence.

28.2 Ἴδωμεν δέ σου καὶ τὸν ἐπίλογον, ἐπεὶ κὰν ἐκείνῳ συχνά σοι ἡμάρτηται. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σε ἐκεῖνο καὶ μάλιστα φενακίζειν δοκεῖ, οἴομενον βοηθηῖσαι Πλήθωνι καὶ ἀφοσιώσασθαι καθάπερ πατρί, οὐ βεβοηθηκότα, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταβαλόντα τὸ σὸν μέρος. καὶ εἰ περιῆν Πλήθων, ἀπελήλακεν ἄν σε μακρὰν καθάπερ τινὰ πατραλοῖαν, ἱκανάς σοι πρότερον ἐπιτρίψας πληγὰς, ἐπεὶ τῷ Πλάτωνι λέγων τίθεσθαι τούναντίον νῦν ὅμως ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνῳ τιθεμένοις προσῆκε ποιεῖς, Θεοδώρω μεμφόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγοντι, αὐτὸς οὐδέποτε τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγων, ὡς ὄντος ἀρετῆς μὲν τούτου, κακίας δ' ἐκείνου. Πλάτων δέ γε φρονιμωτάτου τε ἀνδρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο νομίζει, καὶ τὴν οὐράνιαν κίνησιν τῷ 5
κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀεὶ φέρεσθαι περὶ νοῦν | καὶ φρόνησιν μάλιστα οὔσαν ἀποδεικνυσιν. Καλλικλεῖ τε κατηγοροῦντι Σωκράτους, ὥσπερ σὺ Θεοδώρου, ὡς δὴ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγοντος, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκείνῳ Σωκράτης μέμφεται μέμψιν, ὡς μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγοντι. οὕτω σὺ τῆς Πλατωνικῆς πόρρω φιλοσοφίας ἐλαύνεις καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου κακῶς ἐπαίεις δογμάτων. 10

28.3 Ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν ἀποχρώντως πρὸς γε τὴν σὴν ἕξιν εἴρηται περὶ τοῦ ζητούμενου διαβραχέων Ἀριστοτέλει τὲ καὶ Θεοδώρῳ συνηγορηκόσι καὶ ἀφοσιωσαμένοις τοῖς ἀνδράσι δικαίοις οὔσι. μακρότερον δὲ ἀποτείνειν περὶ τούτου λόγον οὐκ ᾤθημεν δεῖν, ἀκριβέστερον τὸ ζητούμενον ἐπεξεργάσασθαι νῦν παραιτησάμενοι, ταῖς ὀλοσχερεστέραις ἀρκεσθέντες ἐφόδοις, τῆς σῆς ἕξεως στοχαζόμενοι. ἀπελείφθης γὰρ ἄν πάντη καὶ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθησας, εἰ βαθύτερον τῶν ζητημάτων ἠψάμεθα, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν εἴρηται τινὰ τὴν σὴν ὑπερβάλλοντα ἕξιν. ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν περὶ τε ἄλλα ἀσχόλοις οὔσι καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας ῥωμαῖστὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις ἀναγινώσκουσιν οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν ἀκριβέστερον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι. 20

28.4 Ἄρκει δὲ ὅμως καὶ ταῦτα τὸ ἀληθές σε διδάξαι καὶ πείσαι γνόντα σαυτὸν ὑφεῖναι τί τοῦ τύφου. καὶ σοι συμβουλευόμεν — οὐ γὰρ σοι φθονοῦμεν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις — εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν ἀγαθὴν, πολλὰ τῇ οἰήσει χαίρειν εἰπόντα, ἣν ἔχεις περὶ σαυτοῦ, πάντα εἰδέναι νομίζων μηδὲν εἰδώς, καὶ παρὰ τοὺς τῆδε φοιτῆσαι σοφοὺς χρόνον συχνόν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ θηράται τὸ ἀληθές· ἐν βυθῷ γάρ — κατὰ Δημόκριτον — κέϊται. τό τε γὰρ ἀληθές εἴση, ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν ἔχη, ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῆς νῦν ἀμαθίας, ἢ σε συνεχόμενον καθάπερ καταβολῆ 30
πυρετοῦ ἢ λέπρα διὰ παντὸς ἠκούση τοῦ σώματος ὄρω, καὶ Πλήθωνι οἷός τ' ἔση ἀμύνειν ἢ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει, ἣν βούλη. καὶ οὐς νῦν καλεῖς 'ψελλιζομένους', πείσθητί μοι, τότε σοφωτάτους ἐρεῖς. ἦν μὲν οὖν πείθωμεν τὰ λῶστα σοι συμβου-

7 τὰ¹-λέγοντι] cf. Mich. Apost., *Obiect.* 169,28-30 Mohler

10 περὶ-οὔσαν] Plat., *Tim.* 34a 11-13 Καλλικλεῖ-λέγοντι] cf. Plat., *Gorg.* 491b-c 29 ἐν-κεῖται] cf. Diog. Laer. 9,72,10 (= Democr. 117 DK)

5 ἐπεὶ τῷ] ἔπειτα L 8 γε om. S Mohler 9 τε supra lin. scr. S 11 Θεόδωρον S 13-14 σοφίας S 14 καλῶς S 16-17 ἀφοσιωμένοις Mohler 17 ἀποτείνειν om. S 20 ἀπελήφθης S Mohler ζημάτων L 21 ὑπερβαλλόντα (sic) L 27 εἰπόντι Mohler 28 βραχὺ S 32 βούλει Mohler

28.2 Let us then look at your epilogue, for in that too you have made great mistakes. First of all, you seem to have deluded yourself greatly by thinking that you were coming to Plethon's aid and thus fulfilling an obligation as to a father, not really helping him, but merely serving your part. Even Plethon, if he were alive, would keep you at bay like a parricide, but not before he had beaten you sufficiently, since, by saying that you support Plato (this, however, is the opposite of what befits those who support him), you blame Theodoros because he says the same thing about the same things, whereas you never do so, since goodness is proper to the one, wickedness to the other. Plato believes that this behaviour is proper to the truly sensible man, and shows that even celestial motion, which is the closest thing to intellect and thought, is led to be always in the same positions. And to Callicles, who accuses Socrates — as you do Theodoros — of saying the same about the same things, Socrates addresses the opposite accusation, namely, of not saying the same about the same things. Thus you move away from Platonic philosophy and misinterpret its principles.

28.3 So, we have already said enough far beyond your ability on the subject at hand, defending Aristotle and Theodoros in brief and thus doing our duty to these just men. We felt that it was not appropriate to extend the discourse on this subject any further, and we avoided investigating the matter in more detail now, contenting ourselves with more general reflections and taking into consideration your abilities. Indeed, if we had approached the topics in more detail, you would have remained completely in the dark and would not have been able to follow, since it has just been said that some things are beyond your capabilities. But for us who are also occupied with other things and read Latin works to our companions, it was not easy to investigate these things in more detail.

28.4 It is also enough, however, to give you lessons in truth and persuade you to put aside a little vainglory by 'knowing thyself'. And we advise you — we do not in fact envy you as you do others — to come to beautiful Italy, which cares nothing for the conceit you have of yourself, you who think you know everything without knowing anything, and to assiduously attend the lessons of some of the learned men here. One does not acquire true knowledge in a short time, for, as Democritus says, 'it lies deep within'. And the truth will come out, if there ever is any, once your present ignorance, with which I see you live as well as with an attack of fever or leprosy that pervades the whole body, is removed from you, and you will be able to defend Plethon and even Aristotle, should you wish to do so. And those whom you now call beginners, believe me, you will then call

λεύοντες — ἃ δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συνεβουλευσαμεν —, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. ἦν δὲ μὴ πείθω-
 μεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι συνοικεῖν ἐθέλης τῇ ἀμαθίᾳ καὶ δοκεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶναι, καλός, ἔτη
 γεγρονώς ἤδη πλείω τριάκοντα, καὶ τῶν νῦν ἡμῖν εἰρημένων ἀντιλαβέσθαι βούλη
 καὶ λοιδορήσασθαι τὰς σὰς ἡμῖν μοχθηρίας προστριβόμενος, ὥσπερ εἴωθας, τῶν
 μὲν λοιδοριῶν, ἃς ἐρεῖς, οὐ πάνυ τοι λόγον ποιησόμεθα, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ πορνιδίων 5
 προϊσταμένων λοιδορουμένων τε καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἡμῖν προστριβομένων ὄνειδη.
 πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀντιλήψεις, ἦν τι λόγου φανῶσιν ἡμῖν ἄξιον ἔχειν καὶ μὴ πάντη παί-
 δων ἀθύρμασιν ὧσιν ὅμοιοι, ἀποκρινόμεθα ἀκριβέστερον τὸ περὶ τούτου ἐπεξ-
 εργαζόμενοι, Θεοδώρῳ τὲ τῷ σοφῷ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀμύνοντες. τὰ νῦν δὲ καὶ
 ταῦτα ἀπόχη. 10

learned. Should we convince you in advising you the best (which is what we would also advise ourselves), that would be good for you. If we do not convince you, and you still wish to live with your ignorance and only seem, but not be, an honest man, having already passed the age of thirty, and wish to counter what we have now said and still slander us by hurling your wickedness at us, as you have been accustomed to do, we will not care at all about the slanders you utter, any more than we care for those harlots who whore themselves and offend and hurl at us the insults proper to their trade. To the objections, if we feel it is appropriate to spend a word on them and they are not really like children's games, we will answer by dealing with the matter in more detail, defending the learned Theodoros and ourselves. This is enough for now.

2 Monody on wretched Constantinople

2.1 Introduction

The text of the *Monody on wretched Constantinople* composed by Kallistos in the last period of his stay in Crete (i.e. before his arrival to Italy)¹ has been published for the first time in the volume CLXI (1886) of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (cols 1131–1142). To date, the only available critical edition was that found in an article by Sp. Lampros.² A short selection of chapters was more recently republished in a volume edited by A. Pertusi, accompanied by an Italian translation by M. Peri.³ The anthology of Greek texts compiled in the 1990s by J.-C. Polet and C. Pichois hosts a partial translation in French of Kallistos' text by S. Stavrou.⁴ A complete translation in French newly appeared in a collective volume edited by V. Déroche and N. Vatin, along with an introduction and useful commentary notes.⁵

Despite a very brief remark appearing in E. Fenster's book collecting the *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*,⁶ the *Monody* has long remained without a comprehensive study or a commentary. In a research monograph devoted to the Greek tradition of ritual lament, M. Alexiou claimed:

In style, his (*scil.* Andronikos') monody is learned and rhetorical, its ideas and imagery more dependent upon classical sources than on Hebrew and Christian models. It is the tragic loss of the Greek cultural heritage, and not the defeat of Christianity by Islam or the moral responsibility of the people, which he emphasises and mourns, in classical style: ὦ Πώμη νέα, [...] ποῦ σου νῦν τὰ καλὰ (O new Rome, where now are your fine things?). The other prose monodies draw more on biblical tradition.⁷

More recently, some considerations, mainly aiming at the identification of the quotations from classical sources, are found in a paper by E. Russell.⁸ Finally, we owe to A. J. Goldwyn a more detailed analysis of the structure of Kallistos' *Monody* and some comparisons with contemporary threnodies, laments, invocations, and

1 See *supra*, § 1.2 and 2.1.

2 Lampros 1908, 203–218.

3 See Pertusi 1976, II, 354–363.

4 See Polet and Pichois 1995, 267–272.

5 See Déroche and Vatin 2016, 865–880. The translation by Déroche mainly relies on the text by Lampros, with slight changes.

6 See Fenster 1968, 282.

7 Alexiou 2002, 86–87.

8 See Russell 2013, 105–123.

monodies (such as Manuel Christonymos' *Monody on the Sack of Constantinople*).⁹

2.2 The manuscript tradition

To my knowledge, the text of the *Monody* is handed down (fully or partly) in three manuscripts:

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1774

Paper, last quarter of fifteenth century, mm 205 × 140, fols XV+355+III'. Composite manuscript, assembled by Antonios Eparchos. It is partially copied by Konstantios (fols 32r–34r, 36rv, 44v, 109r–110r, and 345r–353v), a scribe working in Crete in the second half of the fifteenth century (see *RGK* I 233 = II 322 = III 377). The text of the *Monody* is at fols 345r–353v. *Bibl.*: Muratore 1997, 50–52; Stefec 2012c, 257–259; Speranzi 2013a, 290–291; Ferreri and Speranzi 2017, 295–309; Mondrain 2017, 464 n. 11; Cardinali 2020b, 137, 141; Muratore 2022, 19. *Cat.*: Omont 1886–1888, II, 140.

L = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 44

Paper, first quarter of sixteenth century, mm 350 × 250, fols I+134+I'. Composite manuscript made of two coeval codicological units: I (= fols 1–126, copied around 1545 in Venice); II (= fols 127–134). The text of Kallistos is found at fols 127r–133r. See a detailed description at <<http://manuscripta-mediaevalia.de>> (with further bibliographical references; accessed on 27 March 2023).

V = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 428

This codex is made up of several and not coeval codicological units dated back to the fifteenth–sixteenth century (see a description in Stevenson 1885). V has only little text (205,12–210,1 Lampros = 466,18–472,11 Orlandi; see below), kept in a small *binio* (mm 154 × 111, fols 70–73). *Bibl.*: Lampros 1908; Pertusi 1976, II, 354–355; Martínez Manzano 2019a, 159 n. 10. *Cat.*: Stevenson 1885, 277–278.

There are no copies of the text made in Italy before the beginning of the sixteenth century. Kallistos' *Monody* thus does not seem to have been read in Italian Humanism. We wonder whether this is due to the fact that he did not bring a copy of the text with him from Crete. Be that as it may, the recognition of the island of

⁹ See Goldwyn 2014, 92–107.

Crete as the place of composition of the text¹⁰ and the location in that same place of its main witness (= P, in the hand of Konstantios) indicate that at least one exemplar of the text was preserved and copied in turn, thus ensuring the survival of the work.

Manuscript P is a complete witness to the text of the *Monody*. The copyist, Konstantios, made numerous mistakes while transcribing from the model. There are nearly a hundred instances of trivial errors such as itacisms and exchange of syllable quantities.¹¹ Most of them have already been corrected by the editors. Below some significant errors of P:

- § 5 οὐ om. P
- § 6 διαφέροντα] ὑπεφέροντα P
- § 6 καὶ θέσεις om. P
- § 6 φθαρέντας] φθαρέντα P
- § 11 προσόντα] προσὸν P
- § 12 μαθήσεσθε] μαθήθησθε P
- § 12 χρανοῦσιν] χνανοῦσιν P
- § 13 σιγᾶτε] σιβᾶτε P
- § 19 εἴ τις] εἴποις P

Among the most frequent errors made by Konstantios we notice, in the case of the accusative form of some terms, the shifting from the third to the first declension: § 2 ἀέρα] ἀέραν; § 9 χεῖρα] χεῖραν; § 20 πατρίδα] πατρίδαν; § 20 μητέρα] μητέραν. A phenomenon characteristic of vernacular Greek texts, this shifting is not likely to refer to intention of Kallistos and has therefore been corrected in the text.

¹⁰ See *supra*, § 1.2.2.

¹¹ Here are some minor slips of P (already corrected and therefore not included in the apparatus): § 2 κατειλημένων] -λημένων P; τοῖνυ] τοινῦν P; δοκῆ] δοκεῖ P; φθαρεῖση] φθαρήση P; συλλήβδη] συλλύ- P; § 5 τυγχάνη] -νει P; ἐντυχόντες] ἐντυγχ- P; § 6 διεννηχῶς] διεννη- P; ὀμιλῶν] ὀμη- P; ἕξιν] ἕξιν P; μεμορφωμένων] μεμορφο- P; § 7 στερρόν] στερόν P; ψηφῖσι] -φίσι P; ποικιλίας] πικιοι- P; ἐπιτήθειον] -θιον P; ἀμφοτέρας] ἀμφοτέρες P; § 8 σκυθρωπάζον] σκυτρο- P; ἡδίσταις] ἡδύσταις P; ἀκραφνές] ἀκρεφνές P; § 9 γενναίως] γεννώως P; § 10 ὀρώσαι] ὀρόσαι P; ὑποβαλοῦμεν] -βαλλοῦμεν P; ἀνδράσι] ἀνδραῖσι P; § 11 βραχεῖ] βραχῦ P; σοροὶ] σωροὶ P; ὄργια] ὄργια P; ὀμότης] ὀμο- P; μακάριαι] μακαρίαί P; θηλάσουσιν] θυλά- P; εἰρωνείαν] ἡρωνείαν P; § 12 ἕξετε] ἕξετε P; ἀφαιρεθείσης] ἀφερεθείσης P; κατωρθώκοσιν] κατο- P; ἐρέται] ἐρεταί P; ἤξιωμένα] ἤξιο- P; τεχνιτῶν] τεχνητῶν P; πείσεσθε] πίσε- P; ἀγιστεῖαν] ἀγιστίαν P; πλανώμενοι] πλανό- P; θεῖαν] θεῖαν P; § 13 ὦ (cum genitivo)] ὦ P (idem *infra*); 17 αἰόντος] σίον- P; § 15 Πελοπόννησος] -πόννησος P; κλεινοῦ] κλι- P; § 16 Χάρυβδιδι] Χάρι- P; § 17 ἐπεισελθούσης] ἐπισελ- P; ἔλκοντες] ἔλκ- P; § 18 ὦ] ὦ P (idem *infra*); θεῖα] θεῖα P; οἰμώττουσι] οἰμόττ- P; πεδιάδες] παιδ- P; στρουθία] στρουθεῖα P; μυκώμενα] μυκό- P; ἀχρείοις] ἀχρίοις P; § 19 μοῖρα] μοῖρα P; ἔάλω] ἔάλω P; § 20 ὀδοιπόροι] ὀδοι- P; ἀνάπαυαν] ἀναπαύλαν P; προστάτιν] -τάτην P.

Manuscript L, whose existence was unknown to Lampros and Pertusi and which has so far not been collated, happened to be a copy of P, as it carries all of the significant and insignificant errors of the latter. Below some examples:

- § 1 νικᾶν] νικῶν P L
- § 1 παραστήσει] παραστήσι P L
- § 5 οἷς] εἰς εἰς P L
- § 5 οὐ om. P L
- § 8 νεώς] νεοῦς P L
- § 13 ἀνηκέστου] ἀνικέτου P L
- § 13 σιγᾶτε] σιβᾶτε P L
- § 13 αἰτεῖν] ἄττειν P L

In addition, the manuscript L shows its own errors:

- § 2 λείψεται] λείζεται L
- § 4 βάσκανος] βάσανος L
- § 6 νόμον] νειμῶν L
- § 7 κέρδους] κέρδας L
- § 9 ἐγεγόνει] ἐγετόνει L
- § 11 κόσμος] κόσμης L
- § 11 νοῦν] ναῦ L
- § 13 σείοντος] δίοντος L

An independent witness to the text is codex V. It does not share the errors of P and L; however it transmitted only a short part of the text (205,12–210,1 Lampros = 466,18–472,11 Orlandi). Below a list of V's significant errors:¹²

- § 5 τοῦ] τοὺς V
- § 6 Θεμιστοκλέους] βεμιστοκλέους V
- § 6 νιφάδεσιν] νιφάδεσις V
- § 7 ante τοσοῦτον add. τὸ V
- § 8 διείργοντος] διείρχοντος V
- § 8 ἄλλος om. V

12 Here are some minor slips of V (not included in the apparatus): § 5 ἦμαρ] ἡμαρ V; πᾶσιν] πάσιν V; § 6 Νέστορος] νέστωρος V; διενηνοχῶς] διενηνωκῶς V; ἐκκλησίας] ἐκλ- V; μετ' αὐτόν] μεταυτόν V; πάλαι] πᾶλαι V; κριτήριον] κρητ- V; γλώτταν] γλώταν V; καθίστησι] καθή- V; ἔξιν] ἔξιν V; μεμορφωμένων] μεμορφο- V; καθηγεμῶν] -μῶν V; § 7 συγκρινόμενα] συκρ- V; εὔρει] εὔρει V; 7 στερρόν] στερρόν V; ἀπανταχοῦ] ἀπανταχοῦ V; ψηφῖσι] ψηφῖσι V; περικαλλῆ] περικαλλῆ V; ἐπιτήδειον] -διον V; οἰκοδομᾶς καὶ φαιδρότητας] -δομᾶς καὶ φεδρ- V; ἐποίει] ἐποίη V; πράσιν] πράσιν V; § 8 Προποντις] προποντις V; ἐν ἐκείνοις] ἐν ἐκείνης V.

Finally, the presence of common errors in P, L and V shows that they all stem from the same source:

§ 6 αὐτοῖς scripsi: οὐ τοῖς P L V: τούτοις con. Déroche

§ 7 καταχυρωμένη corr. Lampros: καταχυρωμένη P L V

§ 7 τις corr. Lampros: ἴς (sic) P L V

§ 7 κέρδος corr. Lampros: κέρδους P L V

Conspectus siglorum

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1774.

V = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 428.

Lampros = ed. Lampros 1908, 203–218.

Déroche = Déroche and Vatin 2016, 866–880 (French translation and notes).

Μονωδία κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Καλλίστου ἐπὶ τῇ δυστυχεῖ Κωνσταντίνου πόλει

1. Αἶ, αἶ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἐχρῆν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προστεθῆναι κοιναῖς συμφο-
 ραῖς τὰ τε προλαβόντα πάθη λίαν νικᾶν καὶ μῆδ' εἰς νοῦν ἐμβαλεῖν ἔσσεσθαι ποτε
 μεῖζον, εἰ γοῦν τοιοῦτον ὅλως ἐόν. ὃ γὰρ μόνον εἶχμεν ἀπολειφθὲν ἀγαθὸν καὶ 5
 πρὸς ὃ προσεδόκα πᾶς ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐσμός, τοῦτο δυστυχῶς ἀφῆρέθη νῦν ἀφ'
 ἡμῶν, ἄλλους γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐμπλήσαν καὶ δεινῆς συμφορᾶς. καίτοι, κἂν εἰ παρῆσαν
 ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς ἅπερ εἰκὸς ἀφορᾶν, τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τὸ παρὸν ὡς ἀποκρύπτειν
 τὰ πάντα καὶ κατόπιν ἔαν. νῦν γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐστία, ἡ διατριβὴ τῶν
 Μουσῶν, ἡ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀπάσης διδάσκαλος, ἡ τῶν πόλεων βασιλεὺς ἐάλω, φεῦ, 10
 χερσὶν ἀσεβῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν κατακλυσμὸν τουτὶ φαίη τίς ἄν, οὐκ — οἶμαι — παρα-
 στήσει τὸ τοῦ πάθους ἄλις δεινόν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ συμβάντι ἀπώλετ' ἂν ἅπαν καὶ
 λόγος ἦν οὐδεὶς ἔτι, οὐδ' ἂν ἔπαθέ τι κακὸν ὁ κρατῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειρόνος· τῷ δὲ
 συμβάντι νυνὶ περίεστιν ὄραν μυρία δεινὰ καὶ λόγον νικώμενον ἀλογίᾳ καὶ ἰλίγ-
 γου πάντα καὶ ζάλης μεστὰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν ἀληθῶς ἐφιστάμενον ταῖς ψυχαῖς. 15

2. Ὅσω τοίνυν τῆς τοῦ σώματος λώβης κακίων ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὅσω τὸ
 κακῶς ζῆν τοῦ μὴ ζῆν, τοσοῦτῳ τὸ νῦν ἐπεισχωμάσαν δεινὸν ὑπερέχει κατακλυ-
 σμοῦ. εἰ δ' ἡλίου τίς φαίη φθορὰν καὶ σκότος κοινόν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀζῶως ἐκτραγω-
 δήσει τὴν ξυμφορὰν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τὸ μὲν αἰσθητοὺς μόνους ἔβλαπτεν ἂν ὀφθαλ-
 μούς, τὸ δὲ τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς μὲν προσεχῶς, ἐπομένως δὲ καὶ <τοὺς> τοῦ σώματος, 20
 ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ κρεῖττον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πάντῃ τὰς αἰσθήσεις πεπρωῶσθαι τὸν ἐν μέσῳ
 πολλῶν παρόντων δεινῶν, ὡς ἂν ἄγευστος ἦ τῶν τηλικούτων παθῶν, ἢ κεκτῆσθαι
 αὐτὰς ὑγιεῖς καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνειν ἐκείνων, ἃ πάσης ἐστὶν ἀηδίας μεστὰ. νῦν γὰρ ὁ
 κακὸς βλάπτει τὸν ἀρείονα φῶτα μύθοισι σκολιοῖς ὀνοτάζων, Αἰδῶς δὲ καὶ Νέμε-
 σις ὡς ἀληθῶς προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους ἐς Ὀλυμπον ἴζεσθον, τὰ δὲ λείπεται ἄλγεα 25
 λυγρά, κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσεται ἀλακῆ. εἰ μὲν ἀληθῶς ἀνθρωπος πάλα γέγονεν ὑπὸ
 πάθους ὄρνις ἢ δένδρον ἢ λίθος, μᾶλλον μὴν ἐχρῆν πάντας τοῦτο παθεῖν, ὅσον
 καὶ μεῖζων ἢ ξυμφορὰ. εἰ δὲ ψευδὸς ἐκεῖνα, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς τῶν μύθων ἄλλα
 πατράσιν ἐρρέθη, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐχρῆν γενέσθαι, ὡς ἂν τῇ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολῇ συν-
 εξυφαινοίτο καὶ τινα τέρατα θαυμαστὰ ἐκπλήττοντα πᾶσαν ὄρασιν τε καὶ ἀκοήν, 30
 ὃ δὴ καὶ γεγονέναι νομίζω, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ὁ μὲν μῦθος τὴν φύσιν μόνον ἀλλάσ-
 σει ἐκείνων, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον ἔχειν φησί· νῦν δ' ἀντιστρόφως ἢ μὲν φύσις ἐστὶν
 ἀνθρώπων καθάπερ ἦν, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον ἀφῆρέθη πάντῃ μετὰ τοῦ λόγου, πολλῆς

23–26 νῦν–ἀλακῆ] cf. Hes., *Op.* 193–200

3–466, 18 Αἶ–τραγωδῶν deest in V 4 νικᾶν corr. Lampros: νικῶν P 5 ἐών P 8 ἀποκρύπτειν P,
 in -ei mut. alia manus 11–12 παραστήσει P: correxi: παραστήσαι Lampros
 18–19 ἐκτραγωδήσειε Lampros 20 τοὺς¹ add. Lampros 22 ἦ corr. Lampros: ἡ P 27 ὄρνις
 corr. Lampros: ἄρνις P | μὴν corr. Lampros: νῦν P 28 μεῖζον P: correxi

Andronikos Kallistos' monody on wretched Constantinople

1. Alas, alas, also this then had to be added to the common disgraces of the Greeks, thus overcoming the previous suffering so much, that one would never imagine anything greater than this, if indeed such a thing were to exist at all! The only good thing that in fact remained to us and to which the entire Greek people had been looking has now been miserably taken away from us, something that fills us with pain and atrocious misfortune. For even if there were many other things to take into consideration, this one is so serious that it overshadows everything else and leaves all else in the background. For now the common homeland of the Greeks, the residence of the Muses, the teacher of all sciences, the queen of the cities has been conquered, alas, by the hands of the impious. If one were to call it a cataclysm, I do not think that it would fully convey the idea of the evil caused by this pain. Confronted with what is happening now, in fact everything would become meaningless and there would be no more words, nor would the superior have suffered any harm because of his inferior; what remains now is to look at thousands of evils, speech defeated by inability to talk, everything full of chaos and storm, and a universal disaster befalling even upon our souls.

2. Just as the outrage of the soul is more painful than that of the body, and just as living in unhappiness is worse than not living at all, so then is the current misfortune graver to overcome than a universal disaster. If one was to speak of the destruction of the sun and universal darkness, one would not even deplore this misfortune sufficiently, not only because this would hinder only the eyes amongst the senses, and primarily those of the soul and, thereupon, those of the body; it also seems to me absolutely more desirable that those who find themselves in the midst of many misfortunes should remain deprived of their senses, thus being not able to feel such pains, rather than be possessed of them, thus experiencing those things which are greatly odious. Therefore, the inferior man will now harm the superior one, speaking with crooked words, and Aidos and Nemesis will depart to Olympus leaving humans behind, baneful pains will remain and there will be nothing left to ward off evil. If it is true that once upon a time a human being was transformed owing to misfortunes into a bird, a tree, or a stone, it might have been better for all of us to endure this, all the more so because our current misfortune is far worse. If, on the contrary, those things were a lie, as in many fables told by our ancestors, it still would now have been best if it had happened, so that to this extreme pain are joined some wonderous happenings that completely stun sight and hearing, something that I believe has happened, with the exception that according to the myth only the bodily consti-

ἐπιτεθείσης ἀναισθησίας ταῖς τῶν πάθει κατελιημμένων ψυχαῖς. οὕτω γὰρ τότε πολὺ φῶς ἀμαυροῦν οἶδε τὰς ὄψεις ὃ τε βαρὺς κτύπος πλήττειν τὰς ἀκοάς· καὶ νῦν λοιπὸν ἢ ψυχὴ τῷ πάθει ὡσπέρ τινα τάφῳ κρυφθεῖσα, οἷον ἀναισθητον δρᾶ τὸ σῶμα. οὕτω τοίνυν τοῦ δεινοῦ πεφυκότος μεγίστου, ποίαν μὲν ῥήξω φωνὴν ἐξαρκούσαν αὐτῷ, εἴπερ δεῖ λέγειν; πῶς γὰρ ἀρκέσει μοι φωνὴ μία καὶ γλῶτταν 5 καὶ χεῖρας ἀπλᾶς κοπτομένῳ τὲ καὶ βοῆς τὸν ἀέρα πληροῦντι; τίς δὲ θρῆνος οὐ νῦν ἀσθενῆς ἔσται πρῶτον καὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως χείρων; πῶς δ' αὖ χρῆσασθαι τῇ σιγῇ δυνηθῶ, κἂν ἀσφαλὲς τοῦτο δοκῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς, μὴ δόξας ἀδικεῖν οὐ τὴν ἐνεγκούσαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλους αὐτούς, οἷς καὶ δεξιούσθαι χρῆ τὴν δωρησαμένην, καὶ πάντα τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσμον, οἱ συμφθεροῦνται φθαρείσῃ; ἐῷ δὲ 10 λέγειν ναοὺς καὶ θήκας ἀγίων καὶ ἱερὰ σκεύη καὶ οἰκοδομὰς καὶ φαιδρότητας σὺν χρηστῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις· ὧν ἕκαστον πρὸς τίνα θρῆνον ἂν οὐκ ἐκίνησε, μὴ ὅτι γε πάντα συλλήβδην τὸν μὴ τὴν διάνοιαν πάντη πεπρωμένον;

3. Φεῦ οἷαις ἀπορίαις ἐμπεριείλημμα, οἷοις διευθύνω κακοῖς ἐμαυτόν, οἷαις ὁ λόγος ἐντυγχάνει ταῖς συμφοραῖς. πλην ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ἦν ἰσχύσαι τινὰ κατ' ἀξίαν 15 δρᾶσαι τὸν θρῆνον — ἦγουν τῆς ἀξίας ἐγγύς —, λόγον ἂν εἶχεν ἡμῖν ἢ παραίτησις, ἀδυνατοῦσι πρὸς τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδ' Ὀρφεὺς, εἰ παρῆν, οὐδ' Αἰσχύλος, οὐδ' ὁ τῶν τραγωδῶν ἀπάντων ἔσμος ἴσχυσεν ἂν — ἀλλ' ἤττητο πάντη Πυγμαῖος τίς φανεῖς παραβαλλόμενος Ἡρακλεῖ —, δοκεῖ κάμοι τοῖς πένησι λόγοις χρησάμενον ἐπὶ ξένης ὄντα θρηνῆσαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ κοινὴν ξυμφορὰν. 20

4. Τί λοιπὸν οὕτω πλάττω τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνιαρὰν ἐκπέμπω φωνήν, οἷαν εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις κακοῖς; τί μὴ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνων μετ' οἰμωγῆς τύπτω μὲν τὰ στήθη καὶ τέμνω, τοῖς ὄνουξι δὲ ξαίνω τὰς παρεῖας καὶ πάττομαι τέφραν καὶ κόνιν καὶ τίλλω τὰς τρίχας, ὡς ἂν μὴ μόνον πάσχη ψυχὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ 25 σῶμα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ξυμφορᾶς;

5. Φεῦ, ὦ βασιλῆς τῶν πόλεων καὶ πατρὶς, ἦτις ἐκ τοσαύτης ἀξίας δούλειον ἦμαρ εἶδες, ὡς πράττεις κακῶς ὅσον περ πάλαι καλῶς. ἀντισηκώσας δὲ σε δαίμων τίς φθονερός φθείρει τῆς πάροιθεν εὐπραξίας παραχωρήσει Θεοῦ, ἀχρηστίαν κατεγνωκότος ἡμῶν. ἄλλως γὰρ οὔτε τύχην ἂν τις εἴποι τοῦ παρόντος αἰτίαν κακοῦ, διανοίας οὐσαν ἀνάπλασμα, οὔθ' ὁ φθονερός δαίμων, κἂν φύσει 30 τυγχάνῃ σφόδρα βάσκανος καὶ κακοποιός, τοσοῦτον ἂν ἴσχυσε καθ' ἡμῶν· ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τοῦ φωτὸς οὐκ ἀξίους ἐστερηθῆσθαι τούτου χρεῶν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ὧν ἔν καὶ πρῶτον ἦν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ τῶν πόλεων μεγίστη καὶ βασιλῆς. νῦν γὰρ ἐντυχόντες μυρίοις, οἷς οὐδέποτε εἰσόμεθα πάντως, ὡς οἱ κακοὶ γνώμαισι 35 τάγαθὸν χεροῖν ἔχοντες οὐκ ἴσασι, πρὶν τίς ἐκβάλῃ. νῦν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἢ τῶν

26–27 δούλειον ἦμαρ] Hom., *Il.* 6,463 34–35 οἱ–ἐκβάλῃ] Soph., *Aj.* 964–965

2 οἶδε corr. Lampros: εἶδε P 5 γλῶτταν correxi: γλῶττα P 6 χεῖρες ἀπλῶς Lampros | ἀέραν P 7 χεῖρον P: correxi 18 ἀπάντων] hic incipit V 25 συμφορᾶς V 26 τοιαύτης Lampros 32 τοῦ] τοὺς V 35 τ' ἀγατὸν P | οὐκ ἴσασι corr. Lampros: οὐκ ἦσασι P: οὐκῆσασι V

tution of the characters changes, for they keep their tears; but now, on the contrary, the nature of men has remained as it was, but the tears have been completely wiped away with the words, a great insensitivity having fallen upon the souls overtaken by the pain. Then, as you know, excessive light normally clouds the eyes and a loud crash stuns the ears; and from now on the soul is buried by the pain as in a tomb, and the body acts as if it were deprived of feelings. So now that the greatest misfortune has happened, what word should I say loud enough for it, if one in fact really need say anything at all? How will that be enough for me who had my tongue and hands cut off and who fills the air with my cry? What lamentation will not now be too weak and not be unsuitable? On the other hand, how could I remain silent, even if this seems to be a safe choice for the masses, without believing that it would harm not only my motherland but also all those for whom it is necessary to stand by their benefactor and the whole Greek people, who will share her ruin? I shall avoid mentioning the temples, the shrines of the saints, the sacred furnishings, the buildings, and the beauties together with the valiant emperor and his relatives and friends; if each of these things on its own was not enough to prompt a lamentation, would it together not also be enough, even for a man who has not completely lost his mind?

3. Alas! in what kind of confusion am I entangled, what misfortunes will I be heading towards, what calamities shall my speech chance upon! But if it were possible that someone might have the ability to worthily compose a lamentation – or at least close to the dignity it deserves – it would be natural for me to give up because of my inability to perform this task. But since neither Orpheus, if he were present, nor Aeschylus nor the whole troop of tragic authors could do this – a Pigmgy, being inferior, would lose indeed when up against Herakles – it seems right to me, being in a foreign land, to sing the lament of this misfortune involving me and all of us, by using my poor words.

4. So, why do I arrange my speeches in this way, instead of letting an inconsolable howl as is appropriate before such grave evils? Why don't I stretch out my hands while lamenting or strike and tear my chest, or scratch my cheeks with my nails, or cover myself with soot and dust, or tear my hair out, so that, along with the soul, also the body suffer at the extent of this misfortune?

5. Alas, queen of cities, my homeland, you who from such great honours have known 'the day of bondage', for you are <now> as wretched as you once were flourishing. Some evil demon, having ripped you away from your old joy, destroys you through God's concession, who has condemned us for our vileness. Moreover, no one could say that our present misfortune is due to destiny, even though it is the completion of a <divine> intention, nor could an evil demon have had so much power against us, even if he were by nature exceptionally wicked

Ἑλλήνων πληθὺς ἀνήκεστον δυστυχίαν περιβαλεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν οἷς
 νῦν μέλει μικρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔσονται κατηφεῖς, οὐ κατῆμαρ οὐδ' ἐννη-
 μαρ, ἀλλ' ἕως ἂν ὕδωρ τὲ νάη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη καὶ τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον
 ὄσφω καὶ πλεόν τητῶνται τῶν αὐτῆς ἀγαθῶν. ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ἔστια τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ
 πόλις ἦν, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσι παρεῖχε τὰ ταύτης καλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς καθειστήκει 5
 μήτηρ, τροφός, ἀνάπαυλα, παντοίων χορηγὸς ἀγαθῶν.

6. Φεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῖς τῶν πόλεων, ὦ δυστυχία τοῦ γένους κοινή, ὦ λύπη μέχρις
 ὁστέων διήκουσά τε καὶ μυελῶν, ὦ κάλλη καὶ μεγέθη ναῶν, ὦ τεῖχη καὶ μήκει καὶ
 πλάτει τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηρημένα· ὦ μουσεῖα τῆς Ἀκαδημίας καὶ τῆς Στοᾶς, κάλλει 10
 μὲν ὑπερφέροντα, τῇ σοφίᾳ δὲ μηδὲν διαφέροντα. ὦ λιμὴν ἠδὺς μὲν πρῶην καὶ
 εὐτυχῆς ταῖς ναυσί, νῦν δὲ δυστυχῆς καὶ τῆς Σκύλλης οὐδὲν διεννηχώως. ὦ
 Ῥώμη Νέα, γεγηρακυῖα δὲ τῷ βάρει καὶ πλήθει τῶν συμφορῶν, ποῦ σου νῦν τὰ
 καλὰ; ποῦ μὲν ὁ θεϊότατος βασιλεύς, ὀξύτερον μὲν Θεμιστοκλέους ὄρων, ἠδιον 15
 δὲ τοῦ Νέστορος ὁμιλῶν, σωφρονέστερος δὲ Κύρου, δικαιοτέρος δὲ Ῥαδαμάν-
 θυος, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ Ἡρακλέους; ποῦ δ' ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὠραϊσμός, ὁ τε θεῖος 15
 ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν εὐθύς καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ἱερὸς χορὸς; ποῦ δὲ σεμνεῖα καὶ
 παρθενῶνες καὶ ἡ τῶν μοναχῶν κοσμιότης ἢ καὶ ἀγγέλοις ἐφάμιλλος; ποῦ δὲ τὸ
 βουλευτήριον σὺν ταῖς βουλαῖς; ἐν οἷς τί μὲν δέον ὁ οὐκ ἐρρήθη, τί δ' ὁ ῥηθὲν οὐκ
 εὐθέως ἐπράχθη; τίνας δὲ δημηγόρους οὐ παρέτρεχον ὁμιλοῦντες, νῦν μὲν πάλαι 20
 τὲ καὶ μάλα λιγέως, νῦν δὲ νιφάδεσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίησι; τὸ δὲ κριτήριον ποῦ,
 πάντα μὲν τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον καὶ Πλάτωνος κατόπιν ἀφέν, ἐπιστήμη δὲ μᾶλλον
 ὠραϊσμένον πλεῖστη καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος λόγοις, οἳ δὴ καὶ πειθοῦς ἀπάσης
 καὶ σοφίας εἰσὶν ἰσχυρότεροι; ποῦ δ' ὁ λοιπὸς ἔσμος τῶν λογάδων, οἳ μὲν σοφία 25
 κεκοσμημένοι, οἳ δὲ λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἷς πολιτεία κοσμεῖται τὲ καὶ συνίσταται;
 ἄμοιρος μὲν γὰρ ἦν οὐδεὶς τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ, πᾶς δὲ πρὸς ὅπερ εἶχε καλὸν ὑπ' ἄλλου 25
 μὲν οὐδενὸς ἠττάτο, ἐνίκα δὲ πάντας τοὺς βουλευομένους συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ
 πάντας λοιπὸν ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν λογάδων ἐχρῆν ἠττάσθαι καλοῖς. ποῦ δὲ τὸ τῶν
 λόγων κράτος, ὅπερ ἦν ἀκμάζον ἐν σοί; ποῦ τῆς γραμματικῆς ἢ τέχνης, ἢ τὴν
 γλῶτταν ἐξελληνίζει καὶ πάσης ἀηδίας καθίστησι καθαρὰν; ποῦ δὲ τῆς ῥητορικῆς 30
 τὸ πυρίπνουν, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἄπτον τοῦ τῆς Χιμαίρας πυρός; ποῦ δὲ τὸ τῆς διαλε- 30
 κτικῆς κράτος, σόφισμα μὲν πᾶν ἀπορρίπτων, μόνης δ' ἐχόμενον ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς

3 ἂν-τεθήλη] *Anth. Pal.* 7,153,2 (cf. Orlandi 2014a) 20 νιφάδεσιν-χειμερίησι] *Hom., Il.* 3,222

1 οἷς corr. Lampros: εἰς εἰς P: εἰς V 2 οὐ om. P 4 τητῶνται] ζητῶνται Lampros | ἰδίᾳ Lampros
 5 πᾶσι corr. Lampros: πᾶσα P V 6 post ἀνάπαυλα spat. rel. V 10 λιμὴν corr. Lampros: λυμὴν P
 V 16 λοιπὸς in λιπὸς mut. V 17 κοσμιότης corr. Lampros: κοσμιώτης P V 18 ταῖς βουλαῖς]
 ταῖς βουλευταῖς V: τοῖς βουλευταῖς Lampros | ὁ] ὄν V | οὐκ ἐρρήθη scripsi: οὐχ ὀράθη P V:
 οὐχ ὠράθη Lampros | ὁ ῥηθὲν corr. Lampros: ὀραθὲν P V 20 νιφάδεσις V 21 πάντα corr.
 Lampros: πάντων P V | τῶν ... νόμων P | ἀφ' ἐν V 28 ἀκμάζων P 29 γλῶσσαν Lampros
 ἐξελληνίζει corr. Lampros: ἐξελληνίζειν P V 30 Χιμαίρας corr. Lampros: χειμαίρας P V
 31 ἀπορρίπτων corr. Lampros: ἀπορρίπτων P: ἀπορίπτων V

and devilish; but, just as those who were unworthy of the light had to be deprived of it, so we have to be deprived <now> of any good, of which the only and primary one at our disposal was the greatest city, the queen. Now we are faced with a multitude of tremendous things that we will never know completely, for the wicked in spirit, when they hold the good in their hands, do not know they have it before it is torn from them. Now, not only the multitude of Greeks will be surrounded by an irremediable misfortune, but many of those who do not care about it at the moment will be not less bereaved, and not just for some days, but «as long as the water flows and the trees grow high» and furthermore that they will be deprived of the benefits of the City. For this city was, yes, privately the proper home of the Greeks, though it publicly offered everyone its benefits too, and to everyone it had simply represented a mother, a nurse, a rest, a source of all kinds of good things.

6. Alas, queen of the cities, o common misfortune to all the people, o pain penetrating into the bones and the marrow, o beauty and greatness of the churches, o walls that surpassed all the other in length and width, o museums of the Academy and the Stoa, which excels in beauty, and not less in wisdom. O sweet port, once pleasant and happy for the ships, now unhappy and in everything similar to Scylla. O New Rome, aged by the gravity and the great quantity of misfortunes, where are your beauties now? Where is your emperor so divine, who sees more sharply than Themistocles, speaks more softly than Nestor, who is wiser than Cyrus, more equitable than Radamant, more courageous than Heracles? Where is the beauty of your Church, where is your patriarch enlightened by God and his close collaborators and the rest of the sacred choir? Where are the monasteries of men and women, the good behaviour of the monks that rivalled that of the angels? Where is the senate with its council chambers? What was not said there that should have been said? And what was not done correctly that should have been done? Which orators have not been surpassed by their eloquence, sometimes in the past with a clear voice, sometimes ‘like torrents swollen by the melting snow’? Where is the court which left far behind all the laws of Solon and Plato and has been adorned with the supreme wisdom and words that come from the Holy Spirit, which are more powerful than any persuasion and belief? Where is the rest of the group of dignitaries, some of them adorned with science, others with other virtues by which the State itself was adorned and formed? For none lacked any merit, and each one in regard to his own virtue was not inferior to any other, but prevailed over all those who would face him, and it was inevitable that everyone proved inferior to the virtues of the dignitaries. Where is the power of the speeches which culminated in you? Where is the knowledge of grammar that hellenised our language and preserves it from any impurity? Where is the sacred fire of

εὐθύτητος; ποῦ δὲ φυσικὰ προβλήματα καὶ ζητήσεις καὶ λύσεις τὴν ἕξιν ὑπερβαί-
νοντα καὶ διαιρέσεις καὶ μουσικῆς ἀναλογίαι καὶ φθόγγοι καὶ γεωμετρίας σχημα-
τισμοὶ καὶ λόγοι καὶ ἀστέρων αἰτίαι καὶ θέσεις καὶ δρόμοι, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν
παλαιῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Πόλει χρόνῳ φθαρέντας ἠνωρθωκέναι, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ
προσθεθεικέναι καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὁρᾶσθαι σφζόμενα; Ποῦ δὲ τὸ τῆς θεολογίας κρά- 5
τος καὶ τῆς πρώτης φιλοσοφίας, ὡς εἶναι στήλην ὀρθοδοξίας τοὺς λόγους ἐκεί-
νων καὶ δογμάτων ὀρθότητα καὶ πηγὴν, τοῦ δὲ πρακτικοῦ τῆς σπουδῆς μέρους
αὐτοῖς, ὡς εἶναι τούτους εἰκόνα τινὰ ταῖς ιδέαις, μεμορφωμένων τῶν ἀρετῶν; ἐν
τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι πρῶτος ἦν ὁ <...>, τῆς σοφίας πηγὴ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων
καθηγεμών, ὃς οὐδενὸς ἀμφοῖν τοῖν φιλοσόφοιν ἐλάττων ἦν, φαίη δ' ἂν ὅτι καὶ 10
μείζων.

7. Μῆκει μὲν οὖν ἡ Πόλις πάσας τὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀπλῶς ὑπερεῖχε, κάλλει δὲ καὶ τὰς
τῆς ἐσπέρας· τεῖχη δ' οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνένδοτα οὐκ ἂν εὐροϊτό
τις συγκρινόμενα πρὸς αὐτά. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τάφος εὐθύς καὶ πλάτει καὶ βάθει καὶ
πλίνθοις ὁπτοῖς καταχωρωμένη — ποταμὸς τις ἄλλος τοῖς παριοῦσι δοκοῦσα —, 15
τεῖχος δ' εὐθύς μετ' αὐτὴν ἰσχυρόν, εὖρει τὲ καὶ ὕψει στερρόν, ἕτερον δὲ μετ'
αὐτό, μείζον τούτου πολὺ, ὥστε καὶ θαυμάζειν ποιοῦν τοῖς ἀτενίζουσι πρὸς αὐτό.
ποῦ δ' ἂν ἴδιοις νεῶς τοσοῦτους κάλλει τὲ καὶ μεγέθει τοὺς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς νικῶν-
τας λίθοις τὲ καὶ κίοσι καὶ ψηφῖσι καὶ χροαῖς καὶ ποικιλίαις παντοδαπαῖς; ποῦ δὲ
λιμένα τοσοῦτον εὖροις περικαλλῆ τε καὶ μέγαν καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον; νεώ- 20
ρια δὲ ποῦ οὕτω λαμπρά, ποῦ δὲ βασιλείων καὶ οἴκων οἰκοδομὰς καὶ φαιδρότη-
τας; ποῦ δὲ στοῶν θέσιν καὶ ὁδῶν τάξιν καὶ λουτρῶν ποικιλίαν; ποῦ δὲ νοσοκο-
μεῖα καὶ γηροκομεῖα καὶ πτωχοτροφεῖα, ὧν ἡ Πόλις πολλὴν ἐποίει σπουδὴν; ποῦ
δὲ ἵπποδρομον καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀγάλματα; ποῦ δ' ὠνίων πρᾶσιν καὶ κέρδος
ἐμπόρων; ἡ γὰρ θέσις τῆς Πόλεως πάντ' ἐποίει ῥᾶστα καὶ πρόχειρα. ταύτην γὰρ 25
μόνην ἀμφοτέραις ἂν εἶδες δεξιουμένην ἠπειροῖς.

8. Εἶχε μὲν ἡ Εὐρώπη, ἐγγυτάτω δ' ἦν ἡ Ἀσία καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς ἀπεῖχεν
ὅσον τὸ πλάτος ἐστὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ, μονονουχὶ δὲ καὶ πάσχουσα ἦν καὶ τοῦ πορ-
θμοῦ καταβοῶσα μεγάλως ὡς διείργοντος ταύτην ἐκείνης· πλὴν ἤδετο πάλιν τὴν
Πόλιν ὁρῶσα μᾶλλον οὕτως εὖ διατιθεμένην, καὶ τὴν ἠδονὴν ἐκείνης καὶ ἰδίαν 30
ἐποίει. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ διττὰ πελάγη, ἧ τε Προποντις καὶ ὁ Πόντος, οὐκ ὀλίγην

ante 1 προβλήματα add. καὶ P 3 καὶ θέσεις om. P 4 φθαρέντα P | ἠνωρθωκέναι corr. Lampros: ἀνηργωκέναι P; ἀνηρθωκέναι V 6 στήλην corr. Lampros: στίλην P V 8 αὐτοῖς scripsi: οὐ τοῖς P V: τούτοις Déroche post 9 ὁ lac. indicavit Lampros, <πατριάρχης> dubitanter suppl. Déroche 10 φαίην P 13 ἰσχυρὰς V 14 τις corr. Lampros: ἴς (sic) P V 15 ὁπταῖς Lampros καταχωρωμένη corr. Lampros: καταχωρωμένη P V 18 ἴδιοις corr. Lampros: ἴδεις P: ἴδεις V 19 χροαῖς corr. Lampros: χρώαις P: χρώες V ante 20 τοσοῦτον add. τὸ V | ἐξεύροις Lampros 24 ἐκεῖνον ex ἐκείνων corr. P | κέρδος corr. Lampros: κέρδους P V 25 ῥᾶστα e ῥάστα corr. P 28 μονοχὶ in textu scr. P V, -νου- supra lin. suppl. alia manus in P 29 διείργοντος V

rhetoric, no less burning than the fire of the Chimera? Where is the strength of dialectic, which refutes all captious reasoning and was devoted only to truth and rectitude? Where are the problems of physics, which transcend in power the questions and the solutions, where are the logical subdivisions, the proportions of music and notes, the constructions and reasoning of geometry, the principles of the stars, their positions and their motions, for much of this ancient knowledge which had been corrupted by time has been restored in the City and has in no small quantity been extended and remained visible until now. Where is the power of theology and of the first philosophy, which made their speeches a monument to the Orthodoxy and a source of dogmas while the practical aspect of their study made them like the images of the ideas, the virtues having taken shape in them? In all these things the first was the <...>, source of the wisdom and guide of our speeches, who was not inferior to either philosopher, but one could even say superior.

7. In size, the City surpassed all those in the East, in beauty also those in the West; none could ever find walls so strong and unyielding against enemies comparable to its own. For the ditch was vertical, equipped in width and depth with fired bricks – it seemed to the passers-by to be like another river –, while the wall just behind it was strong, solid in width and height, and behind it there was another one much higher, so that those who gazed upon it were astonished. Then, where could one ever see such imposing churches, which by their beauty and size prevailed over all the others on the earth, with their marbles, columns, precious stones, mosaics and every kind of variety? And where could one find such a port, beautiful and large, suitable for ships? Where such splendid dockyards, where such brilliant architecture in royal palaces and houses? Where could one find such an arrangement of arcades, such an order of streets, such a variety of baths? Where hospitals, hospices for the elderly and the poor, for which the City took great care? Where the racecourse and all the statues around it? Where such a trade in goods and profitable opportunities for the merchants? For the very position of the City made everything easy and available. It was in fact the only City that could be seen as being welcoming both continents at the same time.

8. Europe held it, but Asia was very close and as distant from it as the width of the strait, and she almost suffered from this, and she raged against the strait which separated her from the City; but on the other hand she was delighted to see the City in such a good position and made the happiness of the City her own. And even the two seas, the Propontis and the Pontus, provided the City with a considerable abundance of fishes, and the region was fruitful and fertile like no

παρεῖχον τῇ Πόλει τὴν ἀφθονίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τόπος καρπόφορος τίς καὶ εὐγεως ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος. πεδιάς γὰρ ἅπαν ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὄρεσι τε περιεχόμενον καὶ ποταμοῖς ἀρδευόμενον καὶ λίμναις πλείσταις πεποικιλμένον, ὥστε πανταχόθεν ἀφθονία παρῆν τῇ Πόλει. ἐν δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐρῶ, ὅτι πᾶς τίς ἐλθὼν ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ χρόνον διατρίψας συχρὸν ἢ καὶ παιδιόθεν τραφεὶς ἐν ἐκείνῃ καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἐμπλησθεις ἀγαθῶν, ὅτε του χάριν τῆς Πόλεως ἐξήει, εὐθὺς ἐν ἐπιθυμία ταύτης ἦν, ὡσπερ μὴδὲ γευσάμενος ὄλως, καὶ στρέφεσθαι λοιπὸν ἦν ἀνάγκη καὶ ὄραν πρὸς αὐτήν, μέχρις ἂν ὁ τόπος ἐδίδου· ἐδίδου <δὲ> ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ἐρχόμενοι δὲ τινες πρὸς τὴν Πόλιν, ἔτι σταδίους ἀπέχοντες οὐκ ὀλίγους, ἐζήτουν μὲν ἀπάντων, μία δὲ κοινὴ διήγησις πᾶσιν ἦν τὰ τῆς Πόλεως ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τις ἦν ἀγὼν ἐν ἐκείνοις φιλοτιμουμένοις τίς ἂν εἴποι πλείω θατέρων μέχρις ἂν εἰσιούσι τὴν Πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνης κάλλεσι φαιδρυνθεῖσιν, ἅπαν μὲν λυποῦν καὶ σκυθρωπάζον ἀπήν, ἡδονὴ δὲ τις πλείστη τὰς αἰσθήσεις αὐτῶν ἐνεπίμπλη, ἡδίσταις δεσμοῦσα τούτους σειραῖς. εἴποι δ' ἂν τις, αὐτὴν παρεικάζων πρὸς τὴν οὐράνιαν σφαιραν, ἥλιον μὲν τὸν περικαλλῆ νεῶν, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κεκτῆσθαι Σοφίαν, σελήνην δὲ τὸν τῶν ἱερῶν φοιτητῶν, ἀστέρας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς θεῖους νεὼς καὶ τᾶλλα πρὸς ἄλλο τι μέρος αὐτῆς ἐφαρμόζων, ἐν ἧ καὶ Θεὸς ἀληθὴς ὑμνεῖτο καὶ τὸ τῆς πίστεως ἦν ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν θεῖον δόγμα, ὃ μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν διητᾶτο καλῶς.

9. Ἄλλ' οἴχεται ταῦτα πάντα, καὶ δούλη, φεῦ, ἢ βασιλὶς ἐγεγόνει. ὦ πῶς ἂν τις ἐκτραγωδήσοι τὸ πάθος; ἡμέρα μὲν ἦν, σκότος δὲ καὶ ζόφος τῇ Πόλει, πόλεμος δ' ἔρρει τῇ Πόλει σφοδρὸς ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ τῆς ὑγρᾶς. ὁ δ' ἀσεβὴς μηχαναῖς βάλλει τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πίπτει κατὰ γῆς πολλαχόθεν, ὁρμᾶ δὲ κατὰ τῆς Πόλεως χεῖρα ἐπάγων βαρεῖαν, οἱ δὲ γενναίως ἀνθίστανται κατ' αὐτοῦ. Καὶ πίπτει μὲν εὐθὺς ὁ θειότατος βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων πολλοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ· ἔπειτα δέ, βαβαί, δοριάλωτον πᾶσαν λαβῶν, κτείνει τὲ καὶ λεηλατεῖ καὶ ζωγρεῖ. ἀνομιώζειν δεῖ τοιγαροῦν καὶ κωκυτοὺς ἐκπέμπειν ἐκ μέσης ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς τοῦδαφος καλινδεῖσθαι καὶ νικᾶν πάντα νόμον θρῆνων ὑπὲρ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς.

10. Ὡ κυρία τῶν πόλεων, πῶς ἠνέσχου ζυγὸν ἐπιθεῖναι δουλείας τῷ σῷ τραχήλῳ; ὦ θειότατε βασιλεῦ, πῶς, οὕτω φιλόανθρωπος ὢν καὶ πάντα τρόπον φιλοανθρωπίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους οὐκ ἀμελήσας ποιεῖν, νῦν ἠνέσχου καταλιπεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς δυστυχίαν καὶ δουλείαν τοσαύτην ἀνερματίστους τὲ ὄλως καὶ τῇ γῇ τηρουμένους καὶ τοῖς σκοπέλοις; ὦ λογάδων ἐσμός, πῶς ἠνέγκατε τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ

13 ἡδονή–ἐνεπίμπλη] cf. Lib., *Epist.* 1046, 1,6–7 Foerster

1 καρπόφορος] παφόρος V: παμφόρος Lampros 2 ἄλλος om. V 5 παιδιόθεν V 6 του corr. Lampros: τοῦ P V | εὐθὺς ex εὐθῆς corr. P | ἐνεπιθυμία V 7 γευσάμενοι P 8 δὲ add. Lampros 9 ἐζήτουν corr. Lampros: ἐζήτων P V | ἀπάντων] ἀπὸ πάντων Lampros 11–484,33 –μούμενοις – κακὸν deest in V 13 ἐνεπίμπλη corr. Lampros: ἐνεπίπλα P 16 νεὼς corr. Lampros: νεοὺς P τᾶλλα corr. Lampros: τ' ἄλλα P 23 χεῖρα corr. Lampros: χεῖραν P 25 δοριάλωτον corr. Lampros: δορυ- P 27 καλινδεῖσθαι corr. Lampros: καλινδουῖσθαι P 31 ἀνερματίστους corr. Lampros: ἀναρ- P

other. For the whole territory is a plain, surrounded by mountains and drawing water from rivers, embellished by various lakes, so that the abundance came from all sides to the City. I will say only one thing for all the others, namely that anyone who came to the City and lived there long enough or had grown up there since childhood and enjoyed its benefits, when leaving the City for any reason immediately began to desire it again, as if he had not even enjoyed it, and he was forced in the end to turn back and to address his gaze to it, as long as the topography of the region made it possible – and it made it possible from far away. When people came to the City, even though they were still far away, they asked everyone for information, and the only common answer was a story about the richness of the City, and there was, as it were, a competition between them to see who knew more about it than the others, until the visitors entered the City and were delighted by its beauties, and all their sorrow and sadness disappeared as a complete sense of joy invaded their senses, binding them with the sweetest chains. And one could say, by comparing the City to the celestial sphere, that the sun was the most beautiful of the churches, that is Holy Wisdom of God, the moon that of the Holy Apostles, and the stars the other divine temples, thus adapting the rest to the other elements of this city, in which the true God was praised, where the state of the faith was pure and where there was no divine commandment which was not respected in the right way by its inhabitants.

9. But all this vanished and the Queen – alas! – became a slave! Oh, could anyone bring to an end the lamentation of this misfortune? It was daylight, but in the City there was darkness and gloom, and the battle raged bloody on mainland and sea. The infidel strikes the walls with his war machines and goes down to the ground everywhere, then he breaks into the City and throws heavy hands on it, and the inhabitants resist him valiantly. And soon the divine Emperor falls and many of his subjects with him; and then, alas, having taken the whole city by force of arms, the infidel kills, loots and takes prisoners. It is therefore necessary to complain, to moan from the depths of the heart, to roll on the ground from pain, to transcend all limits by bewailing this misfortune!

10. O Mistress among the cities, how could you bear to have the yoke of servitude around your neck? O divine Emperor, how could you resign yourself, you who are so philanthropic and never spared any kind of philanthropy in favour of your people, to abandon us now to this misfortune and to such a heavy slavery, us who stand completely forsaken on our path and condemned to crash on the ground and the cliffs? O troop of the dignitaries, how could you bear to

καρδίαις τοσαύταις ἐνεΐναι βέλος δριμύ; ὧ̅ ἱερέων ὀμήγυρις καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἐξεπέμψατε χεῖρας ἐκτενεῖς πρὸς Θεὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν; ἡ δεδράκατε μὲν πᾶν ὅσον εἰκός, ἔδει δὲ τοῦτο γενέσθαι τρόποις οἷς οἶδεν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφία, ἡ καὶ τὸν Παύλου νοῦν ὑπερβαίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰλιγγιᾷ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπιδεῖν. ὧ̅ πολιτεία πᾶσα ἐμπορική τε καὶ τεχνική, ποῦ νῦν ἴσχεσθε, τὴν ἐρωμένην ἀφέντες; ὧ̅ γυναῖκες δυστυχεῖς, οἷαις ἐνεπέσετε συμφοραῖς, τέκνα μὲν ἐκ τῶν μαστῶν ἀρπαζόμενα βλέπουσαι, πατέρας δέ, νυμφίους κτεινομένους ὀρῶσαι καὶ ἀδελφούς. ὧ̅ σχέτλιοι γέροντες, οἷον ἐφθάσετε τέλος; ὧ̅ κακοδαίμονες νέοι, οἷω θανάτῳ περιπεπτώκατε, ἄκροις δακτύλοις μόνον γευσάμενοι τῶν καλῶν καὶ ὅσον χεῖλα μὲν τ' ἐδίηεν, ὑπερῶν δ' οὐκ ἐδίηεν. ὧ̅ Σοφία θεία, νεὼς οὕτω καὶ οἶκος Θεοῦ, πάντων ὅσοι κατὰ πόλεις εἰσὶν ὑπερτεροῦσα νεῶν, ποῦ νῦν σου ἡ ὠραιότης, ποῦ ἡ εὐπρέπεια, ποῦ τὸ κάλλος, ποῦ τῶν λίθων αἱ διαύγεια, ποῦ τῶν ψηφίδων αἱ ποικιλίαι, τίς τὴν ἱεράν σου ἐντὸς τελέσει μυσταγωγίαν, τίς τὰς ἱεράς ὠδὰς ἀναπέμψει τῷ Θεῷ; ὧ̅ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος νεὼς ἱερός, δεύτερος εὐθὺς μετ' ἐκείνον, καὶ σοῦ τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ χάριεν οἴχεται. οὐκέτι τὰς ἱεράς ἐν σοὶ ψήφους συνοδικῶς ἐπισκέπονται, οὐκέτι διδάσκουσιν ἐν σοὶ ὑποβαλοῦμεν τὰς ἀκοάς. ὧ̅ λοιποὶ ναοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οἱ περὶ πᾶσαν τυγχάνοντες Πόλιν ἀστέρες ἄντικρυς λάμπροντες ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι, ποῦ νῦν ὁ κόσμος ὑμῶν, ποῦ τελεταί, ποῦ πανηγύρεις; ὡς ἐμάνθητε, ὡς κατεχράνητέ τε καὶ καταχραίνεσθε ποσὶν ἀσεβῶν. ὧ̅ θεαὶ εἰκόνες καὶ ἱερά πάντα σκεύη καὶ κόσμος αὐτῶν, οἷαις βεβήλοις χερσὶν ἐνεπέσετε. ὧ̅ σοροὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θῆκαι, οἷοις ἀσεβέσιν ἀνδράσι σπαράγματα κείσεσθε.

11. Βαβαὶ τῶν κριμάτων σου, Χριστέ, φεῦ τῆς ἀνοχῆς σου. ἐγενόμεθα νῦν ὡς τὸ ἀπαρχῆς, ὅτε οὐκ ἦρχες ἡμῶν, καὶ παρεδόθημεν πικροτάτῳ τυράννῳ καὶ ἀσεβεῖ, ἡμεῖς τε ὁ ἱερός σου λαὸς καὶ πᾶς ὁ τόπος ὁ ἅγιος. βούλομαι τοπρῶν ἀναλογίσασθαι προσόντα κατὰ τῆ Πόλει λόγῳ βραχεῖ καὶ παραθεῖναι τοῖς νῦν, ἵνα μᾶλλον ἐκτραγωδήσω τὴν ξυμφοράν. ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν κτίσις ἀνδρὸς ἱεροῦ (ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἄρξομαι, τὰ πρὶν ἀφείς καὶ θαύματα γεγονότα, καθάπερ ἱστορία φασίν) ἐκείνου μὲν κατ' ἀντικρῶ τῆς δυστυχοῦς ταύτης κτίζειν διανενοηκότος, ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἐκεῖθεν ἀφαρπαζόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸν νῦν διακομιζόντων, καὶ συνόδων ὅσαι ὥραι συγκρότησις ἱερῶν θείων δογμάτων πέρι καὶ Θεὸς ὑμνούμενος ἀληθῆς καὶ τελεταί καὶ μυστήρια καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ νόμοι καὶ μουσεῖα καὶ λόγοι καὶ ἐπιστῆμαι καὶ τέχνη καὶ δογμάτων ἀκρίβεια καὶ νεῶ καὶ σοροὶ καὶ εἰκόνες ἁγίων καὶ ἱερά σκεύη καὶ κόσμος καὶ τάξις καὶ μυσταγωγοὶ καὶ μύσται καὶ σεμνεῖα καὶ παρθενῶνες καὶ καλλοναὶ καὶ φαιδρότητες καὶ βασιλεὺς χρηστός σὺν ἀγαθοῖς

9 ἄκροις–καλῶν] cf. [Luc.], *Am.* 42, 14–15 10 χεῖλα–ἐδίηεν²] Hom., *Il.* 22,495

ante 5 ἴσχεσθε add. ei P: secl. Lampros 18 λάμπροντες corr. Lampros: λάμπροντες P | ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι corr. Lampros: ἀλλόθως ἄλλος P 21 σοροὶ] σοφοὶ Lampros 25 τοπρῶν] τὰ πρῶν Lampros 26 προσόντα corr. Lampros: προσὸν P 32 λόγοι e νόμοι corr. P

leave your companions and let the sharp arrow penetrate into such great hearts? O order of priests and monks, why did you not stretch out your arms to God for your salvation and ours? You might have done it in all likelihood, but it should have been done in the way that God's Wisdom knows, which also surpasses Paul's thought, but one gets vertiginous just contemplating it. O whole community of merchants and craftsmen, where have you gone now, abandoning your beloved? O unfortunate women, in what misfortunes have you fallen, seeing your children torn from your womb, your fathers, your husbands and brothers slaughtered? O miserable old men, to what an end have you come? O young men mistreated by fate, in what death did you fall, having tasted the pleasures of life only with your fingertips, thus 'wetting their lips, but not their palate'. O Holy Wisdom, church and at the same time House of God, which is superior to all the churches in the cities of the world, where is now your prosperity, where the majesty, where the charm, where the splendour of the marbles, where the variety of mosaics? Who will therein celebrate henceforth the sacred revelation, who will raise to God the sacred hymns? O sacred church of the Apostles of the Saviour, second in order after that, you too, your beauty and your charms have disappeared. One will no longer count within you the sacred votes during the synod, we will no longer lend our ears to those who teach within you. O other churches of God, stars scattered all around the City from one side to the other, where is now your splendour, where are the holy days, where the celebrations? How you have been desecrated, how you have been soiled and will be soiled by the feet of the infidels! O holy icons and all the sacred furnishings and their ornaments, into what profane hands have you fallen! O urns of the saints and relics, by which ungodly men you will be reduced to shreds.

11. O Christ, your precepts, your tolerance. We have now become as we were at the beginning, when you did not rule us, and we have been abandoned to a ruthless and ungodly tyrant, we, your holy people, and your holy land. I want to briefly summarise all the beautiful things that the City had before and compare it to those it has now the better to deplore its misfortune. Now, those things had been created by a holy man (I will start indeed from there, leaving out also the previous fabulous things that had occurred there, as the historical accounts claim); this man had planned to found the City in front of this unfortunate one, but birds were tearing off the stones and transporting them from there to the current place, and at any moment the assembly of the synods on the sacred divine dogmas, and the true God to be praised, the sacred feasts, the sacraments, the justice, the laws, the museums, the speeches, the sciences, the arts, the accuracy of the dogmas, the church, the relics, the icons of the saints, the sacred vessels, the sacred order, the monastic rule, the priests, the initiates, the monasteries, the convents for the women, the beauty and the splendour, and the

ὑπηκόοις. τὰ δὲ νῦν, οἴμοι· ἀσεβῆς δυνάστης σὺν ὑπηκόοις ὁμοίοις καὶ σκότος
 καὶ ζόφος σὺν ἀσελείᾳ καὶ ἱερέων ἀταξία σὺν ἀκοσμίᾳ καὶ σκευῶν ἀρπαγῇ καὶ
 ὕβρις εἰκόνων καὶ σοροὶ διασπώμεναι καὶ νεῶ βεβηλούμενοι καὶ δόγμα θεῖον πᾶν
 σιωπώμενον καὶ ἀλογία καὶ ἀμουσία σὺν ἀδικίᾳ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ καὶ δαιμόνων ὄργια
 καὶ συναγωγή πονηρὰ κηρύττουσα τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ βαρβάρων ὠμότης καθ' 5
 ἡμῶν φερομένη νεανικῶς, οὐκ ἀληθῆ θεὸν λατρεύειν ἡμᾶς σὺν γέλωτι λέγουσα,
 φεῦ, καὶ φθορὰ παντελής. ἄρ' οὐ κατὰ διάμετρον ἐναντίως τοῖς πρώην τὰ νῦν;
 τοῦ χάριν τὰ νῦν, ὧ βασιλεῦ τοῦ παντός; Ἱερεμίας παρίτω βοῶν οὐ μόνον ἐκηρύ-
 κευσας τοὺς σοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρίζας ἀφῆκες ποιεῖν, καὶ ταύτας μεγίστας,
 ὡς καὶ καταφαγεῖν ἡμᾶς, τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τὸν σόν, καὶ πατεῖν οὐκ ἀφῆκας πόδας 10
 πραέων τὴν σὴν ἱεράν αὐλήν, ἀλλὰ πατήσουσιν αὐτὴν ἀνδρῶν ἐχθίστων πόδες
 καὶ ἀσεβῶν. ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτων καὶ πεφιλοσοφήκασιν, εὖ οἶδα, πολλοὶ καὶ νῦν
 οὐχ ἤττον δράσουσι τοῦτο, τῆς συμφορᾶς οὐκ ἐώσης τὸν νοῦν αὐτῶν ἡρμεῖν.
 ἐγὼ δὲ φαίην ἂν ὡς μακάριοι νῦν οἱ τεθηκότες, ἐλεεινοὶ δὲ οἱ ζῶντες καὶ θρή-
 νων ἄξιοι. καὶ τὸ τῆς Γραφῆς δὲ προσθήσω· 'μακάριαι αἱ κοιλῖαι αἱ οὐ συλλήψον- 15
 ται καὶ μαστοὶ <οἷ> οὐ θηλάσουσιν'. ἡ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ἂν τις εἰκότως πρὸς Θεὸν
 οἰκονομήσαι ζώντων τὲ καὶ τεθηκότων πέρι, τῶν μὲν τοῦ μακαρίου τυχόντων
 τέλους — ὃ καὶ τέλος εὐρὸν μακαρίζεται παρὰ Σόλωνι Κροίσου μᾶλλον πολὺν
 χρυσὸν κεκτημένου — ἄκροις μὲν δακτύλοις τοῦ κακοῦ γευσαμένων, θανόντων
 δὲ εὐθύς, θνητῶν πεφυκότων καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις νῦν ἐνδιατριβόντων καλοῖς, ὑπὲρ 20
 τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς πατρίδος θανόντων, ἡμῶν δὲ τῶν ζώντων γευσαμένων μὲν
 τοῦ δεινοῦ μέχρι κόρου καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς δὲ βίον ἐλκόντων ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ δακρῶν
 ἀνάμεστον, χλεύην μὲν λαβόντων καὶ εἰρωνείαν καὶ τωθασμούς παρὰ πάντων,
 ὡς βαρβάρων δὲ μεταξὺ περιπατούντων καὶ τὸ τέλος ἡμῶν ἀγνοούντων, τίνος ἂν 25
 τις τύχη θανάτου.

12. Ἄγε δὴ λοιπόν, ὧ δυστυχεῖς Ἕλληνες, εἰς τοσοῦτον δεινὸν κατενηνεγμέ-
 νοι, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς θρηνησωμεν, εἰ δοκεῖ, τοὺς ζῶντας. ὧ γέροντες τάλανες, ποῦ
 δὴ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔξετε, πάσης ἀγαθῆς ἀγκύρας ἀφαιρεθείσης; ἡ που πτώμα κείσε-
 σθε πᾶσι καὶ γέλως, καὶ δάκρυα χύσετε πλεῖστα, ὥστε καὶ πεπληρῶσθαι τοὺς
 ὦπας, ἀνύσετε δὲ μηδὲν ἢ τὸ κεκτῆσθαι μὲν δυστυχεστάτην τὴν πολιάν, κακο- 30
 δαιμονέστατον δὲ τὸ γῆρας. ὧ σχέτλιοι νέοι, τίς ὑμῖν χαριεῖται καταρθωκόσιν ἢ
 παυδεύσει καλῶς ποιῶν ἀμελοῦντας; ὁ γὰρ κοινὸς ἡμῶν προμηθεὺς ἀπώλετο,

15–16 μακάριαι–θηλάσουσιν] cf. Lc. 23, 29 18–19 μακαρίζεται–κεκτημένου] cf. Hdt. 1,29–33

8–9 ἐκηρύκευσας corr. Lampros: ἐκηρύττευσας P 9 ἀφῆκας Lampros 10 ἀφῆκας] -κες Lampros
 11 ἀνδρῶν] ἐχθρῶν Lampros post 12 οἶδα add. ὅτι Lampros 16 οἶ add. Lampros
 17 οἰκονομήσαι corr. Lampros: -μίση P 18 πολὺν e πολλὴν corr. P 19 γευσαμένων corr.
 Lampros: γευσαμένου P post 24 περιπατούντων add. τόσων Lampros 25 τύχοι Lampros
 26 δεινὸν corr. Lampros: δεινῶν P 26–27 κατενηνεγμένοι corr. Lampros: κατανηνεγμένοι P
 32 ποιῶν secl. Lampros | ante γὰρ add. μὲν Lampros

benevolent Emperor with his brave subjects. Now instead, alas, are these things: an ungodly tyrant with like-minded subjects, darkness and gloom together with brutality, disorder among the priests and indecency, raiding of the sacred vessels, outrage of the icons, plundering of relics, desecration of churches, every divine precept silenced, irrationality, disharmony and lack of justice, absence of laws, cults of demons, a miserable coven who preaches impiety, the cruelty of the barbarians which savagely hits us, mocking and denigrating us for the worship of a false God, alas, and complete destruction. Are not these current things exactly the opposite of those of before? Why do these things happen now, o Lord of all things? Let Jeremiah come forward, shouting: 'You have not only announced the arrival of your enemies, you have also let them grow roots, and such enormous ones, so that they have devoured us, your vineyard, and you have not let the feet of gentle people tread your holy court, but those of your worst enemies, ungodly people, will tread it'. But about these things, I know, many have already discussed and they will nevertheless do the same now, for misfortune does not allow their minds to be quiet. I would say that now the dead are blessed, while miserable and worthy of lamentation are the living. And I would add the saying of the Holy Scriptures: 'Blessed are wombs that will not give birth, and the breasts that will not nurse'. Perhaps one could say to God that in this way he had not disposed well the fate of the living and the dead, because on the one hand some obtained a blessed end in fate – something which was considered by Solon more blessed than the richness of Croesus – having touched only with the tips of their fingers the evil since they died immediately, those who had born mortal and spend now their time among the highest goods, after dying for the glory of God and the defence of their country. On the other hand we, the living, have tasted the evil to satiety and spend now a painful life full of tears, for we have suffered the contempt, irony and mockery by everyone, and wander in the meantime like barbarians, ignorant of our end, of which death might befall us.

12. O unfortunate Greeks, plunged into such a misfortune, let us mourn ourselves while still alive, if it is appropriate. O miserable old men, where will you place your hopes, when every good anchor of salvation has been taken away? Perhaps you will become a cadaver for everyone's mockery, and you will shed numberless tears, thereby soaking your faces with them, and you will obtain nothing more than getting the hateful age of the white hairs, miserable old age. O young unfortunates, who will congratulate you on your success or correct you properly if you have faults? For our common Prometheus is lost, alas!

φεῦ, ἀλόγοις πάντως ἐπιτηδεύμασι χρώμενοι τὸν ἐξῆς μοχθηρῶς διανύσομεν βίον, ἐρέται τινὲς ὄντες ἢ σκαπανεῖς καὶ θῆτες. ὧ παῖδες ἄθλιοι, οἱ τε νῦν ὄντες καὶ ἐσόμενοι, τίς ὑμᾶς θρέψει καὶ παιδαγωγήσει καὶ τὸ δέον διδάξει, τῆς κοινῆς τροφοῦ καὶ διδασκάλου φθαρείσης; συβῶται πάντως ἔσεσθε καὶ βουκόλοι, καὶ πέτρας καὶ ὄρη καὶ κρημνοὺς ἔξετε πόλιν. ὧ δυστυχεῖς γυναῖκες, ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων 5 μὲν ἔσεσθε δοῦλαι, ἀλλάξετε δὲ τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ μαθήσεσθε πάντως ὑφαίνειν καὶ σαίρειν καὶ τελευταῖον τὰ ὑμέτερα λέχη χρανοῦσιν ἄνδρες δοῦλοι, ἠξιωμένα πρῶτον λογάδων. ὧ λογάδες, τῶν χυδαίων νῦν οὐδὲν διενηνοχότες. ὧ στρατιῶται, οὓς ἐφοβοῦντο πρῶτον πολλοί, νῦν δὲ παιζόμενοι παρὰ πάντων. ὧ γεωργοὶ κακοδαίμονες, ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου νῦν ἔσται πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν καὶ γεωργήσεσθε ξένοις ἀλλ' οὐκ ὑμῖν. ὧ πληθὺς τεχνιτῶν, ἀπόλοιτ' ἂν τὰ ὄργανα νῦν ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅποι χρήσεσθε τούτοις. ὧ δυστυχεῖς ἔμποροι, ποῦ νῦν ἀφώβως τὰς ἐμπορίας ποιήσεσθε; οἷς γὰρ ὑπήρχε παρὰ πάντων αἰδῶς καὶ θάρρος, νῦν ἀντιστρόφως ἔσται παρὰ σφῶν ὕβρις καὶ φόβος. ὧ ἱερέων καὶ μοναχῶν χορός, τί ποτε πείσεσθε νῦν; παρὰ τίνος ἔξετε τὰς τιμάς, τὰς εὐλογίας, τὸ περιπατεῖν εὐσεβῶς, τὸ βαίνειν ὀρθῶς, σφαλέντες δὲ παρὰ τίνος λήψεσθε τὰς ἐπιτιμίας, ἀποροῦντες δὲ παρὰ τίνος ἔξετε λύσιν, τίνα δ' εἴποτ' ἔχοντες κεφαλὴν, πῶς δ' ἂν ἀπαιτούμενοι δοίητε λόγον περὶ τῆς ὑγιοῦς ὑμῶν δόξης; ἀπώλετο τὸ ὑμέτερον καύχημα, ἡ κεφαλὴ, ὁ ἀρχιερέυς, ὁ κηδεμών. ἦ που πᾶς χρηστός ἀφήσει τὸ ἱερατεύειν, οὐ βουλόμενος 'παίζειν ἐν οὐ παικτοῖς', καθεδεῖται δὲ καθάπερ τίς ἰδιώτης, 20 πονηροὶ δ' ἄνθρωποι τινες καὶ γόητες ἀρπάσουσι βιαίαις χερσὶ τὴν ἱεράν ἀγιστείαν, πλανώμενοι καὶ πλανῶντες, τὸ τῆς Γραφῆς φάναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀφρονεύσουσι πλεῖστοι ποιμένες, καὶ διαφθεροῦσι τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἱερὸν ἀμπελώνα, ὑπὲρ οὗ προήκατο τὴν θεῖαν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν.

13. Φεῦ τῆς ἀνηκέστου ξυμφορᾶς, φεῦ πληγῆς πληγῶν βαρυτάτης, φεῦ 25 ξίφους τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκκεντοῦντος καρδίας, φεῦ τῆς κοινῆς ἀποφράδος, φεῦ ἀφανισμοῦ παντελοῦς, φεῦ πυρετοῦ τὰ πάντων καταφρονοῦντος σώματα, φεῦ ἰλίγγου καὶ σκοτομήνης τὰς πάντων σείοντος κεφαλᾶς. νῦν ὄντως τὸ ζῆν ἀηδές, νῦν ὄντως θανεῖν χρή, ὅτε κακία μὲν πᾶσα τὴν γῆν ἐμπιπλᾷ, δικαιοσύνη δ' ἄπεστιν. ἐκκλινοῦσι γὰρ πάντες καὶ ἀχρεῖοι γενήσονται καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔσται ποιῶν 30 χρηστότητα, οὐδὲ μέχρις ἐνὸς νῦν πράγματα πάντα κατὰ τὸν φάμενον οὕτως

7 χρανοῦσιν–δοῦλοι] cf. Eur., *Hec.* 365–366 21–22 πονηροὶ–πλανῶντες] Paulus, *II Tim.* 3,13 22–23 ἀφρονεύσουσι–ἀμπελώνα] cf. Hieremias 12, 10,1

4 ἔσεσθε corr. Lampros: ἔσεσθαι P 5 ἔξετε corr. Lampros: ἔξεται P 6 μαθήσεσθε corr. Lampros: μαθήθησθε P 7 χρανοῦσιν corr. Lampros: χρανοῦσιν P 9 παιζόμενοι] πιεζόμενοι Lampros 10–11 γεωργήσεσθε corr. Lampros: -σθαι P 14 σφῶν] αὐτῶν in textu, γρ. σφῶν in marg. scr. P 15 παρὰ τίνος corr. Lampros: παρατίνας P (idem *infra*) | ἔξετε corr. Lampros: ἔξεται P 17 δ' εἴποτ'] δὴ ποτ' Lampros 22–23 ἀφρονεύσουσι corr. Lampros: -εῦσουσι P 25 ἀνηκέστου corr. Lampros: ἀνικέτου P 27 καταφρονοῦντος] καταφαγόντος Déroche 29 ἐμπιπλᾷ corr. Lampros: ἐμπιπλᾶ P

By dedicating ourselves to absolutely foolish occupations, we will tirelessly spend the rest of our lives as rowers, diggers or servants. O poor boys, you who are now there and those who will be there in the future, who will feed you, teach you what is necessary, now that our common nurse and teacher has disappeared? You will certainly be guardians of pigs and cowherds, and stones, mountains and cliffs will serve as your city. O miserable women, instead of being free you will be slaves, you will move from commanding to being commanded, and you will certainly get used to weaving and sweeping and, finally, men reduced to the condition of slaves will defile your beds, once worthy of dignitaries. O dignitaries, you are now in no wise different from the common soldiers. O soldiers, once feared by many, now derided by all. O unfortunate peasants, henceforth everyone will be able to oppress you at leisure and you will work for strangers and not for yourselves! O crowd of craftsmen, your work tools may be thrown away as well, since you have no longer a place to use them. O miserable merchants, where shall you now do your business without fear? For those who had once respect and confidence from everyone, now on the contrary will suffer from them violence and fear. O choir of priests and monks, what will happen to you now? From whom will you receive honours and blessings and the possibility to work in piety, to walk in the right way, and from whom will you receive punishments when you get lost, from whom will you get a solution when you are in confusion, who will you have as your leader, and how will you be able to account, when asked, for your salutary behaviour? Your pride has been obliterated, your chief, your high priest, your tutor. Every honest man will avoid becoming a priest, not wanting ‘to play where one cannot play’, he will remain inactive as a simple private citizen, and a few evil men and charlatans will take possession of the holy priesthood with their violent hands, both deceived and deceiving, as the Holy Scripture say, and for this reason many shepherds will lose their mind and destroy the holy vineyard of Christ, for which he gave his divine life.

13. Alas, what an implacable wrath, o the hardest blow of all, a sword that pierces the hearts of the Greeks, the day of common evil, a complete destruction, a fever that despises all bodies, a whirlwind and a dark night that shakes all heads. Now so shameful is living, so necessary is dying, when all possible evil fills the earth and there is no more justice. For all will go astray and become villains, and there will be none left who shall deal in honesty. Now all will go as announced, there will be a kind of dreadful nocturnal feud. ‘But, please, let us

ἔσται καὶ νυκτομαχία τίς δεινὴ. ἄλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, ζητήσωμεν ἥτις ἡμῖν ἐλπίς περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος'. φεῦ σιγαῖτε· ὄντως τοιγαροῦν ἡμῖν ἐλπίς οὐδεμία τυγχάνει. νῦν οὖν αἰτεῖν χρὴ θανεῖν, κάγω πρὸ πάντων τοῦτο ζητῶ. τί γὰρ καὶ δράσεις, ὧ τάλαι Ἄνδρόνικε; ποῦ πορευθῆς, εἰς ποῖαν πόλιν, ὑπὸ ποίῳ κυρίῳ παρατεινας ἰδίους καὶ φίλους, τίσι χρῆσις καθηγεμόσι τοῦ λόγου; ὧ δυστυχοῦς ἐμῆς βιοτῆς. ὧ πικρᾶς ὀρφανίας. ὧ τροχὲ χρόνε, οἶον βάραθρον φέρων κατήνεγκας. ὧ συγγενεῖς καὶ καθηγεμόνες καὶ φίλοι, πῶς ὑπεμείνατέ με τὸν ὑμέτερον φίλον καταλιπεῖν; ἀλλ' ἄρατέ με ταχέως σὺν ὑμῖν· ἄρατε καὶ μὴ μέλλετε. μισῶ γὰρ τὸ φῶς, τὸν ἀέρα, αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν. ὧ θάνατε, θάνατε, νῦν μ' ἐπίσκεψαι μολῶν. ὄλβιος γὰρ οἶτος ἐκεῖνος, ὃς οὐκ ἦλθεν εὐτυχεοῦσι, κληθεὶς δ' εὐθύς ἔβη δυστυχεοῦσι βροτοῖς. ὧ πόσα δυσπραγέοντα ἀποστρέφετ' οὔασι κωφοῖς, κλύειν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλει πενθαλέα δάκρυα.

14. Ὡ Ῥώμη θεία, τί ποτε δράσεις, τῆς θυγατρὸς γενομένης δούλης; ὧ μακαριώτατε πάτερ, πῶς οἴση τηλικούτον κακόν; ὧ καὶ σύ, θειώτατε πάτερ, πολὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας καὶ τὰς φρένας ποιμὴν τῆς οὐκέτ' οὔσης, πῶς χρῆσις σαυτῷ τῆς φήμης ἐλθούσης; ἢ που γόον ὄρνιθος οἰκτρᾶς ἀηδοῦς οὐχ ἤσης. ἀλλ' ὄξυτῶνος μὲν ὠδὰς θρηνήσεις, χειρόπληκτοι δ' ἐν στέρνοις πεσοῦνται δοῦποι καὶ πολιᾶς ἀμύγματα χαίτας;

15. Ὡ Πελοπόννησος δυστυχής, νῦν σὺν τοῖς δυσὶν αὐταδέλφοις τοῦ κλεινοῦ βασιλέως θρηνήσετε καὶ πέμψετε κωκυτοῦς, αἶμα μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐ δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐκπέμποντες, τῆς βασιλίδος φθαρείσης καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐλπίζειν οὐδὲν καλόν.

16. Ὡ θειοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη πόλις τῶν Ἐνετῶν, τί δράσετε, νῦν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὑμῶν καὶ φίλης φθαρείσης; ποῦ νῦν αἱ τριήρεις ὑμῶν καὶ νῆες τὸν Εὐξείνιον εἰσπλέουσαι πόντον προσορμιοῦνται, φιλοφρονηθήσονται δὲ παρὰ τίνων, ὥσπερ προσῆκεν; ἀπότροπος πάντως ὁ λιμὴν ὑμῖν ἔσται καὶ Σκύλλα καὶ Χάρυβδις.

17. Ὡ φίλοι Κρήτες, τί πάθωμεν νῦν τῆς πικρᾶς ὀρφανίας ἐπεισελθούσης ἡμῖν; τύψομεν ἢ που τὰ στήθη καὶ ξανούμεν τὰς παρειὰς καὶ τὰ σπλάγχα τῇ θλίψει δράσομεν ἀηδίας μεστὰ καὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον διάξομεν ὥς τινες ἡμιθνεῖς, ἔλκοντες βίον ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ θανάτου μηδὲν διαφέροντα.

18. Ὡ πικρᾶς ἀληθόνοος. ὧ φαγεδαίνης κατεσθιούσης τὰ σώματα πάντων. νῦν χορεῖαι κατηφεῖς τῶν ἀγγέλων, νῦν ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου θεία ψυχὴ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖς τῶν ἀγίων ἀηδῖαν περιβαλεῖται καὶ σκυθρωπάσει. πείθομαι

9 ὧ-μολῶν] Soph., Aj. 854 15-18 πῶς-χαίτας] cf. Soph., Aj. 629-634

post 1 ἐλπίς add. ἔσται Lampros 2 σιγαῖτε corr. Lampros: σιβάτε P 3 αἰτεῖν corr. Lampros: ἀττεῖν P | πρὸ πάντων corr. Lampros: προπάντων P 7 ὑπεμείνατέ με corr. Lampros: ὑπεμείνατ' ἐμέ P 16 που corr. Lampros: τοῦ P 17 χειρόπληκτοι corr. Lampros: χερό- P 20 κωκυτοῦς] κοπετοῦς Lampros 23 δράσετε corr. Lampros: -ται P 24 Εὐξείνιον ex εὐξείνιον corr. P 25 παρὰ τίνων corr. Lampros: παρατίνων P

seek for ourselves a hope for the future.' Alas, be silent! There is absolutely no hope for us. Now we must pray to die, and I ask for this before all others. For what will you do, poor Andronikos? Where will you go, to what city, under whose power will you leave your people and friends, what guidance will you find for your speech? O my unhappy fate; O bitter fate of being an orphan. O fast-flowing time, what an abyss you have brought with you. O parents, teachers and friends, how could you abandon me, your friend? Just take me quickly with you; take me and do not delay! For I hate the light, the air, life itself. 'O death, death, come now to visit me!' For blessed is indeed that fate of death which does not come while men are doing well, but comes to misfortunate mortals as soon as they call for it. O how he scorns the misfortunates with his deaf ears, and does not want listen to their painful cries!

14. O holy Rome, what will you do now that your daughter is a slave? O blessed Father, how will you endure an evil of this extent? O holy Father, shepherd of the City that no longer exists, you who are old in hair and soul, what will you do with yourself once the news arrives? Maybe you will not chant out the moan of a plaintive nightingale. But will you sing sharp-toned songs, and will your beating hands thud down on your breasts and keep tearing out your old grey hair?

15. O wretched Peloponnese, now together with the two brothers of the illustrious emperor you will burst into weeping and wailing in grief, blood, rather than tears, gushing from your eyes, since the queen of cities has been destroyed and there is nothing good left for you to hope for.

16. O holiest and mighty city of the Venetians, what will you do now that your sister and friend has been destroyed? Where will your triremes and ships plying the Euxine Sea dock now, who will take proper care of them? The harbour will be to you a place to escape from, a Scylla and Charybdis.

17. O Cretan friends, what shall we endure now that we are doomed to this bitter condition of orphans? We shall beat our chest and we shall scratch our cheeks, we shall fill our bowels with grief by way of suffering and we shall spend all our time as if half dead, dragging on a painful life that is no different from death.

18. O what bitter suffering! O what a cancer that consumes the bodies of all! The choirs of angels are now sad, now the divine soul of Constantine the Great along with all the choirs of saints will cover himself with grief and sorrow. For I

γὰρ καθάψεσθαι καὶ τούτων τὸ πάθος. νῦν οὐρανὸς ἀκαλλής· νῦν ἥλιος ὀλοφύρεται· νῦν σελήνη μελαίνεται· νῦν ἀστέρες οἰμώττουσι· νῦν ὁ ἀήρ ζοφοῦται· νῦν ἡ γῆ κλονεῖται καὶ στένει· νῦν ἡ θάλασσα κυματοῦται καὶ φρίσσει καὶ δυσχεραίνει τῷ πάθει· νῦν ὄρη καὶ βουνοὶ καὶ νάπαι καὶ πεδιάδες καὶ ποταμοὶ συμπάσχουσι· νῦν δένδρα καὶ θάμνοι καὶ πόαι μαραίνονται καὶ δακρύουσι· νῦν στρουθία πάντα 5
γοερὸν τι μέλος καὶ θρηνηῶδες ἐκπέμπουσι· νῦν τὸ τῶν χερσαίων ζῶων γένος, γοερῶς μυκώμενα, τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πάθους δεικνύουσι· νῦν τοῖς βράχεσιν ἰχθύς κτύπον δρῶντες τινὰ ἐμφαίνουσι δυσχεραίνειν τῷ πάθει. δεῖ γὰρ ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς πάντα κόσμον συμπάσχειν καὶ κατηφῆ τυγχάνειν καὶ σκυθρωπόν, ὡσπερ κάπῃ τῷ πάθει γέγονε τοῦ δεσπότητος. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγὼ μετ' ἐκεῖνο δεύτερον τάττω, πλὴν καθόσον τὸ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ κόσμου προοίμιον ἦν, τὸ δὲ τῆς συντελείας, ὡς εἰκάζειν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν κἂν μὴ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶνται τοιαῦτα σημεῖα, ἀχρηστίας χάριν ὃ τι πλειστοῦς ἡμετέρας τυγχάνει. τοῖς γὰρ ἀχρείοις ὅλως ἀνθρώποις οὐ σημεῖα φαίνεσθαι δεῖ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ τέλος εἰκὸς ἀθρόον ἐφίστασθαι. 15

19. Φεῦ τῆς ἀνελπίστου ξυμφορᾶς. πᾶν μὲν ἄν τις ἤλιπσε μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο παθεῖν, κἂν ἢ μάντις ἢ θεία μοῖρα κινούμενος προεῖπεν ἡμῖν, οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἂν ἀπηλλάγη. φεῦ νῦν ὄντως πρῶτον ἔγνω παθῶν ὑπὸ συμφορᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύω τῷ πάθει φιλοσοφεῖν. νῦν πρῶτον οἶδα ὅτι δύναται πάθος καὶ νοῦν θολαίνειν καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἐξ προΐενα καὶ λιθῶδη τινὰ τὸν ἀνθρωπον δρᾶν. νῦν τὰς τραγικὰς 20
περίληκα Μούσας, αἱ δὲ με περιστάμεναι πείθουσιν οἰμωγὰς ἐκπέμπειν καὶ κωκυτοὺς καὶ ὀλολύζειν πικρῶς. φεῦ τίς Δαίδαλος νῦν με πτερώσας πρὸς τὴν Πόλιν ἀπάξει καὶ στρέψει πάλιν ταχέως; βούλομαι γὰρ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ προσμείναι, τὸ μὲν ἵνα περιχυθῶ τοῖς παιδικοῖς καὶ κειμένοις, τὸ δ' ἵνα μὴ πολὺν ὀρῶ χρόνον ἂ μὴδ' ἐπάϊεν ἰσχύω. φεῦ νῦν ἱστορία πᾶσαι καὶ μῦθοι καὶ παροιμῖαι σιγήσονται πάντως, οἷς χρώμενος πᾶς τίς τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐκείνῳ κακὸν ἐδήλου, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ῥᾶστα τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κακοῦ δηλώσει. ἐάλω μὲν γὰρ καὶ Τροία, ἀλλὰ δικαίως, ὑπὲρ ὕβριστοῦ δειλοῦ μαχομένη, καὶ οὔτε τοσαύτη καὶ προσέτι βάρβαρος ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων· Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀλλὰ μυρίων οὔσα ποινῶν ἀξία, δεσποτικὸν δράσασα φόνον καὶ Παλαιστίνης ἄρχουσα μόνον· Βαβυλών, ἀλλ' οὐ τοσαύτη τὴν φήμην, 30
οὐδ' ἐκ περάτων ἄρξασα μέχρι περάτων, εἰ καὶ τὸν περίβολον εἶχε μέγαν· Ῥώμη, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλπίς παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐκλυθῆναι, ὃ δὴ καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦν ἠκολούθησε. τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἐσπέρας ἄρξασαν μέχρις ἐφ' ἑσπέρης, ἀρεταῖς δὲ παντοίαις κεκοσμημένην, ἀδικοῦσαν δὲ μηδένα, ἀδικουμένην δὲ πλεῖστα,

6 γοερὸν-μέλος] cf. Eur., *Hec.* 84 (et scholia)

1 τούτων] τοῦτο Lampros 4 συμπάσχουσι e συμπάσχουσιν corr. P 9-10 σκυθρωπόν P, -o- in -ω- corr. alia manus 15 ἀθρόον corr. Lampros: ἀθρόων P 17 ἀκινδύνως corr. Lampros: -δύνος P 20 ἐξ] ἐάν Lampros 21 παριστάνουσαι Lampros 34 ἀδικοῦσαν corr. Lampros: ἀδικοῦσα P

believe that this sorrow assails them too. Now the sky is devoid of all beauty; now the sun is weeping; now the moon is darkening; now the stars are wailing; now the air grows dim; now the earth shakes and groans; now the sea sways and ripples and is outraged with grief; now the mountains, the hills, the valleys, the plains and the rivers are feeling pity; now the trees, bushes and meadows wither and weep; now all the nightingales sing a song of grief and lament; now the species of land animals, moaning lamentingly, show the utmost degree of affliction; now in the shallows the fish make a noise to show that they are outraged by grief. For it is appropriate that in such great disasters the whole world sympathizes, grieves and mourns, as was also the case with the Passion of the Lord. For I place this sorrow in second place after that, though that one was the prelude of the world's salvation, the other of its end, as far as it is possible to infer from the Holy Scriptures, and if these signs are not seen by our eyes, it is because of our utter unworthiness. For it is appropriate that signs do not appear to men who are utterly unworthy, but the end shall come to them all at once.

19. O unexpected disaster! One would have hoped rather to suffer anything else, and if a seer, prompted by divine decision, had predicted it, he would not have done so without great risk. Alas, I have only really understood this by undergoing now this misfortune, and I do not have the energy to think as a philosopher in the midst of suffering. It is only now that I know that suffering can disrupt the mind, inhibit speech, and petrify the man. I become now fond of the tragic muses who surround me and convince me to shout, moan and lament bitterly. Alas, which Daedalus could give me wings to go now to the City and bring me back? For I want to see, but not linger, on the one hand embracing what I loved there, on the other not looking too long at what I cannot even stand to hear. Alas, now, stories, myths, proverbs, all will surely be silenced from what would have allowed each one to manifest the misfortune he suffers, and this will demonstrate all the better the excess of this misfortune. For Troy was taken, but for just reasons, as it fought for a cowardly transgressor, and was not so great, and moreover a barbarous city was taken by Greeks; for Jerusalem was taken, but deserved a thousand punishments for the murder of the Lord, and reigned only over Palestine; for Babylon was taken, but it was not so famous, nor had it reigned from one end of the world to the other, though it encompassed a large realm; for Rome was taken, but it could hope to be liberated by its daughter, which in fact was to happen. But she that reigned from the west to the east, whose beauty surpassed all others, adorned with all virtues, who did no harm to

ὑπὸ βαρβάρου κατενηνέχθαι καὶ μὴδὲ ἐλπίζειν ἀναστήσεσθαι πάλιν, τοῦτο δὲ συμφορὰ συμφορῶν καὶ πάθος πάθους καὶ λύπη λύπης ἐμπερικτικὴ ἀπάντων. ἐφθειρέτο μὲν οὖν ἢ τῆς Πόλεως ἀρχὴ πάλαι καὶ κατεσμικροῦτο καὶ μηδαμόθεν ἐβοηθεῖτο· νῦν δὲ κατέπεσε πᾶσα καὶ γέγονεν ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ τις σῶμα καλὸν λαβὼν κόπτει μὲν πρῶτον τὰ ἄκρα, τὸ τελευταῖον δ' αὐτὴν τὴν κεφαλὴν κατενέγκει· ἢ 5
καθάπερ μέγα δένδρον ἀποθερίζει μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς κλάδους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ρίζαν· ἢ δ' ἂν ταυτὸν εἴπερ εἰλήφει τὴν Πόλιν πρὶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸ κράτος, ὡσπερ εἰ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνοι τάνθρώπου καὶ τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ δένδρου πρὶν ἐκκοπῆναι τὰ μέλη τὲ καὶ τοὺς κλάδους, τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πάσῃ γῆ καὶ πόλει ὅπερ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ δένδρῳ κεφαλὴ τε καὶ ρίζα. 10

20. Ἄγε δὴ λοιπὸν πᾶς ὅστις αἰσθησὶν ἔχει τοῦ πάθους — ἔστι δ' οὐδεὶς ὃς μὴ τοῦτο πάσχει — ξυναυλιὰν ὀδωρῶμεθα τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα τὲ καὶ τροφόν, οἱ γέροντες τὴν γηροκομοῦσαν, οἱ νέοι τὴν φιμοῦσαν τὰς ἀλόγους ὀρμάς τῆς ψυχῆς, οἱ παῖδες τὴν παιδεύουσαν ἀγαθῶς, αἱ γυναῖκες τὴν σωφρονοῦσαν, αἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν τιμῶσαν, οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν στρατηγόν, οἱ γεωργοὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, οἱ τεχνῖται τὴν χρωμένην ὑμῖν, οἱ ἔμποροι τὸ κέρδος, οἱ πλείοντες τὸν λιμένα, οἱ ὀδοιπόροι τὴν ἀνάπαυλαν, οἱ πένητες τὴν πορίζουσαν, οἱ πτωχοὶ τὴν τρέφουσαν, οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὴν ῥύουσαν, οἱ ὀρφανοὶ τὴν μητέρα, αἱ χῆραι τὴν προστάτιν, οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν ὀδηγόν, οἱ μοναχοὶ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν, οἱ ἐν λόγοις τὴν πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην εὐθύνουσαν, οἱ πάντες τὴν πᾶσι πλουσίως διδοῦσαν τὰς ἡδονάς. ὡ πικρᾶς ἀληθόνος· ὡ πικρᾶς ὀμίχλης τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀπάντων ἐπιπεσοῦσης· ὡ φήμης διερχομένης πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ πληρούσης ἅπαντα ζάλης καὶ ἀηδίας καὶ σκότους. 20

21. Νῦν θρηνησοῦσιν Ἴταλοὶ· νῦν οἱ Κελτοὶ κλαύσουσι, νῦν Γαλάται καὶ Βρετανοί, νῦν Γερμανοὶ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Θραῖκες καὶ Παῖονες· νῦν Ἴβηρες ἀνομιώξουσι· νῦν Ἴνδοι σκυθρωπάσουσι· νῦν γένος ἅπαν καὶ ἡλικία πᾶσα καὶ νῆσοι καὶ ἤπειροι κατακόψονται. ὁ γὰρ ἅπας κόσμος αἰεὶ τὴν παλαιὰν τιμὴν μετ' ἐπιεικείας ἀπεδίδου τῇ Πόλει. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὸν πικρὸν δυνάστην λυπηθῆναι μικρὸν γούν, τὴν καλλονὴν ὀρῶντα τῆς Πόλεως φθειρομένην καὶ τὴν τερπνότητα. ἢ γὰρ τῆς δυστυχίας ὑπερβολὴ πρὸς οἶκτον οἶδε πολλακίς καὶ τοὺς ἐχθίστους κινεῖν. νῦν 30
οὖν καιρὸς ἐστὶν ὀπίην τινα σμικροτάτην εὐρεῖν καὶ κλεισθῆναι ταύτης ἐντὸς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ θρηνεῖν καὶ κλαίειν διαπαντός. τούτου γὰρ οὐτ' ἦν οὐτ' ἔσται χεῖρον κακόν.

1 δὲ] δὴ Lampros 4 εἴ τις corr. Lampros: εἴποις P 5 κόπτοι Lampros | κατενέγκοι Lampros 6 ἀποθερίζει corr. Lampros: ἀπεθερίζει P 8 τάνθρώπου corr. Lampros: τ' ἀνθρώπου P 9 τὸ γὰρ] καὶ τὸ Lampros 12 πατρίδα corr. Lampros: πατρίδαν P 13 γηροκομοῦσαν corr. Lampros: γηροκομῶσαν P 16 ὑμῖν corr. Lampros: ὑμῶν P 18 μητέρα corr. Lampros: μητέραν P 20 οἱ bis scr. P

anyone, herself often a victim, that she should be struck down by the barbarian and not even hope to rise again, this is the catastrophe of catastrophes, the misfortune of misfortunes, the sorrow of sorrows that encompasses all. It is true that the reign of the City had long since shrunk, and that it received no help from anywhere; but now it has fallen completely, and it is as if someone, taking a beautiful body, first cut off its extremities and finally its head, or like a great tree that first loses its branches and then its roots. It would have been the same if the city were first taken and then its supremacy taken from it, as if the head of a man or the root of a tree were cut off first and then the limbs or branches, for it was to the whole earth and to every other city as the head is to the man and the root to the tree.

20. All those who are conscious of the misfortune (and there is no one who is not), let us lament in chorus our common homeland and nurse, let the old lament the place which was for them a shelter, let the young lament the place which restrained the irrational impulses of the soul, the children their good educator, the women the guardian of their virtue, the authorities the place which honoured them, the soldiers their commander, the peasants their justiciary, the craftsmen their employer, the merchants their profits, the sailors their port, the travellers their harbour, the poor their provider, the beggars their nurse, the prisoners their rescuer, the orphans their mother, the widows their patroness, the priests their guide, the monks the guarantor of their good order, the scholars the guide to all knowledge, and all of us the one who distributed to everyone pleasures in abundance. O bitter grief! O bitter darkness that fell upon everyone's eyes! O noise that spread through the whole world and filled it with chaos, sadness and darkness!

21. Now the Italians will mourn; now the Celts will weep, now the Galatians and the Britons; now the Germans, the Illyrians, the Thracians, and the Paeonians; now the Iberians will weep; now the Indians will grieve; now every race, people of every age, islands and continents will tear themselves apart. For the whole world used to honour the City with due measure. And I believe that even the cruel tyrant was saddened at least a little seeing the beauty and the grace of the City destroyed. For the excess of misfortune may indeed move even the worst enemies to compassion. Now, this is the time to find a little corner, to shut oneself up in safety and to weep and wail all the time. For there has never been and never will be a worse misfortune than this.

3 Diairesis on the science of physics

This opuscle, accompanied by a diagram (see below), illustrates the eight parts in which the science of physics is divided, according to Andronikos Kallistos. John Monfasani newly edited and translated both the short text and the diagram. Moreover, he attempted to date the opuscle, suggesting that it seems to reflect Kallistos' first period of teaching in Bologna (1458–1459).¹

Five witnesses, four of them already known to Monfasani, transmit the text:

M = Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 88 sup.

Paper, Venice, c. 1462 (at least the first codicological unit [fols 1–58; see the *subscriptio* at fol. 56v]), mm 221 × 145, fols VI+356(+228a). Owned by Hesaïas of Cyprus. Copied by three scribes: A (fols 1r–104r, 115r–228v, 289v–292r lin. 8, 294r–356v);² B (fols 107r–114v) = *Anonymus* 31 Harlfinger (Speranzi); C (fols 264r–287v, 292r lin. 8–293v) = *Anonymus* 23 Harlfinger (Speranzi). Fols 80r, 82rv, 104v–106v, 120r–151v, 185v, 229r–263v, 287v–289r, 302v–303r are blanks. The *Diairesis* is found at fols 80v–81r. *Cat.*: Martini and Bassi 1906, I, 401–404. *Bibl.*: Sharples 2008, 12–13, 19–22; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 145–146; Speranzi 2016a, 93–107; Monfasani 2018, 418–419; Speranzi 2018, 198–199; Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 125, 137; Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 200, 275.

S = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, Σ.III.1

For a short description and bibliographical references see *supra*, § 6.2 (catalogue entry no. 67). The text of Kallistos is found at fols 199v–200v, in the hand of Antonios Eparchos (Harlfinger). This witness is unknown to the edition by Monfasani 2018.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1739

Paper, mid-fifteenth century, mm 222 × 147, fols III(parchment)+376+II'(parchment, numbered 377–378). Copied by several scribes: A (fols 1r–8v, note at 104v); B (fols 9r–83v, 84v–85r, 87rv, 88v lin. 20–89r lin. 4, 90r lin. 1–91r, 95r–101r lin. 12, 103r lin. 1–12); C (fols 84r, 85v–86v lin. 10, 88r–88v lin. 20, 89r lin. 5–90r lin. 1, 91v–94v, 101r lin. 12–102v, 103r lin. 12–104r, 157r lin. 23–159r); D (fols 105r–

¹ Monfasani 2018, 416.

² For the activity of this anonymous scribe, refer to Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 125, 137 (with further bibliography). I newly found another trace of his handwriting: it is fols 10r lin. 20–22, 14rv, 56r lin. 20–56v lin. 5 of <Laur. 9.30> (Demosthenes/Libanius).

112v); E (fols 113r–143r); F (fols 144r–157r lin. 22, 160r–315v) = *Anonymus* 23 Harlfinger³ (identification by Speranzi); G (fols 317r–376v). Annotation in the hand of <*Anonymus* 31 Harlfinger> περὶ τῶν ζ' μυστηρίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας at fol. 332v; annotations in other anonymous hands on blank spaces: 159rv, 271v; 314rv; 316rv. The text of Kallistos is found at fols 291v–292v. *Cat.*: Omont 1888, 132–133. *Bibl.*: Harlfinger 1971, 419. Muratore 2009, II, 288; Sharples 2008, 13–14, 21–22, 34; Monfasani 2018, 418–419; Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 137; Speranzi 2020, 198 n. 53.

L = Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Scal. gr. 51

Paper, mid-fifteenth century, mm 161 × 95, fols II+52+I'. Composite manuscript: I = fols 1–28, copied by *Anonymus* 23 Harlfinger (Speranzi); II = fols 29–52, copied by Demetrios Kastrenos (Orlandi). The text of Kallistos is found at fols 19v–20v. *Cat.*: *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis* 1910, 16; *Bibl.*: Sharples 2008, 13–14, 21–22, 34; Orlandi 2014c, 236; Monfasani 2018, 418–419; Speranzi 2020, 197 n. 50.

B = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1610

Paper, first half of sixteenth century, mm 231 × 175, fols II+66+II'. The text of Kallistos is found at fols 22r–23v. *Cat.*: Studemund and Cohn 1890, 89. *Bibl.*: Harlfinger 1971, 291; Cataldi Palau 1986, 48; Monfasani 2018, 418–419.

All the extant witnesses to both diagram and text turned out to descend from M, as already suggested by Monfasani. This offers a quite reliable *terminus ante quem* (i.e., c. 1462) for the composition of the opusculum. Striking evidence for the dependence from M is the fact that the last lines of the diagram, which have been cut off in M because of the trimming in the lower margin, have not been copied at all in P L B and S. Interestingly, some of the manuscripts share most of the contents (see Table 1).

³ I report here the discovery of other manuscripts (or sections of manuscripts) in the hand of <*Anonymus* 23 Harlfinger>: Berol. Phillipps 1534.1 (fols 1r–7r, 56r–248v); Phillipps 1524; Phillipps 1501 (fols 1r–6v).

Table 1: Concordance of the contents.

Ambr. F 88 sup.	Par. gr. 1739	Scal. gr. 51	Phill. 1610	Scor. Σ.III.1	Contents
1r–11r	272r–282r	1r–10v	/	/	Alex. Aphr., <i>Probl.</i> (1.4, 2.4, 2.5, 3.13); <i>De an. libri mantissa</i> (§ 22–23)
152r–163r	282r–291r	10v–19v	10v–21v	/	Bessarion/Plethon, <i>Epist.</i>
80v–81r	291v–292v	19v–20v	22r–23v	199v–200v	Andr. Kall., <i>De scien. nat.</i>
11r–14r	293r–295r	21r–23v	23v–27r	/	Alex. Aphr., <i>De an. libri mantissa</i> (§ 24 = <i>De fato</i>)
57r–58v	295v–298r	23v–26v	/	/	Polybius (excerpts)
61v–62r	298v–299v	26v–27v	/	/	Greco-Roman and Aegyptian calendars

P is a copy of M, since it carries the latter's errors and produces its own ones. In some cases there is a misreading of the shapes of the letters as they are found in M (see below the case of πέμπτον → πράπτον [Fig. 1]). P is likely a direct copy of M, since the former's scribe (i.e. *Anonymus* 23 Harlfinger) does collaborate to the realisation of M (together with other two copyists, one of them being the so-called *Anonymus* 31 Harlfinger).⁴

πέμπτον] πράπτον P
 περαιτέρω] παραιτέρω P
 ἀτελεστέρων] ἀπελεστέρων P
 εἶτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐμψύχων om. P
 σύνθετον κινητὸν ὄν] σύνθετον ὄν P
 τοιόνδε] ποιὸν δε P

⁴ On the collaboration between the *Anonymi* 23 and 31 Harlfinger see Speranzi 2016a, 102, 105–106 and Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 132, 137.

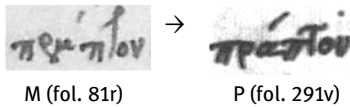


Fig. 1: The genesis of the error πέμπτον → πράττον.

Upon consideration of evidence, L is in turn a copy of P. L carries all the errors of P and is responsible for some others. The copyist of the text is also in this case the *Anonymus* 23 Harlfinger.

ἐπιστήμη] ἐπιστήμει L
 ἐαυτήν] ἐαυτοῦ L
 κατολικωτέρων] -κοτέρων L
 οὐρανοῦ] οὐν L

B is in turn a copy of L, because it repeats all the errors of both P and L and introduces new ones (mostly orthographical mistakes) of its own:

οὕτως] οὕτως B
 μετεωρολογικῶν] μετεο- B
 ὀκτώ] ὀκτώ B

A second hand (B²) later corrected (or tried to correct) some bad readings and orthographical mistakes of B.

πέμπτον] πράττον B, in πέμπτον corr. B²
 σύνθετα] σύνθεται B, in σύνθετα corr. B²
 ἀτελεστέρων] ἀπελεστέρων B, in ἀπλουστέρων corr. B²
 αὐτῶν] αὐταῖς B, in αὐτῶν corr. B²

While copying from M, the scribe of S (= Antonios Eparchos) made only two mistakes:

ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἀψύχων – διαλέγεται om. S (*saut du même au même*)
 ὑποκείμενον] τὸ ὑποκείμενον S

In some cases, however, he succeeded in improving the text of M, by correcting spirits, accents, and more properly interpreting some ambiguous abbreviations found in M. Interestingly, B² also succeeded in correcting on two occasions the text of M:

σύνθετα] σύνθεται M P L B : σύνθετα S B²
 αὐτῶν] αὐταῖς M^{ac} P L B : αὐτῶν M^{pc} S B²

The relationships among the extant witnesses can be represented as shown in the following stemma (Fig. 2).⁵

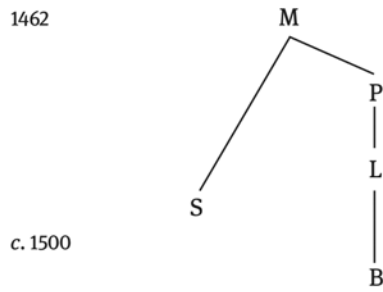


Fig. 2: Diairesis on the science of physics: *Stemma codicum*.

⁵ This reconstruction confirms the outcomes presented in Sharples 2008, 34.

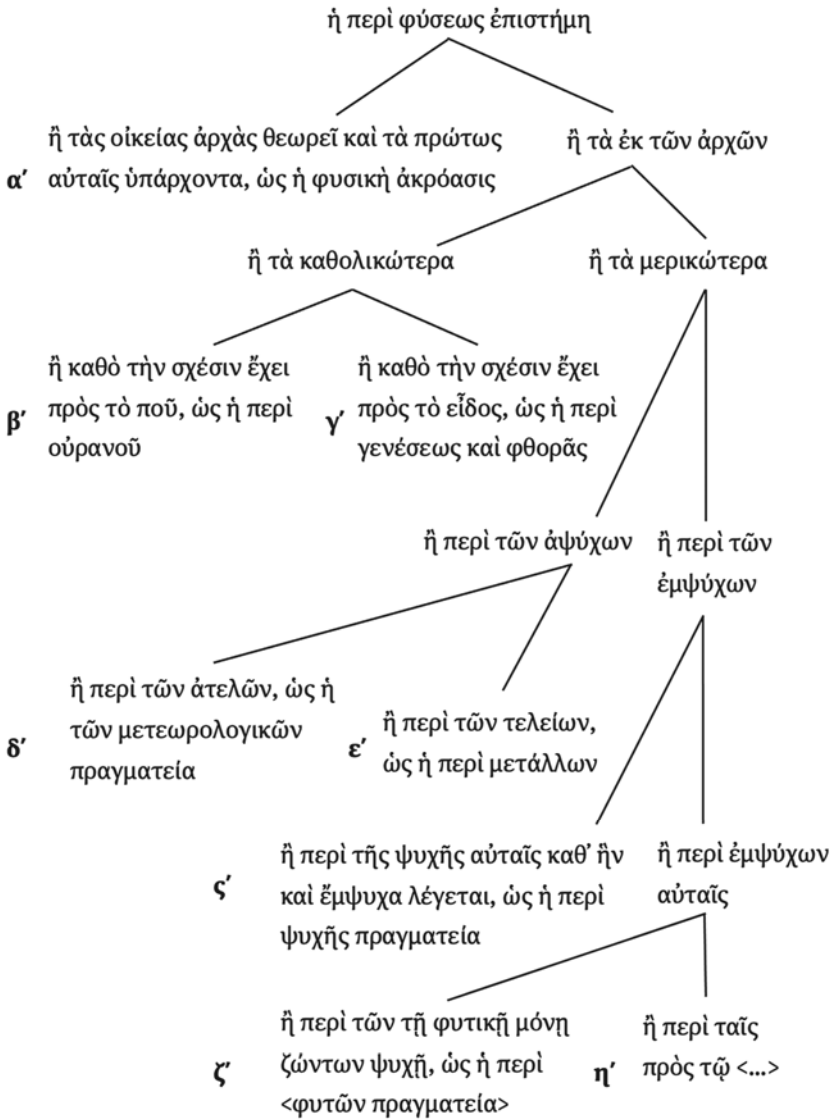
Conspectus siglorum

M = Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 88 sup.

S = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, Σ.III.1.

Monfasani = ed. Monfasani 2018, 420–426.

διαίρεσις Ἀνδρονίκου Καλλίστου



α' αὐτοῖς codd.: correxi ζ' post περὶ verba excisa sunt in M: supplevi

η' τῷ M P L B: ταύ- S, proxima verba excisa sunt in M

Διαιρέσεις Ἀνδρονίκου Καλλίστου

1. Ἐπειδὴ τῆς περὶ φύσεως ἐπιστήμης ὑποκείμενον ἐστὶ τὸ φυσικὸν σῶμα ἢ τὸ κινητὸν ὄν – τοῦτο δὲ ἢ ἀρχαὶ εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς προσόντα ἢ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν –, ἀνάγκη δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην τὰς τε οἰκείας ἀρχὰς εἶδέναι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ φυσικὴ ἐπιστήμη διαιρούσα ἑαυτὴν, ἐνὶ μὲν τῶν αὐτῆς μορίων τὰς οἰκείας ἀρχὰς θεωρεῖ καὶ τὰ ταύταις πρῶτως προσόντα· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ μέρει διαλέγεται ὁ Ἄριστοτέλης περὶ τε τῶν φυσικῶν ἀρχῶν – αὗται δ' εἰσὶ τὸ ὑλικὸν καὶ εἰδικὸν ποιητικὸν τε καὶ τελικὸν αἴτιον –, περὶ τε τῶν πρῶτως αὐταῖς ὑπαρχόντων – ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶ κίνησις, τόπος, χρόνος καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐτέρῳ δὲ τῶν αὐτῆς μορίων τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν θεωρεῖ.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἢ καθολικώτερα εἰσὶν ἢ μερικώτερα, καὶ τῶν καθολικωτέρων τὰ μὲν σχέσις ἔχει πρὸς τὸ ποῦ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀπλῶς εἶδος, εἰ μὲν περὶ τῶν καθολικωτέρων καὶ σχέσις ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ ποῦ θεωρεῖ, ἢ περὶ οὐρανοῦ πραγματεία ἀνακύπτει. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκείνη ὑποκείμενον τὸ κινητὸν ὄν ἢ σχέσις ἔχει πρὸς τὸ ποῦ, ἢν τε περὶ τοῦ πρώτου στοιχείου – ὃ δὴ καὶ πέμπτον σῶμα φαμέν –, ἢν τε περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὴν σελήνην στοιχείων ὁ λόγος ὑπάρχει. εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν καθολικωτέρων καὶ σχέσις ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ ἀπλῶς εἶδος, ἢ περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς ἀνακύπτει πραγματεία. ἔστι γὰρ ὑποκείμενον ἐκείνη τὸ κινητὸν ὄν ἢ σχέσις ἔχει πρὸς τὸ ἀπλῶς εἶδος· περὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀπλῶς γενέσεως ὁ λόγος ἐκεῖ. ἢ δὴ καθάπερ τινος ἐσχάτου τέλους τοῦ ἀπλῶς εἶδους ἐφιεμένη, ἐπειδ' ἂν τούτου τύχη, ἴσταται καὶ περαιτέρω οὐ πολυπραγμονεῖ.

3. Εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν μερικωτέρων, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα σύνθετα, τῶν δὲ συνθέτων, τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα, τὰ δ' ἔμψυχα. μιμεῖται δὲ ἡ διδασκαλία τὴν φύσιν καὶ κατ' ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτελεστέρων ἐπὶ τὰ τελειότερα πρόεισι· διὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον περὶ τῶν ἀψύχων, εἶτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐμψύχων διαλέγεται.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἀψύχων τὰ μὲν εἰσὶν ἀτελεῖ, τὰ δὲ τελειότερα, πρῶτον περὶ τῶν ἀτελεστέρων διαλέγεται. καὶ οὕτως ἢ τῶν μετεωρολογικῶν πραγματεία ἀνακύπτει. ἔστι γὰρ ὑποκείμενον ἐκείνη τὸ ἀτελεὲς σύνθετον κινητὸν ὄν ἢ σχέσις ἔχει πρὸς τὸ τοιόνδε εἶδος.

7–10 περὶ–τοιαῦτα] cf. Simpl., in Phys. 6,4–30 Diels 8–9 αὗται–αἴτιον] cf. Arist., Phys. 194b 16–195a 3 9–10 ταῦτα–τοιαῦτα] cf. Arist., Phys. 202b 30–36 16 πρώτου στοιχείου] cf. Arist., Meteor. 339b 17–25 22 περαιτέρω–πολυπραγμονεῖ] cf. Nikeph. Xanth., Hist. Eccl. 9,36

5 αὐτῆς Monfasani 12 καθολικώτερα sec. S correxi: καθολικώτερον M | μερικώτερα sec. S correxi: μερικώτερον M 16 ἢν^l sec. S correxi: ἢν M Monfasani | ἢν^m sec. S correxi: ἢν M Monfasani 20 ἢ δὴ sec. S correxi: ἢ δὴ M: ἢδὴ Monfasani 21 τύχη Monfasani 23 σύνθετα sec. S correxi: σύνθετα M

Diairesis by Andronikos Kallistos

1. Since the subject matter of the science of physics is the physical body or the mobile – such things are either first principles and the things that appertain to the first principles or the things that derive from first principles –, it is necessary that every science know the first principles peculiar to it and the things that derive from the first principle. Therefore, also the science of physics in dividing itself investigates the peculiar principles of its parts and the things that primarily appertain to them. Lecturing on physics consists of this. For in this section (of physics) Aristotle talks of its first principles – they are the material and the formal causes, the efficient and the final causes –, and with regard to the things that primarily appertain to these first principles – they are motion, place, time, and other things of this kind. In another section of the parts of physics, it investigate the things that stem from the principles.

2. Since these things are either more general or more particular, and of the more general, some things have a relationship [to each other] in a spatial sense, whereas some other things (have a relationship) on purely a formal level, if it investigates more general things having a spatial relationship, a study of the heavens will emerge. For the mobile is the subject matter of that study insofar as it has a relationship in a spatial sense, regardless of whether the study is about the first element – which is what we call this fifth body – or the elements after the moon. But if the study is about more general things having a relationship on purely a formal level, the study of the generation and corruption emerges. For the mobile is the subject matter of this part of physics insofar as this part has a relationship with what is purely form; for the discussion of the generation in absolute terms is there. And when physics, targeting the form as some final end, once achieved it stops and investigates no further.

3. If, however, the study is about particular things, since these things are compounds, then it studies the compounds, which are the inanimate things and the animate. Teaching imitates nature and accordingly proceeds from the less perfect to the more perfect; consequently it deals first with the inanimate and than with the animate.

4. Since among the inanimate some are imperfect and others more perfect, one deals first with the more imperfect. And thus the subject matter of meteorology emerges. For its subject matter is the mobile imperfect entity insofar as the entity has a relationship in respect to such a form.

5. Εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν τελειωτέρων διαλέγεται, ἢ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων πραγματεία ἀνακύπτει ἢ δὴ ὑποκείμενον ἐστὶν τὸ ἐντελὲς σύνθετον κινητὸν ὃν ἢ σχέσιν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ τοιόνδε εἶδος.

6. Εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐμψύχων, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἔμψυχα ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ σώματος, ἰδίᾳ μὲν περὶ ψυχῆς διαλέγεται καθὸ σχέσιν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ τοιόνδε σῶμα, τὸ δὲ 5 ἔστιν ἢ περὶ ψυχῆς πραγματεία σ' οὔσα τὴν τάξιν.

7. Εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐμψύχων σωμάτων διαλέγεται, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κατὰ μόνην τὴν φυτικὴν ζῆ, τὰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς, δύο αὔθις μέρη ἀνακύπτει, ὧν θάτερον μὲν ἢ περὶ φυτῶν ἐστὶ πραγματεία, θάτερον δὲ ἢ περὶ ζώων.

8. Καὶ οὕτω δὴ τοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς διαιρέσεως ὀκτὼ μέρη τῆς φυσικῆς ἀνεφά- 10 νησαν ἐπιστήμης.

5. If, however, one deals with the more perfect, the discussion of metals emerges insofar as the subject matter is the perfected mobile entity insofar as it has a relationship in respect to such a form.

6. If, however, one deals with animate things, since the animated consist of soul and body, the discussion is about what is peculiar concerning the soul insofar as the soul has a relationship in respect to such a body; that discussion, however, is the discussion on the soul, i.e. number six according to the scheme.

7. If, however, the discussion is on animate bodies, since some live solely in accordance with the vegetative faculty, while others in accordance with the rest of the faculties, the subject once again reveals itself as dividing in two parts, of which one is the discussion of the plants, while the other is the discussion of the animals.

8. And thus from this division there appears to be eight parts of the physical science.

4 Letter to Palla Strozzi

As already noticed by Alessandro Perosa, despite of the lack of explicit indication of the year, the epistle can be dated back to the year <1459>.¹ It represents the last piece of evidence on Andronikos' first sojourn in Bologna (1453–1459). The text has been published for the first time in Perosa 1953 (= reprinted in Perosa 2000, 89–101), without any translation. As far as I am concerned, it is handed down only in the autograph by Kallistos,² which is today kept in the Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì (Raccolte Piancastelli, Sezione Autografi Secc. XII–XVIII, *ad vocem* Andronico Bisanzio).

I have edited the text preserving every original orthographic feature (see e.g. both μέχρι τουνῶν [line 4] and μέχρι τοῦ νῶν [line 9]) and correcting two small oversights which are found in Perosa 1953 (χαλεποτάτων *in* χαλεπωτάτων [line 8]; ὡς *in* ἧ [line 15]).

¹ See *supra*, § 1.3.3.

² As already presented in Orlandi 2014a, 166 n. 12. For a reproduction, see Plate 9.

Τῷ εὐγενεῖ καὶ σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ Παλλάντι τῷ Στρογιᾷ Ἀνδρόνικος Βυζάντιος εὖ πρᾶττειν.

Θαυμάσεις ἴσως ὅτι τοῖς προτέροις ἐκείνοις γράμμασιν ὑποσχόμενος ἀφίξε-
σθαι ἅμα ἔαρι ὡς ὑμᾶς ἀνεβαλόμεν μέχρι τουνῦν· ἀλλ' ἦν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰδῆς, παύση
θαυμάζων. βουλόμενος γὰρ πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀναστάσεως ἀφικέσθαι, 5
ἐκωλύθη τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἕνεκεν εἰς Βονωνίαν μελλούσης ἐπιδημίας, ἣ
γέγονε μὲν οὐπω, ἔσται δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ. Ἴν' οὖν μὴ τὴν θεᾶν ἐκείνην τῆς εἰσόδου
τῆς θαυμαστῆς ἀπολέσω (ὃ δὴ μοι τῶν χαλεπωτάτων ἔδοξεν ἄν, εἰ τοιαύτης ἑορ-
τῆς ἀθέατος ἔμεινα), ἀνεβαλόμεν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῆς τε ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης
ἑορτῆς μεταλάχω καὶ τῆς τοῦ θειοτάτου καρδινάλεως συνουσίας (ἐλεύσεται γὰρ 10
κάκεϊνος σὺν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ), τότε καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφίξομαι ποθοῦντας ποθῶν.
πέπεισμαι γὰρ τὴν περὶ ἐμὲ ὑμῶν εὖνοιαν ἀμετάβλητον μένειν, εὖ εἰδῶς τὸ ὑμέ-
τερον ἐπεικέες καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, ἃ δὴ σοὶ τὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἔμφυτα τυγχάνει
ὄντα ἀγαθὰ, καὶ ἅμα τὸ σόν, ὧ θαυμάσιε, περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φίλτρον φωνήν. Ἐπει-
δὴν δὲ ἀφίκωμαι, τὴν τε ἑορτὴν ὑμῖν διηγῆσομαι καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ εἰς πλάτος, καὶ ἦ 15
ἂν ὑμῖν δόξη ποιήσω. εὐτύχει.

Ἵσταν γράφης, πρόσσεχε τίμη μέλλεις πέμπειν τὰ γράμματα· τὸ γὰρ πιστὸν ἐν
ὀλίγοις νῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν· οἱ γὰρ πλείους κακίους. τὴν Μάρθαν καὶ πάν-
τας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ προσαγόρευσον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

Ἐν Βονωνίᾳ πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν Μαΐου

20

(verso)

Magnifico ac sapien-
tissimo viro d(omino) Pal-
lanti Strogie stre-
nuo equiti.

25

Patauii

18 οἱ γὰρ πλείους κακίους] cf. Hom., *Od.* 2,277 et e.g. Ael. Arist., Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων 226,33 Jebb

12–13 ἡμέτερον cod. 18–19 πάντας in ras.

Andronikos of Constantinople greets the noble and learned Lord Palla Strozzi.

You may be surprised that, although I promised in the previous letter that I would come to you with the arrival of spring, I have so far postponed; however, if you knew the reason, you would immediately stop wondering. I intended to arrive before the feast of the holy resurrection, but I was prevented from doing so because of the Pope's imminent visit to Bologna, a visit that has not yet taken place, but will soon. So, in order not to miss the spectacle of the extraordinary arrival (it would really seem to me to be one of the worst things ever, if I remained without having seen such a celebration), I kept delaying until now. After I have attended this sacred celebration and met the cardinal (he will in fact also come together with the pope), then I will come to you, for I am desired by you as much as I desire you. I am sure that your benevolence towards me has remained unchanged, since I am very familiar with your amiability and affection, values which are inherent in you and in those around you, and at the same time your love for the Greek language. And when I arrive, I will tell you everything inside and out, and I will do whatever you require. Take care of yourself.

If you intend to write something in response, be careful who you intend to deliver the letter to: there are very few men who can be trusted now. The majority are not. Greetings to Martha and all those who live in your household from me.

Bologna, 28 April <1459>

5 Letters to Demetrios <Chalkondyles>

These two letters were first published in Powell 1939 (without translation and critical apparatus) from a manuscript kept in Cambridge (*siglum* C in my edition; see below). We owe to Powell the identification of the correspondents with Andronikos <Kallistos> and Demetrios <Chalkondyles>. Despite the fact that both surnames are missing, there is no doubt about this identification due to the explicit mention of the places, i.e. Bologna and Padua, where Kallistos and Chalkondyles were respectively residing in the 1460s.¹ The second letter bears evidence to the authors and works on which Andronikos was lecturing at that time in Bologna: Pindar, Phalaris, the *Grammar* by Gazes, and some writings by Aristotle ῥωμαῖστὶ ('in Latin').

To my knowledge, only two witnesses transmit the text:

V = Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, F 40

Paper, third quarter of the fifteenth century, mm 197 × 140, fols II+78 (+58bis). *Cat.*: Martini 1902, II, 160–161. *Bibl.*: Orlandi 2014a, 165 n. 8. The text is found at fols 65r–68r, in the hand of <Aristobulos Apostoles> and <Michael Suliardos>.

C = Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.36

Paper, sixteenth century, mm 225 × 152, fols 192+9. *Cat.*: James 1902, 135–159. *Bibl.*: Powell 1939. Below some remarks found in Powell 1939, 14:

Bound-in at the end and unnoticed by the cataloguer, are two quires of unglazed paper, watermarked Briquet no. 3409. Each consists of two double-leaves and is numbered α and β respectively on the middle foot of the first recto. Fol. 8 is blank, and fol. 7 is cut down, but the first six leaves contain two letters, the former on fol. 1r, 2r, 3r, 4r and 5r, the latter on foll. 5v, 6r and 6v.

¹ 'As Andronicus held his chair at Bologna from 1464 to about 1469 and Demetrius his at Padua from 1463 to 1471 [...], the date of the originals must be about 1465' (= Powell 1939, 14). We actually know that Andronikos was lecturing in Bologna since 1462; see *supra*, § 1.4 and 2.2.

Ἀνδρόνικος Δημητρίῳ εὖ πράττειν.

1. Εἰ τὸ κατηγορεῖν καὶ καθάπτεσθαι τῶν φίλων ἄλλο τί νομίζεις αὐτὸς ἢ τὸ φάναί τὰ καθήκοντα μὴ τιμῆσαι περιδόντας, ἤμαρτον αὐτὸς μὴ κατηγορηθεῖς ἀπολογησάμενος καθάπερ ἐγκεκλημένος. εἰ δ' ὅπερ οἱ πάντες τίθενται τὸ κατηγορεῖν τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸν σε οὐκ ἀμφισβητοῦντα τίθεσθαι δεῖ, κατηγορήσας μὲν αὐτὸς εἰπὼν μὴ τιμῆσαι μὲ τὰ καθήκοντα, οὐχ ἤμαρτον δ' αὖ ἐγὼ πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀπνητηκῶς, εἰ μή που κατὰ τοῦτο γε πεπλημμεληκῶς ἂν εἶην, ὅτι, δέον δεινώσαι τὸν λόγον καὶ περιβαλεῖν ὄχυρωσάμενον καθάπερ ἀκρόπολιν, ἀπλούστερόν πως καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀφελείας ἀπὴντηκα, ὡς πρὸς φίλον ἀπολογούμενος. ὥπερ αὐτὸς ἐντυχῶν καθάπερ ἐρμαίῳ ποικίλως περιστρέφεις τὸν λόγον, καὶ νῦν μὲν πλάττοντά με δικαστήρια παρεισάγεις καὶ δίκας καὶ εἰσαγωγάς (πρόσθετες, εἰ βούλει, καὶ ἐνδείξεις καὶ βουλευσεις καὶ ἀπαγωγάς), καὶ δεινὸν ἀποκαλεῖς, ὡς καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀκούσαντάς μου ἐμέ τε ἀπολελυκέναι αἰτίας καὶ σὲ τῶν ὑπευθύνων εἶναι ὑπειληφέναι, νῦν δ' αὖ πειρώμενος διαλύειν τοὺς λόγους, ὥπερ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας συνωσθεῖς, ὁμολογεῖς μου τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπλότητα τῶν ῥάστων εἶναι λέγων τὸ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπαντᾶν, οὕτω τοι, δεινὸν χρῆμα, ῥητορικὸς ἀνὴρ συμπλέξας ὁμοῦ σοφιστικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν δεινότητα. τὸ δέ, καὶ καταχρώμενον ταῖς λέξεσι καὶ ἄλλο τί τιθέμενον τὸ κατηγορεῖν ἤπερ ἢ χρῆσις βούλεται, οἶεσθαι ἀπατήσιν με μὴ δυνάμενον φωρᾶσαι τὸ σόφισμα, πῶς οὐ δεινότητι θαροῦντος πλεῖστον ἐστὶ καὶ οἰομένου πειθοῖ τὰ πάντα ῥᾶστα δύνασθαι κατορθοῦν;

2. Ὅτι δ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπλούστερον χρῶμαι τοῖς λόγοις καὶ φιλοσοφία προσήκουσιν, οὐ πλάσσω ἀλλ' ἀφηγούμενος ὡς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα, αὐτὸς δὲ ῥητορικώτερον ἀπαντᾶς, προφανέστερον γένοιτ' ἂν ἐξ ὧν Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ θεῖος παρακελεύεται. ἴπᾳ γάρ τις — φησί — φεύγει λύπης αἴτιος εἶναι τοῖς φίλοις· διόπερ οἱ ἀνδρώδεις τὴν φύσιν εὐλαβοῦνται συλλυπεῖν τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῖς'. καὶ παρακατιῶν, ἥκιστα — φησί — μεταδιδόναί δεῖ τῶν κακῶν· ὅθεν γε ἄλις ἐγὼ δυστυχῶ. μάλιστα δὲ παρακλητέον ὅταν μέλλωσιν ὀλίγα ὀχληθέντες μεγάλα αὐτὸν ὠφελῆσιν'. οὐκ οὖν αὐτὸς πλάσσω ἢ λόγους οὐδ' αὖ μικρὰ χαριζόμενος μεγάλως ἐλύπουν, ἀλλὰ δόγμα σώζων φιλοσοφίας, μικρὰ λυπῶν ἐχαριζόμεν μειζόνως. καὶ τὸ

26–27 πᾶς–αὐτοῖς] Arist., *EN* 1171b 5–7 28–30 ἥκιστα–ὠφελῆσιν] Arist., *EN* 1171b 17–19

inscriptio ἀνδρ(όνικος) δη(μη)τρι(φ) V 3 καὶ supra lin. scr. C | ἄλλο τι V | νομίζεις e corr. V 4 φάναί e φάνας corr. V: φᾶναι C | περιδόντας e corr. V 5 ἀπολογούμενος Powell | οἱ πάντες] ἅπαντες Powell 6 κατηγορήσας V C: correxi 7 τιμῆσαι με C 8 ἀπνητηκῶς e corr. C: ἀπνητικῶς scr., postea in ἀπνητικῶς mut. V 9 περιβαλεῖν V 9–10 ἀπλούστερον πῶς V C 11 ἐρμαίῳ V περιστρέφεις e περιστραφεῖς corr. V C 12 πλάττοντα με V 14 ἀκούσαντας μοῦ V 15 πειρώμενος V (idem infra) 17 τὸ om. Powell | ἀπαντᾶν C | δεινὸν (sic) V 19 κατὰ χρώμενον C | ἄλλο τι V 20 με] μὲν V 24 πλάττων V 25 προφανές V | ὁ θεῖος om. C 28 γε] τὸ V 31 μειζόνως] μεγάλως Powell

Andronikos sends his greetings to Demetrios.

1. If you consider criticising and reproaching friends something different from saying that someone neglected to preserve respect, I was wrong to defend myself as being accused without having been accused. If, on the other hand, you consider without hesitation accusing someone as everyone does, you have accused me by saying that I have not preserved respect, whereas I was not wrong in responding to the accusation; however, I may have been wrong in this, having replied in a certain sense with simplicity and too frankly, in the way one defends oneself before a friend, instead of giving strength to the words and building an imposing defence as around a fortress. Having found in this a fortuitous advantage, you twist the discourse variously, and now conceive me imagining courts, condemnations, and summonses (add also, if you will, charges, deliberations, and imprisonments), and you call me crafty, so that you thought that the judges, after hearing me, would have cleared me of the accusation and found you guilty; now instead, by attempting in turn to refute my words, as if driven by truth, you proclaim the plainness of my words, saying that it ranks amongst the simplest of things to reply to them, thus intertwining like a good rhetorician – an awe-inspiring thing! – the ability to speak like a sophist and with great expressiveness. But to think I would have replied without being able to discover trickery, without overusing words or considering the accusation to be something other than what is usually intended, how can this not be peculiar to one who trusts strongly in his cleverness and who thinks that he can achieve everything very easily by the power of persuasion?

2. That I use words in a fairly simple manner proper to philosophy, without pretending, but exposing things as they are, and that you respond instead in a rather rhetorical manner, can best be clarified by what the divine Aristotle prescribes. He says: 'For everyone avoids being a cause of grief to his friends. Precisely for this reason the one who is manly by nature refrains from making his friends participate in his pain'. And going on in his speech he says: 'One should make them participate as little as possible in one's misfortunes; hence the saying: "It is enough that I be miserable!". And one must call them to the rescue especially when they can be of great help with little trouble'. I was certainly not the one who was dissimulating, nor on the other hand did I suffer greatly by

παράδειγμα ὅπερ ἐπάγεις οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν ἀρμόττει. οὐ γὰρ περιπεσῶν ἦσθα κινδύνους τοῖς θάνατον ἀπειλοῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ξυροῦ σοι τὰ πράγματα, τὸ λεγόμενον, καθειστήκει, ἀλλὰ βουλήν ἐζήτεις ὅ τι ἂν σοι ποιητέα εἴη. ἦν ἀπορῶν εὐρεῖν ἐσιώπων, ὡσπερ κἄν, εἴ τις μοι νοσῶν ἀλεξητήριον ἤτησεν, οὐ δικαίως ἂν μου κατηγόρει εἴπερ οὐ δι' ὑπεροψίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀπορίαν ἐσίγων. ὀρῶμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν 5 Πυθίαν πολλάκις σιγήσασαν, ὁπότε ἠπόρει περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποφαίνεσθαι. καίτοι τί βέλτιον ἢ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα μιμεῖσθαι ἐν οἷς ἐγχωρεῖ, ἰατρὸν ὁμοῦ ὄντα καὶ μάντιν σοφόν; ὅλως δὲ ἦν ἀνάγκη γράψαντα τὴν αἰτίαν δηλώσαι, δι' ἣν οὐ μετεπεμπόμην προβαλλόμενος τὴν ἀπορίαν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὅπερ μέλλον λυπήσειν ἐφυλαττόμην. συνῆπται γὰρ ἄμφω ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι θεραπεύσαντα λόγοις μικρὸν μὴ 10 λυπήσαι μεζόνως.

3. Ἄ δ' ἀπαντῶν πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν ἀπολογία φῆς, πῶς οὐ ῥητορικά, ἵνα μὴ λέγω σοφιστικά; ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς βιαζόμενος οὕτω διαρρήδην, φεῦ, ἐμὲ τὸν μετὰ πάσης ἀπλότητος τοῖς λόγοις χρώμενον βιαζόμενον καλεῖς. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι 'οἱ φῶρες προσεγκαλοῦσιν'. ὅτι δ' οὕτως ἔχει, θεᾶ ὡς μετὰ πάσης ἀπλότητος καὶ 15 ἐπιεικειᾶς διαιτήσω τῷ λόγῳ. ὁμολογείσθω ἀμφοῖν ἡμῖν τὴν τῶν Ἐνετῶν πόλιν περιφανεστάτην εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν καθάπερ εἰς ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν ἅπαντα συντετρῆσθαι, ὡσπερ εἴρηται τῷ περὶ Ῥώμης τῶν παλαιτέρων. τούτου διομολογηθέντος, αὐτὸς μὲν πολλῶ πλείους ἐντεῦθεν βαδίζειν φῆς ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν Ἐνετίαζε, ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι τούναντίον ἅπαν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου συμβαίνειν. ἐκ 20 μὲν γὰρ Παταυίου Ἐνετίαζε πάνυ τοι βραχὺ τὸ διάστημα, Ἐνετίηθεν δ' ὡς ἡμᾶς πολλαπλάσιον, εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἅμα ῥᾶον τοὺς ἀστυγεῖτονας πρὸς ἀλλήλους φοιτᾶν ἢ τοὺς πόρρω που κατοικοῦντας ('γεῖτονες ἄζωστοι ἔκιον, ζῶσαντο δὲ πηοί'), προσέτι δὲ καὶ <διὰ> τὸ τὴν μὲν Ἀντήνορος πόλιν ὑπ' Ἐνετοῖς τελεῖν, Βονωνίαν δ' αὐτόνομον εἶναι ἀνάγκη πολλῶ πλείους αὐτόθεν Ἐνετίαζε ἢ ἐντεῦθεν πορεύεσθαι. 25 ὅλως δὲ ἐρώτησον φιλοσόφους, ἱερεῖς, ἐμπόρους, χειροτέχνας, παῖδας αὐτούς· συνομολογήσουσι γὰρ μοι πάντες. καίτοι πῶς οὐ βίαιος ἂν εἴης πρὸς τοσοῦτους βουλόμενος ἀντιτείνειν; ποτέρους δὲ καὶ φῆς πλείους ἀφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἀφ' ὑμῶν πορεύεσθαι Ἐνετίαζε, τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἢ τοὺς ἀλλαχόθεν δι' ἡμῶν ἰόντας; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀλλαχόθεν, δι' ἡμῶν μὲν οὐδένας πλὴν Τυρρηνῶν — ἐγὼ δὲ 30 λέγειν ὅτι κάκεινων οἱ πλείους εἰς Ἀπεννῖνον ἀφιγμένοι καταλιπόντες Βονωνίαν ἐπαιριστερὰ εὐθὺν Ῥαυένης ἐλαύνουσι κάκειθεν ναυσὶ κομίζονται Ἐνετίαζε —, δι'

14–15 οἱ φῶρες προσεγκαλοῦσιν] Lib., *Epist.* 1134 1,1 Foerster 23 γεῖτονες–πηοί] Hes., *Op.* 343

2 τοῖς om. V 2–3 οὐδ'–καθειστήκει om. Powell 3 καθειστήκει e corr. V | ante εἴη scr. εἶναι, postea del. V 4 τις V C | μοι om. V 5 εἴπερ in εἴπερ mut. V | ἐσίγων] ἐσιώπων Powell post 8 γράψαντα iter. ἦν V C 9 προβαλλόμενον V 13 φευ V 16 τῶν om. V 22 ῥᾶον e corr. C 24 διὰ add. Powell | τὴν om. V 26–27 παῖδας αὐτούς e corr. V 32 ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ C | Ῥαυένης V: Ῥαβένης Powell

suffering little, but, keeping in mind the philosophical precept, by suffering little I was more compassionate, and the example you give does not fit at all. For you were not in danger of death, nor was the situation for you, as people say, bad, but you only wanted advice on what to do. Not knowing what to tell you, I kept silent in the same way as if a sick person asked me for a cure; he would not justly accuse me if I kept silent, not out of arrogance, but out of uncertainty. We see that even the Pythia was often silent when she was not able to express her opinion on the future. And what is finer than imitating Apollo as far as possible, him who was both physician and wise diviner? But it was absolutely necessary for me to write to clarify why I did not call you and I maintain my uncertainty. This was what I was warned against, for it was destined to make someone suffer. The two things are interconnected, so that you could not, having helped little with words, make people not suffer more.

3. As far as the things you say in response to the other apology are concerned, how are they not rhetorical, lest I say sophistical? Therein you, with such clear violence, alas, call me who uses such blunt words, ‘violent’. It is indeed true then that ‘thieves accuse’. That things are thus, consider how simply and moderately I try to explain. We must both agree that the city of the Venetians is the most illustrious of all and everything is traced back to it as to the beginning and the end, as some of the ancients say about Rome. Assuming this, you say that many more people go from here to Venice than go from here to you; I, on the other hand, believe that the contrary results from your argument. Indeed, the distance from Padua to Venice is minimal, while from Venice to us it is much greater, and it is obvious that the citizens of the two cities have even easier relations with one another than with those who live far away (‘the neighbours went naked, the relatives put on their belts’), and, again, due to the fact that the city of Antenor is under the control of the Venetians, whereas Bologna is independent, it is necessary that many more people go from there to Venice than from here. Ask the scholars, the priests, the merchants, the artisans, the children themselves: they will all agree with me. Would you not be arrogant in wanting to oppose so many? Which ones of us do you say go more often than yours to Venice, the local ones or those who come to us from elsewhere? Well, if you mean the foreigners, no one passes through here except the Tuscans – I neglect to say that even most of them, having made the journey toward the Apennines and having left Bologna on their left, proceed straight ahead to Ravenna and from there arrive by boat in Venice –, whereas people from Vicenza, Verona,

ὕμῶν δὲ Οὐικεντῖνοι, Οὐερωναῖοι, Βρηξιανοί, Βεργαμινοί, Παιιανοί, Μεδιολανεῖς ἐξ ἄλλων τὲ πλείστων πόλεων ὧν ἐκάστη οὐκ ἐλάττων Βονωνίας ἐστὶ. καὶ οὐπω λέγω τὰ ἐπέκεινα Ἄλπεων ἔθνη μέγιστα οἰκοῦντα (Κελτούς, Γαλάτας, Βρετανούς, Βουργουδιανούς, Γερμανῶν τοὺς πλείστους), ὧν οὐδένα οἶον τε εἰ μὴ δι' ὕμῶν Ἐνετίαιζε ἀφικνεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους, τίνας, ὧ φιλότης, πρὸς τῆς 5 πειθοῦς; τοὺς στρατιώτας; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποισ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐμπόρους; δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι πάντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς διδασκάλους ἴσως καὶ τοὺς σχολαστικούς; ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν οὐδέποτε ἀφικνούμεθα, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὲν συχνότερον, ἦν δὲ καὶ διχονοία τις μεταξὺ τῶν ἐταίρων συμβῆ (φιλεῖ δέ, ὡς οἴσθα, πολλακίς συμβαίνειν), εἰ μὴ πλείους ἦσαν αἱ κομίζουσαι νῆες, διερρή- 10 γνυντ' ἂν, ὡστιζομένων ὕμῶν εἰς αὐτάς.

4. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἄγνωστος εἶ, ἐγὼ δὲ γνώριμος· ἔστω. διατοῦτο δὲ καὶ ῥᾶον ὑμῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστέλλειν. ὧ γὰρ ἂν ἐπιθῆς αὐτὸς τὰ γράμματα φέρειν, οἴσει καὶ ἀποδώσει· εὐρήσει γὰρ ῥαδίως γνώριμον ὄντα. αὐτὸς δ' ἦν ἐπιθωμαί τω φέρειν, οὐ κομιεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον εὐρεῖν τὸν ὀλίγοις γνώριμον. καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα 15 καὶ πάνυ ἀρμόττει. οἱ τε γὰρ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καθημένοι ῥᾶον βάλλουσι τοὺς ἐν προφανεῖ (καὶ δηλοῖ Πάρις τὸν Διομήδη μὲν βαλὼν, Ἀχιλλέα δὲ καὶ καταβαλὼν), οἱ τε τοῖς ὀλίγοις γνώριμοι ῥᾶον ἐπιστέλλουσι πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους πολλοῖς. οὐδὲ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Ἄιδος κυνέην αὐτοὺς ἀμπέχεσθαι οὐτ' ἔγωγε εἴρηκα οὐτ' αὐτὸς φῆς. καίτοι γε καὶ τοῖς ταύτην ἀμπεχομένοις ἐξῆν ἐπιθεῖναι τω τῶν δεῦρο πορευο- 20 ομένων τὰ γράμματα, ἀποδυθέντας ἐπιμικρὸν τὴν κυνέην. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν Ἐνετίησι τινα τῶν γνωρίμων πρὸς ὃν πέμψοις τὰ γράμματα, καὶ ἡμῖν μετὰ πλείονος τοῦ δικαίου ῥητέον ὅσω σὺ πλησίον τὲ Ἐνετιῶν οἰκεῖς, μακρὰν οἰκούντων ἡμῶν, καὶ θαμὰ βαδίξεις ἐκεῖσε, ἡμῶν οὐδ' ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους πορευομένων. ὅλως τε ὅσα πρὸς τὸ γνώριμον καὶ τὸ ἄγνωστον ἀφορᾷ, πρὸς ἡμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ 25 πρὸς ὕμῶν τυγχάνει ὄντα.

5. Τί ἔτι; ἐν δυσὶν ἢ φιλία· οὐκ ἀμφισβητῶ. καὶ τὰ γινόμενα τιμᾶν ἐκότερον δεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐ θάτερον μόνον. ὁμολογῶ, ἦν μὴ τι κωλύη. πρόσθετες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅπερ ὁ λόγος ἐβούλετο, ὅτι καὶ θάτερον σφύζοντα μὴ <δεῖ> ἐπιτιμᾶν θατέρῳ ἦν μὴ σφύζῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν περιστατικῶν κωλυόμενος. οὕτω γὰρ χωρὶς ἐγκλήματος 30 τηρεῖται τὰ φιλικὰ τοῖς διὰ τὸ καλὸν ἀλλήλους φιλοῦσι, καὶ μὴ δι' ἡδονὴν ἢ διὰ

1 δὲ om. V | Οὐερωναῖοι ex οὐαιφωναῖοι corr. V | Βρηξιανοί V | Βοργαμινοί V | παβιανοί V
2 ἄλλον V | ἐλάττων ex ἐλλάτων corr. V: ἐλάσσων Powell 3 ἔθνη Ἄλπεων V | οἰκοῦντα om. V
3–4 βριτανούς V 4 οἶον τε V post 8 οὖν iter. πάντες, postea del. C | οὐδεπωπόποτε (sic) V
10 οἴσθα Powell 12 διὰ τοῦτο V 17 τὸν om. V | Δημομήδην C ante 18 ῥᾶον scr. μᾶλλον, postea del. V 20 ἐπιθεῖναι τω V 21 ἐπί μικρὸν V | κυνῆν V 22 ἐνετίησι τινα C | πέμψης V ante 23 πλησίον τὲ scr. πλείον τὲ, postea del. V 23–24 οἰκούντων] ἀποικούντων Powell
24 βαδίξειν C 27 Τί ἔτι] τί ἐστὶ V 28 τι] τις Powell | πρόσθεν V 29 δεῖ add. Rollo | ἐπιτιμᾶν V
30 του om. V Powell 31 καλλὸν V | διὰ^{II} om. V

Brescia, Bergamo, Pavia, Milan and many other towns do pass through there, each city being not smaller than Bologna. Not to mention the great populations living on the other side of the Alps (the Celts, Gauls, Britons, Burgundians, most Germans), none of whom could reach Venice without passing through your city. If, on the other hand, you mean the citizens of here, dear friend, which ones, for the sake of persuasion? The soldiers? You would not say that. Maybe the merchants? Two or three of them once a year; yours however all go through there. Perhaps teachers and students? Well, we never go there, you on the other hand rather frequently, and if there is a disagreement between fellows (and, as you know, it often happens), if there were not so many ships carrying them, they would break apart, since you crowd onto them.

4. But you are unknown, and I am well-known; so be it. That is also why it is easier for you to send letters. For he whom you appoint to carry the letters will carry them and deliver them: for he will easily find a well known person. On the other hand, if I appointed one to carry them, he would not deliver them: for he would not so easily find someone known only to a few. And this example fits perfectly. Those who are hidden strike more easily those who are in sight (this is shown by Paris who struck down Diomedes, and also knocked down Achilles), and those known to few send letters more easily to ones known to many. Indeed, that those do not wear the cap of Hades I did not say, nor do you. Yet those who do wear it could have been entrusted with letters by those who come here, having removed the cap for a moment. But the fact that you do not know anyone in Venice to whom you could send letters, we should rather have to say that about ourselves than you about yourself, since you live nearer to Venice, whereas we live far from it, and you go there often, whereas we do not go there even once a year. As far as the issue of 'known' and 'unknown' is concerned, this is more in our defence than yours.

5. What else? Friendship is between two people: I do not dispute that. And one and the other must take all the facts into consideration, not just one of them. I agree, as long as one is not somehow prevented from doing so. Add also this (something that the discourse requires), namely the fact that one, while helping, must not blame the other if he does not help him because he is prevented by some contingent circumstance. Thus indeed without accusation the bonds of

τὸ χρήσιμον (ὄπερ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐτήρησας ἐγκεκληκῶς), ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόανθρωπον τὸ θεῖον καὶ πάνυ, αὐτὸς δέ — δέον ἐκεῖνο μνήσασθαι — οὐκ ἠθέλησας. ἐκεῖνο γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς δικαιοπραγούντας μόνον· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ χρώμενον, αὐτὸς οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς μηδὲν ἡδικηκότας ἐτήρησας, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλεῖς ἀδίκως, καὶ βιαζόμενος αὐτὸς τοὺς ἄλλους βιαζομένους καλεῖς. κἀγὼ 5 μὲν ἀπλούστερον χρώμαι τοῖς λόγοις, σὺ δέ μου κατατρυφᾷς τῆς ἀπλότητος, καὶ οὐ σὺ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡσαΐας ὁ δεινός· καὶ σὺ μὲν ῥητορικὸν με καλεῖς καὶ δεινὸν ἐν λόγοις, ὁ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχίνου δέδοικεν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὴ πάθῃ. καίτοι τίνες ἂν εἶεν ἄλλοι οἱ τὰ τοῦ Αἰσχίνου τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάμενοι δρᾶν, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς οἱ κατὰ τὸν Αἰσχίνην τοῖς λόγοις σοφιστικώτερον χρώμενοι; οἱ τοσοῦτον θαρρεῖτε τῇ 10 τέχνῃ, ὥστε καὶ κατηγοροῦντας ἀρνεῖσθαι μὴ κατηγορεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς κατηγορίας τῇ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν χειρὶ γεγραμμένης καὶ μονονουχί τὴν ἀνάκρισιν ἐκδεχομένης, ὡς ἂν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσαχθῇ. καὶ ἔπεμψα ἂν αὐτόσε τὰ ἡμέτερα γράμματα καὶ διαιτητὰς ἂν εἰλόμην κοινῇ μεθ' ὑμῶν, οἱ ἂν καὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν γραμμάτων ἀπλότητα καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑμετέρων δεινότητα θεωρήσαντες 15 ἀκριβέστερον ἐδιήτησαν, εἰ μὴ τὴν ὑμῶν ἐδεδίειν δεινότητα, μὴ κωλύσαντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς λόγοις καὶ καταγοητεύσαντες πείσητε, ὥστε δεκάσαντας τὰς ψήφους καὶ καταδικαιήσαντας ἐρήμην ἐμοῦ ὑμῶν ἀποδικαιήσαι τῶν ὑπευθύνων.

6. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων καὶ εἰσαυθις σκεψόμεθα. σὺ δ' ἔοικας εὐφραίνων τὰ μέγιστα τοῖς γράμμασι δεδιέναι μήτι λυπῆς, ἀδεὲς τῶνόντι δέος δεδιώς, οὐ γὰρ 20 ἔστιν ὅτῳ ἂν ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν ἔχῃς ἢ γράμματα πέμπων συχνότερον ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν βούλοιο. ῥαστώνης γὰρ αἴτιός μοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀηδίας, εὖ ἴσθι γινόμενος τοῦτο ποιῶν. ἡδιστον γὰρ τὸ τοῖς φίλοις συζῆν τε καὶ συνδιημερεύειν ἢ Ἀριστοτέλης τὲ παρακελεύεται, καὶ ὡς ὁ λόγος αὐτὸς αἰρεῖ. ἕκαστος γὰρ ὡς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχει καὶ πρὸς τὸν φίλον εἰκὸς ἔχειν· ἡδόμεθα δ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν αἰσθανόμενοι 25 ζώντων, καὶ τῶν φίλων τοίνυν αἰσθανομένους ζώντων ἀνάγκη χαίρειν, καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον. συνεπιδίδωσι γὰρ εἰς ἀρετὴν συνὼν τοῖς φίλοις χρηστά παρ' αὐτῶν διδασκόμενος. ὡς γὰρ 'φθειρουσιν ἦθη χρηστὰ ὀμιλία κακαί' κατὰ Μένανδρον, οὕτω καὶ κατ' ἄλλον 'ἐσθλῶν ἄπο ἐσθλὰ' διδασκόμεθα. οὕτω

20 ἀδεὲς τῶνόντι δέος δεδιώς] cf. Plat., *Symp.* 198a 5 23–24 ἦ–παρακελεύεται] cf. Arist., *EN* 1156b 4, *EE* 1234b 31–1235a 3 28 φθειρουσιν–κακαί] Men., *frgm.* 187 Körte – Thierfelder (= Men., *Sentetiae mon.* v. 808 ed. Jäkel) 29 ἐσθλῶν ἄπο ἐσθλὰ] Arist., *EN* 1172a 14; cf. Theogn. 1,35, Plat., *Meno* 95d 6

1–2 φιλόανθρωπον τὸ θεῖον] φιλόανθρωπόν τι καὶ θεῖον V 2 μνήσασθαι] μιμήσασθαι V C Powell: correxi 2–4 ἐκεῖνο^{II}–ἐτήρησας om. Powell 4 χρώμενους V 7 με ῥητορικὸν V 9 δρᾶν V 10 τὸν om. V | σοφιστικώτερον V ante 11 κατηγοροῦντας add. τοὺς Powell | καὶ ταῦτα om. Powell 13 ὑμέτερα Powell 15 γραμμάτων] λόγων Powell 16 κληήσαντες V 17 πείσητε V 18 καταδικαιήσαντες Powell 20 μήτι] μὴ Powell 21 ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον ε μᾶλλον ἄλλῳ corr. V ἔχεις V 22 εὖ om. Powell 24 τὲ om. Powell | ὡς^I om. V | αἰρεῖ e corr. V 26 χαίρειν ἀνάγκη V 29 ἄπο] ἀπ' V

friendship are preserved by those who love each other for the sake of good and not for pleasure or advantage (which indeed you have neglected to observe, since you have blamed me); but God is also benevolent, however you – it must be remembered – did not want that. For he is benevolent not only towards the righteous, but also towards wrongdoers, whereas you were not even benevolent towards those who did no wrong, but you accuse unfairly, and you, yourself violent, call others ‘violent’. I speak quite simply and you mock my simplicity, and not only you, but also the valiant Hesaias.¹ And you call me eloquent and skillful in speech, while he fears to suffer from me the effects of Aeschines. Well, who else would be capable of producing on others the same effects as Aeschines, if not you who, like Aeschines, employ words in a rather sophisticated manner? You are so confident in your rhetorical ability that while accusing me you deny that you are accusing, and that, moreover, despite the fact that the accusation is written in your own hand and is almost waiting for the investigation and ready to be presented in court. And I would have sent my letters there and would have chosen judges in agreement with you, who would have considered the accusation and the simplicity of my letters and the ability in yours, and would have taken more diligently a decision, if only I had not feared you and your ability, you who persuaded them by holding them back with words and bewitched them, so that, having distorted the sentence and condemned me *in absentia*, they would have acquitted you, albeit guilty, of the crime.

6. But we will deal with these things another time. It seems that you, by cheering me up as much as you can with your letter, are afraid of annoyance, actually frightening yourself out of a vain fear. For you cannot cheer one up in any other way than by sending letters more frequently whenever you wish. Indeed, be aware that by doing so, you would represent a source of joy to me and not a source of displeasure. It is certainly very pleasant to live amongst friends and share the days with them, as Aristotle also recommends doing, and as reason itself compels. For it is self-evident that one should behave with one’s friend as one does with oneself: we enjoy feeling alive and therefore we necessarily enjoy feeling that our friends are too, and this is most worthwhile. For we progress in virtue together by living with friends and learning the best things from them. Just as, according to Menander, ‘bad company ruins good manners’,² just as according to another we learn ‘good things from good people’. Since

¹ sc. Hesaias of Cyprus.

² This *sententia* by Menander has become famous after the quotation in the New Testament (cf. Paul., *I Cor.* 15,33).

τοίνυν ἀναγκαιοτάτου τοῦ τοῖς φίλοις συζῆν ὄντος παροῦσι μὲν ῥᾶστον συνδιημερεύειν αὐτοῖς ταπολλά, ἀποῦσι δ' οὐχ οἷον τε ἄλλως ἐντυγχάινειν εἰ μὴ τοῖς γράμμασιν. ὥστ' οὐτ' αὐτοὶ γράφοντες, εὖ ἴστε, λυπεῖτε, ἐκ τῶν ἐνότων τὰ καθήκοντα σώζοντες, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς, εὖ οἶδα, λυπῶ, ὅταν ἐπιστέλλω καὶ κατηγορῶν καὶ ἀπολογούμενος.

7. Τὸν νέον ὃν μοι συνέστησας καὶ σοῦ χάριν καὶ διὰ τὸ μέτριον αὐτοῦ ἦθος ἄσμενος ἐδεξάμην οἴκοι καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ βοηθήσω. ἔρρωσο.

5

therefore the most necessary thing of all is to live amongst friends, it is very easy to spend your days with them when they are near, but when they are far away, there is no other way to spend time with them except through letters. Therefore, neither do you annoy me by writing, as you know, and respecting that which is appropriate as far as possible, nor do I annoy you, as I know, by writing to you even if just to accuse you or to defend myself.

7. I have gladly welcomed the young man you recommended to me into the household, both because of you and because of his kindness, and I will help him as much as I can. Take care.

Ἀνδρόνικος Δημητρίω εὖ πράττειν.

1. Οὔτε πρότερον διὰ χρόνου σε ἐπιστείλαντα ἠτιασάμην αὐτός — ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπελογούμην ἐγκεκλημένος — οὔτε νῦν βραδύναντα, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖς, αἰτιῶμαι, οὐκ ἀξιῶν ἐγκαλεῖν τῷ μὴ ἡδίκηκότη ἢ μὴ ἡδίκηκεν. οὐ γὰρ ἤγημαι ἀδικίαν τὸ μὴ πυκνότερον ἐπιστέλλειν τοῖς φίλοις, ἕως ἂν μὴ δι' ἀναλησίαν ἢ διὰ τινὰ ὑπεροψίαν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τινος εὐλόγου συμβαίη κωλυόμενος μὴ πέμπειν. αὐτὸς δέ, τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν σαυτοῦ γεγονῶς κατήγορος συγγνώμην αἰτεῖς, τὸ δ' ἀληθές, εἴποι ἂν τις ῥητορικός, κατὰ σὲ νῦν δεινότερον ἐγκαλεῖς, πάνυ τοι δεδιέναι προσποιούμενος ὡς ὑπὸ του τῶν φοβερωτέρων ἐμοῦ καὶ πλήττειν ἐγνωκῶτων ἄνευ αἰτίας τοὺς φίλους. τὸ δὲ καὶ σὲ τὸν ἐγκεκληκῶτα πρότερον ὄντα, εἴθ' ὥσπερ αὐτόν με κατηγορηκῶτα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπολογησάμενον τότε, νῦν ἀπολύειν αἰτίας ἐπιχειρεῖν οἷον ὑπεραπολογούμενόν μου, πῶς οὐ σφοδρότερον ἐγκαλοῦντος ἐστὶ καὶ καθάπερ ἰχθὺν δελεάζοντος τῷ προσηνεῖ τῶν ῥημάτων, ἵνα τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἡσθεῖς καὶ νομίσας εὐγνωμοσύνην τὸ πράγμα, λαθῶν περιπέσω τοῖς βρόχοις, ὠμολογηκῶς πεπλημμεληκέναι ὅπερ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔφευγον;

2. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα σοὶ τε ἐν παιδιᾷς μέρει ἐμμελῶς εἴρηται, καὶ ἡμῖν εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταύτη εἰρήσθω. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ παίζειν εὐσηχημόνως πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἕσθ' ὅτε ἢ λόγοις ἢ καὶ γράμμασιν ἦν ἀποδημῶσι. καὶ τήν γε τοιαύτην ἄνεσιν καὶ διαγωγὴν τῶν καλῶν εἶναι θετέον, εἴ τι δεῖ Ἀριστοτέλει πείθεσθαι καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνου τῷ λόγῳ. σὺ δ' ἐπιστέλλων μὲν εὐφραίνεις τὰ μέγιστα καὶ εἰ οἷον τε ὀσημέραι — τί γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ φιλολόγῳ ἦδιον γένοιτ' ἂν ἢ λόγοις ἀνδρὸς ἐντυγχάνειν φιλάτου καὶ οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἐλληνίζειν ἐπισταμένου; — ἐπαινῶν δ' αὖ εὐφραίνεις μὲν καὶ ταύτη ταμάλιστα — πῶς γὰρ ἂν οὐχ ἡσθεῖν ἐπαινούμενος ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς οὕτω τοι σεμνῶς ἅμα καὶ καλῶς ἀπαγγέλλειν εἰδότης καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης εὐροίας; —, βουλοίμην γε μὴν βέλτιον σὲ τὰ ἐμὰ βασανίζειν καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἐπιστάσεως, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπ' εὐνοίας παρασυρόμενον, καθάπερ οἱ δωροδόκοι τῶν δικαστῶν, διαφθεῖρειν τὰς ψήφους. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς τε ἀδέκαστος ἔση κριτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πειθαρχοῦντας σοι καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἔξεις, ὡς νῦν οὐ πείσεις — εὖ ἴσθι — οὐδένα τῶν ἐντευξομένων τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὅπου γε οὐδ' αὐτόν με πείθεις τοιαῦτα λέγων περὶ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον οἷον αὐτὸς φῆς δύναμαι οὐδ' ὅπως τιοῦν καθορᾶν. τὸ μέτριον οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτοις τηρῶν ἄριστ' ἂν δρῶης.

3. Ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ συχαίρω καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῆς περὶ φιλοσοφίαν σπουδῆς. ἀνδράσι γὰρ ὀσημέραι συνῶν σοφοῖς τό τε βάθος τῆς ἀριστοτελικῆς μεγαλονοίας οἷον διανηξάμενος συνήσεις χειραγωγούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν (ἔστι

20 εἴ-πεῖθεσθαι] cf. Arist., *EN* 1127b 34–1128b 9

7 διὰ om. V 11 τὸν] τὸ Powell 12 ἀπολύει Powell 13 ὑπεραλογούμενόν Powell 19 ἦν] ὅταν Powell 20 εἴ τι] ἔτι C Powell 21 οἷον τε] οἷόν τε V 22 ἐντυγχάνειν V C: correxi 24 τὰ μάλιστα V 26 τὰμὰ V 32 καθορᾶν V | καὶ ἐν] κἀν V 33–34 φιλοσοφίας V 34 ὡς ἡμέραι V

Andronikos sends his greetings to Demetrios.

1. I did not complain that you had not written to me for a long time – at most I defended myself, having been blamed for it – nor do I complain now that you have been late, as you admit, since I do not believe it is the case to blame those who have not committed a fault, since they have not committed one. For I do not believe it is a wrong not to write frequently to friends, as long as it does not happen that we are prevented from sending letters out of arrogance or pride, but on reasonable grounds. In appearance you apologise, having become an accuser of yourself, but in reality someone versed in rhetoric would say this about you, you now accuse more cleverly, pretending absolutely to be afraid, such as some of those who are more fearful than I and who decide to hit friends for no reason. And then the fact that you first presented the accusation and then almost accused me without excusing me at the time, and now you attempt to absolve me, as if taking my defence: is this not typical of the person who accuses more strongly and almost lures a fish with the grace of words, so that, attracted by them and believing it to be a sign of benevolence, having confessed to making the mistake I was avoiding from the very beginning, I will fall into the net without realising it?

2. But you have said these things in the vein of joking and in the right tones, so I shall speak from my side likewise, if you agree. It is indeed sometimes necessary to play, always in a respectful manner, with friends or during conversations or even through letters, if one lives far away. A licence and pastime of this kind are to be counted among the goods, if Aristotle is to be headed and indeed, rather than him, reason. Simply by writing to me you already cheer me up greatly and, if possible, every day – indeed, what could be more pleasant for a scholar than to read the words of such a dear man who is able to speak Greek with such expertise? –, and by praising me, you give me great pleasure – indeed, how could I not be pleased to be praised by a man who is able to express himself in such a splendid and appropriate manner and with such great expressiveness? – I would however prefer you to examine my writings thoroughly and with greater attention, yet not to be sidetracked by the friendship, like corrupt judges. For in this way you will be an impartial judge and induce others to believe you as well, just as you will not convince – and know it well! – any of those who read the letters, when you cannot convince even me by speaking in these terms about my matters. In fact, I am not at all able to understand therein anything of what you say. So you should keep the right measure in doing this.

3. I rejoice greatly for you regarding your salary and even more so regarding the study of philosophy. By frequenting learned men every day you will understand the depths of Aristotelian thought by swimming through it as it were,

γάρ οὐ καὶ ταῦτα Δηλίου τῶντι δεῖται κολυμβητοῦ), καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὑπὸ δυστυχίας εὐρήσεις ἀμεληθέντα πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην οἷα τε συμβαλέσθαι, ἦν μὴ περιττοὺς τινὰς αὐτοὺς περὶ τὰς διαλεκτικὰς μεθόδους νομίσας καταφρονήσης, ὅπερ πολλοῖς παθοῦσιν ὕστερον μετεμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελέστερον καὶ τοῖς δοκοῦσι φαυλοτάτοις καὶ — ἴν' οὕτως εἶπω — παραδόξοις ἐθειλήσης προσέ- 5
χειν. ἔστι γὰρ οἷον προγυμνάσματα ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην ὁδός, καὶ δεῖ πρό-
τερον πονήσαντας περὶ ταῦτα τὰ δοκοῦντα μικρὰ καὶ προγυμνασθέντας ἱκανῶς,
οὕτω τῆς ἐπιστήμης δεκτικὸς γεγονέναι, πρὸς ἣν καθάπερ ἔσχατον τέλος τὰ
ἡμέτερα ἀπευθύνειν δεῖ. πολὺν δὴ περὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀδολεσχίαν πόνον καὶ
σπουδὴν καταβάλλειν εἰκός, εἴπερ μέλλοιμεν ἐπιστήμονες ἔσσεσθαι. φιλοσοφία τε 10
οὖν προσκείμενος ἴσθι κάμοι πυκνότερον ἐπίστελλε τά τε περὶ σαυτὸν δηλῶν (ὧν
οὐδὲν ἔμοι προουργιαίτερον) καὶ ἐπιδέξια ἅττα καὶ προσηνῆ καθάπερ νῦν ἐμμελέ-
στερον γράφων, ὡς δὴ καὶ ἔμοῦ καὶ πεποιηκότος δὴ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον καὶ αὐθις
ποιήσοντος.

4. Ἴνα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατ' ἐμέ εἰδῆς, ἴσθι με ἑλληνιστὶ μὲν ἀναγινώσκοντα τοῖς 15
ἐταίροις τοὺς τοῦ Πινδάρου ὕμνους καὶ τὰς τοῦ Φαλάριδος ἐπιστολάς καὶ προσ-
έτι τὰ Θεοδώρου γραμματικά, ῥωμαῖστὶ δὲ ἀναγνώσαντα ἤδη τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέ-
λους πολιτικά τε καὶ οἰκονομικά, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἱερὰν τελετὴν ἄλλο τι
τῶν τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει περὶ φύσεως συγγραφέντων ἀναγινώσκειν ἀρξόμενον.

5. Ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα. σὺ δὲ αὐτός τε ἔρρωσο καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους ὅσοι μὴ 20
πάνυ τί ἡμῶν εἰσὶν ἀμνήμονες ἐρρῶσθαι φράσον.

2 ὑπὸ δυστυχίας post ἀμεληθέντα trsp. V | συμβάλεσθαι (sic) C 5 ἐθειλήσεις V C: correxi
7 δοκοῦντα om. V 10 τε] τὲ V 12 καθάπερ (sic) V 15 εἰδῆς] ἴδης V C: εἴδης Powell: correxi
ἑλληνιστὶ V 16 ἐταίροις ex ἐτέροις correctum in V: ἐτέροις C | τοῦ^I om. V | τοῦ^{II} om. V
17 τοῦ om. V ante 18 μετὰ add. καὶ Powell 19 τῷ om. V 20 ἐταίρους e corr. V 21 τι om. V
ἀμνήμονες εἰσὶν V

guided by their hands (sometimes even these things require the skill of a Delian diver), and you will discover that many things are unfortunately neglected by our people through their misfortune and that they can contribute to every kind of knowledge, unless you, thinking they are verbose in their dialectical practices, despise them, as many did and later repented, and intend instead to follow more carefully those that seem most vile and – so to speak – contrarian. For these things are like exercises and a path to knowledge, and it is necessary, having first engaged in the things that seem of lesser importance and having practised them properly, to become in this way capable of accepting knowledge, towards which we must steer our energies as if to an ultimate end. It is natural to spend much effort and study in such chatter if we are to become learned. Therefore, remain dedicated to philosophy and send me letters more frequently, telling me of your affairs (nothing is more pleasing to me) and writing as elegantly and pleasantly as you now do, for I in turn did the same and will do so again in the future.

4. So that you too are informed about me, you should know that I am explaining to my companions Pindar's hymns, Phalaris' epistles and Theodoros' *Grammar*, I have already lectured in Latin on the political and economic works of Aristotle, and after Easter I will begin to lecture on some other works by Aristotle on nature.

5. That is all, as far as I am concerned. Take care of yourself and deliver good wishes to all those among our companions who have not completely forgotten me.

6 Letter to Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos

This letter bears evidence of Kallistos' stay in England in 1476 and informs us about the imprisonment of Georgios Hermonymos, living in Paris at that time. A more detailed account about the story and some interesting insights are found in Kalatzi 2009, 253–254. For a biographical account on Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos, see Vespignani 2017, 53–57 (the letter by Kallistos being, though, mistakenly referred to as sent 'from Rome').

The text was first published (without translation) in Boissonade 1833, 420–426. It is handed down in four manuscripts:

A = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2966

Paper, third quarter of the fifteenth century, mm 340 × 250, fols I+8 (but the last two of this *quaternio* are numbered I'–II'). Copied by Georgios Hermonymos (ident. by Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 76). Owned by Ianos Laskaris and then by Niccolò Ridolfi (see Muratore 2009, II, 165–166). The text is found at fol. 1rv. *Cat.*: Omont 1886–1888, III, 75–76. *Bibl.*: Kalatzi 2009, 253–254; Ferreri 2014, 40, 68; Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 198 n. 45, 268.

B = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 3043

Paper, sixteenth century, mm 265 × 200, fols IV+32+III'. Copied by an anonymous hand. The text is found at fols 1r–2v. *Cat.*: Omont 1886–1888, III, 98. *Bibl.*: Jackson 2009, 118; Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 123; Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 184–186, 189, 268.

C = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. gr. 972

Paper, third quarter of the eighteenth century, mm 382 × 247, fols 163. Owned by Gabriel de La Porte du Theil (1742–1815). The text is found at fols 140r–141r. *Cat.*: Astruc and Concasty 1960, 53–54; *Bibl.*: Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 268.

D = Linköping, Stifts- och Landsbiblioteket, Klassiska författare 3

Paper, 1770, mm 245 × 190, fols. I+73. The text is found at fols 1r–2r (= pages 1–3). Copied in Paris by Erik Benzelius the Younger (1675–1743). *Bibl.*: Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 268. A description and a digitation are online at <<https://manuscripta.se>> (accessed on 27 March 2023). Collated from digital images.

Manuscripts A and B are the only independent witnesses contributing to the *constitutio textus*.

The primary (and most reliable) source is codex A, in the hand of Georgios Hermonymos, whose misfortune is the focus of Andronikos' account. Below a list of A's significant and insignificant errors that are not found in B:

μάλιστα] μάλλιστα A
 πεμφθείς] πεφθείς A
 παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου om. A
 δέ¹¹ om. A
 τὴν ... εὐεργεσίαν] τὴν ... εὐεργεσίας A

On the other hand, B shows a few *lacunae* and some unconvincing readings, which are not included in A:

εὐεργετεῖν om. B
 πεπονθότας] παθόντας B
 οὐ δυνήσομαι] ὀδυνήσομαι B
 γοῦν om. B
 πρόσθες] πρόσθει B

According to the annotation in the upper margin of fol. 140r ('ex codice 3043 | reperitur etiam in codice 2966'), codex C proved to be a copy of B. Besides its own (not very significant)¹ errors, C carries some mistakes found in B, as the following examples may indicate:

ταῦτα] ταύτ' B C
 ἦνεγκεν] ἦνεγκε B C
 Φράγκων] φράγγων B C

Nevertheless, B's oversights and errors were corrected before C was copied, maybe by means of the check carried out on the other Paris manuscript (= A):

εὐεργετεῖν om. B : habet C
 γοῦν om. B : habet C
 ὀδυνήσομαι B : οὐ δυνήσομαι recte C
 πρόσθει B : πρόσθες recte C

On the contrary, D is a faithful copy of A, thus sharing all of A's mistakes and adding its own ones. Below some examples:

ᾠήθη] ᾠήθειν A D
 παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου om. A D
 πεπομφένα] πεμπομφένα A D, postea corr. D

¹ One finds mostly minor slips such as εἰωθότα] εἰωθοτα (*sic*) C, εὐεργετῆ] εὐεργετεῖ C.

συλλαμβάνειν] συλαμβάνειν A D
 λογισάμενος] λογησάμενος A D
 δέ^{II} om. A D

ή om. D
 τὸ σαυτοῦ] σοῦ D
 πέδαις] πεδαῖς D
 ἐπὶ] πρὸς D
 ἄμυδρόν] ἄμυδρον D
 πολεμοῖς] πολεμικοῖς D

Conspectus siglorum

A = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2966.

B = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 3043.

Boissonade = ed. Boissonade 1833, 420–426.

Ἄνδρονίκου τοῦ Καλλίστου εἰς τὸν μεγαλοπρεπῆ ἄνδρα κύριον Γεώργιον Παλαιό-
λογον τὸν Δισύπατον

1. Μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἄνερ, εἷς μοι ὑγιαίνων Θεοῦ βοηθεία ὑγιαίνοντι καὶ αὐτῶ
μέχρι τοῦ νῦν.

2. Γεώργιος ὁ Ἐρμώνυμος, ἀνὴρ εὖ ἔχων καὶ παιδείας καὶ ἀρετῆς, καὶ φίλος 5
ἐμὸς καὶ σαυτοῦ, τὰ μάλιστα πορευόμενος πρὸς σέ ἤτησε καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμ-
ματα. ἐγὼ δέ, καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιθυμῶν κτήσασθαί σε φίλον, ἄνδρα ὄντα εὐγενῆ καὶ
πατριώτην ἐμόν, πολεμικαῖς δὲ καὶ πολιτικαῖς πράξεσι κεκοσμημένον (καὶ ταῦτα
ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπῆς γῆς, ἐν ἧ πλεῖστος μὲν ὁ φθόνος, ὀλίγη δὲ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους
ἀγάπη), ᾗθηθην δεῖν γράψαι σοι καὶ ἐμαυτῶ τὲ ἄμα καὶ Γεωργίῳ ἐξαρκέσαι. 10

3. Γεώργιος οὖν ἀφίκετο μὲν ἐκ Ῥώμης, πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου ἀρχιε-
ρέως ἐπ' ἐλευθερία τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Ἰόρκης, σπουδάσας δὲ πολλὰ καὶ κιν-
δυνεύσας οὐ μικρά, καὶ κατωρθώκως πρᾶξιν τοιαύτην οἷαν οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἤλπισεν
ἂν κατορθώσῃ, καὶ ἐλευθερώσας τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, ἔτυχε μὲν δώρων ἰκανῶν
παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου, οὐ μὴν ἀξίων τοιαύτης τὲ καὶ τοσαύτης πράξεως καὶ 15
τῶν κινδύνων οὓς ὑπέστη· τέλος δέ, καιροῦ προϊόντος, κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐνταῦθα Ἰταλικῶν ἐμπόρων διὰ τὸ πεπομφέναι γράμματα πρὸς σέ τὸν Γεώργιον
καὶ ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν πραττόμενα κατὰ σοῦ, (καὶ ἅμα οἰομένων τῶν ἐμπό-
ρων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτῶν πράξεις γράμμασι μηνύειν πρὸς σέ τὸν Γεώργιον, ὥστε
ῥαδίως ὑπὸ σοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν συμπλέκεσθαι μηχανὰς καὶ ἐνέδρας, καὶ συλλαμβά- 20
νειν αὐτούς), ἐμβληθεὶς οὖν διὰ ταῦτα εἰς δεσμοτήριον ἐπὶ τιμῆματι χιλίων
λιτρῶν καὶ καταναλώσας πάντα ὅσα τε παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἔλαβε καὶ ὅσα
ἤνεγκεν ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ γενόμενος ὀφειλέτης χρυσίου πολλοῦ, μόλις ἐλευθερω-
θεὶς τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου (μὴ δυνάμενος ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, ἐμοῦ γενομένου ἐγγυ-
ητοῦ), ἔρχεται ἤδη πρὸς σέ, θαρρῶν εἰς σέ μετὰ Θεόν, καὶ διὰ σοῦ εἰς τὸν γαλη- 25
νότατον βασιλέα τῶν Φράγκων.

4. Σὺ οὖν, ἐλευθεριώτατε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατε ἄνερ, μμησάμενος τὸν
σαυτοῦ πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σου προγόνους, λαμπροὺς ἅπαντας γεγονότας
καὶ ἐπ' ἔργοις πάνυ διαπρέψαντας ἀγαθοῖς (οὓς αὐτὸς μὲν ἴσως δι' ἡλικίαν οὐκ
οἶσθα, ἐγὼ δὲ εὖ οἶδα πατρικούς μοι φίλους γεγεννημένους), λογισάμενος δὲ καὶ 30
τὸ σαυτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἀξίωμα, καὶ τὴν φήμην ἣν παρὰ πάντων δι' εὐποιῖαν
καὶ ἐλευθεριότητα ἐκτήσω, σκεψάμενος δὲ καὶ ὅσα Γεώργιος ὁ φίλος ἐπεπόνθει
διὰ σέ καὶ τὸν γαληνότατον ῥῆγα, τρίμηνον μὲν διατρίψας ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ,
πέδαις δὲ σιδηραῖς δεσμωθεὶς τοὺς πόδας, ὡς αὐτὸς πολλάκις εἰς τὸ δεσμοτή-
ριον πορευθεὶς εἶδον, καταναλώσας δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἶχε, καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς τού- 35

6 σε B 10 ᾗθηθην A | τε B 11 πεμφθεὶς A 13 κατορθώκως A B: correxi 14 ἀρχιεπίσκοπον (sic)
B 15 παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου om. A | τε B 17 πεμπομφέναι A | σε B 18 σου B 22 ἔλαβεν A
23 ἤνεγκε B 26 φράγγων B 28 σοῦ B 30 λογησάμενος A | δὲ^m om. A 33 γαληνοτατον (sic)
B | ῥήγα A: ῥηγα (sic) B: correxi | μεν (sic) A

<Letter> from Andronikos Kallistos to the generous Lord Georgios Palaiologos Disypatos

1. Most generous Lord, I wish for you to be as well as I am so far with God's help.

2. Georgios Hermonymos, a man distinguished in education and virtue, my friend and yours, on his way to you, was eager to have a letter from me. And I, desiring to gain you as a friend, you being a noble man and my compatriot, honoured in the matters of war and in those of internal affairs (and this in a foreign land, where the hatred is very great and on the contrary the charity scant towards foreigners), I thought that it was appropriate to write to you and satisfy myself and Georgios.

3. Georgios had arrived from Rome, sent by the supreme Pontiff for the release of the Archbishop of York. After having suffered great pains, having risked much and having carried out such a complicated task that no one else could have hoped to accomplish, he received a reasonable compensation from the archbishop, at any rate not proportionate to such a heavy and demanding obligation and to the dangers he had faced; but then, over time, Georgios, charged by the Italian merchants from there with having sent you a letter and having denounced what they had done against you (the merchants also thought that with that letter Georgios was going to reveal further actions of theirs to you, so that you could easily act against them with expedients and intrigues and catch them), and then imprisoned because of these accusations with a fine of a thousand pounds and forced to pay all he had received from the archbishop and all he had brought with him from Rome, and found himself indebted to much money, he barely released from prison (since he was not able to repay what he owed, I acted as guarantor) and now comes before you, relying on you only second to God and, through you, on the most peaceful king of France.

4. You, then, generous and magnificent lord, following your father's example and that of your ancestors, all illustrious and greatly distinguished for meritorious acts (you may not have known them personally because of your young age, but I have known them well since they were paternal friends), also considering your high rank, and the fame you have earned from everyone because of your mercy and generosity, also thinking of how many things your friend Georgios has done and suffered for you and the most peaceful king, having spent three months in prison, fastened at his feet with iron chains, as I myself saw when I often went to visit him in prison, having spent everything he

τοῖς ὀφειλέτης πολλοῦ χρυσίου, ταῦτα πάντα σκεψάμενος βοήθει Γεωργίῳ, ἀγαθῶ τὲ ὄντι καὶ σὲ φιλοῦντι τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐπαινοῦντι τὰς σαυτοῦ ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα. βοήθει δὲ καὶ παρὰ σαυτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ γαληνοτάτου ῥηγός.

5 5. Δίκαιος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς βοηθήσαι τάνδρι· πέπεισμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐλευθεριώ-
 τaton καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ὄντα καὶ εἰωθότα πάντας εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς προσι-
 όντας αὐτῶ. ἂν γοῦν τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργετῆ, πολλῶ μᾶλλον εὐεργετεῖν ἄξιος
 τοὺς δι' αὐτὸν πολλὰ πεπονθότας δεινά. ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τοῦ σοῦ προστεθέντος ἀξιώ-
 ματος καὶ τῆς παρρησίας ἦν ἔχεις παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ — πυνθάνομαι γὰρ σε τὰ μέγι-
 στα παρ' αὐτῶ ἰσχύειν — προθυμότερος ἔσται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν. 10

6. Χώρει δὴ, μεγαλοπρεπέστατε ἄνερ, ἐπὶ τῷ βοηθήσαι Γεωργίῳ, καὶ διὰ τὴν
 εἰς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίαν βεβαίωσον τὴν φήμην ἣν παρὰ πάντων, ὡς ἔφην, ἐπ' εὐερ-
 γεσία καὶ ἐλευθεριότητι ἐκτίσω. εἰ δέ τι καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ἰσχύει παρὰ σοί — εἰκὸς δὲ
 ἰσχύειν διὰ γῆρας καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἦν με φασὶ πολλοὶ κεκτήσθαι —, βοήθει καὶ δι'
 ἐμὲ Γεωργίῳ. βουλοίμην γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν τὰ μέγιστα εὐτυχεῖν, ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα ὄντα 15
 καὶ πολλὰ καὶ εἰπόντα καὶ δεδρακότα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

7. Ταῦτα μὲν, ὅτι οὕτω δράσεις καὶ βοηθήσεις Γεωργίῳ, εὔ οἶδα. ἐμὲ δέ, εἰ
 μὲν ὄψει, φίλον πατρικὸν εὔ οἶσθ' ὅτι ὄψει. ἂν δέ τι διὰ γῆρας συμβῆ καὶ οὐ δυνή-
 σομαι σὲ ἰδεῖν, φίλον καὶ οὕτως ἴσθι πατρικὸν καὶ πάντα ἔτοιμον σοῦ χάριν ποι-
 εῖν. πάντες γὰρ σε ὅσοι τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀμυδρὸν γοῦν ἐπαῖουσι φωνῆς, πάντες σοι 20
 χάριτας τὰς μεγίστας ὀφείλουσιν, ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ ὄντι καὶ περὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς
 πράξεις κάλλιστα ἐξησκημένῳ, καὶ τιμῶντι δι' ἀρετὴν οὐ σαυτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὸ δυστυχὲς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος. πρόσθετες δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις σου καλοῖς καὶ τὴν εἰς
 Γεώργιον τὸν φίλον δικαίαν εὐεργεσίαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ μόνον ἐν πολέμοις καὶ πολιτι-
 καῖς πράξεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εἰς τοὺς φίλους εὐεργεσίαις, κάλλιστος ἀνδρῶν 25
 εἶναι δοκῆς. καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν σου εὐδαίμονα.

Ἐν Λουδουνίᾳ, μουνοχιῶνος τρίτῃ ἰσταμένου.

2 τε B 5 τ' ἀνδρὶ A B: corr. Boissonade 7 εὐεργετῆ e corr. A | εὐεργετεῖν om. B 8 παθόντας B | σου B 9 τὰ om. B 11–12 τὴν ... εὐεργεσίας A 13 σοι B 15 ἐμοῦ Boissonade 18–19 οὐ δυνήσομαι] ὀδυνήσομαι B 20 σε om. B Boissonade | γοῦν om. B 23 πρόσθει B

had and also becoming a debtor for great sums: considering all these things, please help Georgios, who is upright and loves you over and above all measure and has respect for your virtues and your actions. Help him personally and especially on behalf of the most excellent and peaceful king.

5. It is right for the king to help him; I am in fact convinced that he is very generous and very liberal and accustomed to being merciful to all those who are close to him. Therefore, if he is merciful to others, it is all the more right that he be merciful to those who have suffered many terrible things for his sake. But certainly, if you add to this your rank and the liberty of expression that you have before the king – for I know that you have a very strong influence over him – he will be even more inclined to a merciful act.

6. Magnificent lord, please condescend to help Georgios, and through this good deed for him, strengthen that reputation which, as I said, you have earned with everyone because of your mercy and generosity. If my very person can have any influence over you – and this is to be expected considering my age and the erudition which many assign to me –, then please help Georgios also on my behalf. I would that he had every prosperity, for he is a good man and he has said and done a lot for me.

7. I am convinced that you will do all this thusly and that you will help Georgios. And if you ever look at me, you know that you will be looking at a paternal friend. If something happens because of my old age and I do not manage to see you, be aware that I am still a paternal friend and ready to do anything for you. All those who have some knowledge of the Greek language, all owe you great gratitude, you being so prudent and incredibly proficient in the business of war, and honouring with your virtue not only yourself, but also the entire disgraced Greek nation. Add to your other good works also this proper benevolent gesture towards Georgios, so that not only in military and civil affairs, but also in generosity towards friends you may be thought to be the best of men. And may God assist you in your magnificence.

London, 3 March <1476>

7 Epigram to Homer

This short epigram in Byzantine dodecasyllabic verses has already been transcribed in Pontani 2011, 382 n. 878. It is handed down only in three manuscripts:

V = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1314

(autograph; see a description *supra*, § 6.1 [catalogue entry no. 48], with further bibliography). The text of the epigram is found at fol. 15v. Owned by Giorgio Valla.

V¹ = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1745

Paper, first half of the sixteenth century, mm 220 × 150, fols X+234. The text of the epigram is found at fol. 220v (copy of V). *Cat.*: Canart 1970, 1–6. *Bibl.*: –.

M = Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α P.5.19

It contains the *Odyssey*, in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos and Demetrios Xanthopoulos; see a description *supra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 15), with further bibliography. The text of the epigram is found at fol. 1v and is in the hand of Giorgio Valla, who likely copied it from V, the latter also belonging to his book collection.

ὦ τῶν ἀπάντων ποιητῶν ἡδυλόγε,
Ὅμηρε χρυσέ Μουσάων λίαν φίλε,
ὄντως ἀπὸ γλώττης σοι ἐκχεῖται μέλι,
καὶ ῥὰ μελιχρῶς ὡς τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὄντα
τίθης καὶ ποιεῖς ἄγαν ἡδέως πάντα·
ὄθεν σε κρείττω τῶν ποιητῶν ἀπάντων
σοφοί τε πάντες καλέουσιν εἰκότως.

Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Κάλλιστος

3 γλώσσης M 5 ποιεῖς in ras. M | *subscriptio* om. M: Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Καλλίστου V¹

O Homer, you of all poets the most gracious,
you most golden companion of the Muses,
it is honey, indeed, that flows from your mouth
to gently bring to life what is not alive,
and everything runs smoothly because of you.
Therefore, with good reason, all the wise men
call you the greatest of all poets.

8 Epigram in praise of Bessarion's book *In Calumniatorem Platonis*

The epigram in hexameters in praise of Bessarion's book *In Calumniatorem Platonis* is handed down in five witnesses:

M = Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 198

Autograph, Rome c. 1466–1471 (see a description *supra*, § 6.1 [catalogue entry no. 53], with further bibliography). The text is found at fols 1v–2v.

L = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 31.21

Paper, Rome c. 1460–1470. The text is found at fols 131r–132r, in the hand of Alexios Keladenos. *Cat.*: Bandini 1768–1770, vol. 2, col. 92. *Bibl.*: Speranzi 2011, 116 (with further bibliography).

P = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 31.24

Paper, Rome c. 1460–1470. The manuscript belonged to Angelo Poliziano. The text is found at fols 145r–146r, in the hand of Georgios Hermonymos. *Cat.*: Bandini 1768–1770, vol. 2, cols 95–97. *Bibl.*: Speranzi 2011, 116; Speranzi 2016a, 79–80, 91.

V = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1373

Paper, Florence c. 1475. Also this manuscript belonged to Poliziano. The text is found at fols. 4r–5r. *Cat.*: –. *Bibl.*: Pontani 2002; Megna 2021, 297, 317, 321–322.

A = Athena, Ἑλληνικὸ Λογοτεχνικὸ καὶ Ἱστορικὸ Ἀρχεῖο, Kolybas 237

Paper, nineteenth century. The text is found at fol. 13r; it is a worthless copy of L. *Cat.*: Lampros 1922. *Bibl.*: –.

The epigram has been published for the first time (without translation/apparatus) in Legrand 1892, 220–221 from the manuscripts Laur. 31.21 and Laur. 31.24. A partial edition of vv. 35–48 (based on M, L, and P) newly appeared in Pontani and Weise 2021, 39–42.

Ἀνδρονίκου Βυζαντίου ἐπίγραμμα ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ εἰς τὸ Βησσαρίωνος καρδινάλεως
καὶ πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπὲρ Πλάτωνος βυβλίον

Αἰγλήεις παράδεισος, Μουσῶν ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος,
ἦδε βύβλος τελέθει σοφίην αὐχοῦσα Πλάτωνος.
τὴν Χαρίτεσσιν ὑφήνας Βησσαρίων θεοειδῆς
παντοίης σοφίης ὑποθημοσύνας ἐνέπασσεν,
καὶ μιν ἐπισταμένως πραπίδεσσιν ἐῆσιν ἀρηρῶς 5
θῆκεν ἅπασι βροτοῖς, μέγ' ὄνειαρ θαῦμα τ' ιδέσθαι.
ὅς δὴ κεν ποθέησι Πλάτωνος δόγματα κεδνὰ
ἦδ' ὑψηγορίην στήθεσσιν ἐοῖσι δαῖναι
δεῦρ' ἴτω ἠδυπνόου λειμῶνος ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο
ἄνθεα δρεψόμενος σοφίης καλὰ τηλεθόωντα, 10
καὶ μιν οἷω μᾶλλον τέρψεσθαι φίλον ἦτορ
ἐνδυκέως ὅς μιν μετιῶν ἐπὶ θυμὸν ἐρείσει
ἢ τέρποιθ' εὐρῶν ἄφενος καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄλβον
Ἰνδίη ὅσσα φέρησιν ἰδ' Ἀραβίη ἐρατεινῆ.
τῆ μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴν ὀνίνησιν, τῆ δ' ἄρα σῶμα. 15
ἦδη καὶ πέπλον εἶδον Ἀθηναίης ἐνὶ βωμῶ
λαμπρόν τ' ἦδ' ἐρίτιμον, δαίδαλα πάντα φέροντα,
ἀλλ' οὐ τόσον ἔην δαιδάλμασι κείνος ἀγαυὸς
ὅσσον ἄρ αὐτὴ μαρμαίρησι βύβλος ἐραννῆ,
οὐδὲ τόσ' ἔργα ἔην ἀσκητὰ πέπλω ἐνὶ κείνῳ 20
ὀππόσ' ἄρ εἰν αὐτῇ θεοεἰκελα ἔργα τέτυκται,
τερπνά τε καὶ χαρίεντα Θεοῦ κεν ὑφάσματα φαίης.
ὅσσα γὰρ ἔργ' ἀριδείκετα τῆς φύσιος τελέθοντι
ἦδ' αὐ' ὅσσα ὑπὲρ φύσιν Οὐρανίης ἐριτίμου
δῶρα πέλοντι ἰδ' ὅσσα πρὸς ἦθος ρυθμίζοντι, 25
ὀππόσα τ' αὖ διαλέξιος ἔκγονα Καλλιόπης τε
πασάων ἐρικυδέα δῶρα, βύβλω ἐνὶ τῆδε
εὖ δὴ πάγχυ γε καὶ κατὰ μοῖραν ἅπαντα γέγραπται,

4 σοφίης ὑποθημοσύνας] cf. *Il.* 15,412 5 πραπίδεσσιν ἐῆσιν ἀρηρῶς] cf. *Od.* 10,553 6 θαῦμα–
ιδέσθαι] cf. e.g. *Il.* 5,725 7–8 κεδνὰ–δαῖναι] cf. *Musaeus* 144–146 9 ἠδυπνόου] cf. *Pind.,*
Olymp. 13,22, *Soph.* *El.* 480 et *Eur., Med.* 840 10 ἄνθεα–σοφίης] cf. *Hymn. in Cer.* 425
11 φίλον ἦτορ] cf. e.g. *Il.* 5,250 13 ἀθέσφατον ὄλβον] cf. *Theocr.* 25,24–25 17 δαίδαλα πάντα]
cf. e.g. *Il.* 5,60 et 19,13 18–20 οὐ–κείνῳ] cf. *Theocr.* 1,32–33 27 ἐρικυδέα δῶρα] cf. *Il.* 3,65
et 20,265

inscriptio eὐτυχῶς τῷ δεσποτῇ add. L P Legrand 2 τελέθη L 6 θαῦμα τ'] θαύματ' P V 7 κέδνα
V 8 δαμῆναι Legrand 12 ἐρείσει L P V Legrand 19 ὅσσον–ἐραννῆ om. P | βίβλος L V (ex βύβ-
λος correctum) Legrand | ἐραυγῆ Legrand 27 βίβλω V

Epigram in hexameter by Andronikos of Byzantium in praise of the book in defence of Plato written by Cardinal Bessarion, Patriarch of Constantinople

Radiant paradise, dazzling grove of the Muses,
 this book comes into being commending Plato's wisdom;
 having composed it with the Graces, godlike Bessarion
 weaved suggestions of every kind of wisdom,
 and having adapted it to their soul, he gave it
 to all of mortal men, a great advantage, a wonder to behold.
 If one desires to learn Plato's
 noble doctrines and the sublimity in his heart,
 go there, to pluck from the sweet-smelling immortal meadow
 the beautiful luxuriant flowers of wisdom,
 and I think his heart would much rather delight in the one
 who sedulously pursues it and plants it in his mind
 than the one who has found wealth and ineffable happiness
 which India and lovely Arabia can offer.
 She delights not only the soul, but also the body.
 I have already seen on the altar Athena's robe,
 brilliant and venerated, bearing many artful designs,
 but even that with its manifold decorations
 was not as brilliant as this beloved book shines
 and there were not in that robe so many magnificent artworks,
 as the divine ones which are kept in this book,
 the refined and elegant robe, one may say, of God.
 How many prestigious works of nature
 and how many gifts for her from the lot-venerated Urania
 exist and match the character,
 and how many wonderous gifts, sons of the style,
 of Calliope and all the Muses are,
 they all are properly written in this book

πάντα δ' Ἀληθείης ἱερῆς καλὰ τέκνα πέλοντι.
 ταύτη καὶ γὰρ χραισμῶν Βησσαρίων θεοειδῆς 30
 τήνδε μάλ' εὐφραδέως συνύφην' ἐριθηλέα βύβλον,
 παύσας γραμματολογιὸν νημερτοκτασιῶν
 ὅς βοῶν μὰψ κού κατὰ μοῖραν ἔριζε Πλάτωνι
 οὐδὲν ὄλως εἰδῶς σοφίης ὑποθημοσυνάων.
 ἀλλὰ σὺ χαῖρε, Πλάτων, πρόμον αὐχῶν Βησσαρίωνα 35
 δῖον. ὃ δὴ τοι αἰὲν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμύνει
 ὅς καὶ τήνδε τέτευχε καλὴν δέλτον, μέγα ἔργον
 ἠδὲ τεῆς σοφίης μνημῆϊον ἔσσομένοισιν.
 ἀλλ', ὦ Βησσαρίων μάκαρ, οὐδέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε,
 σεῖο δ' αἰὲ φάτις ἄμβροτος οὐρανὸν εὐρύν ἰκάνοι 40
 οὐνεκά σ' ὑψιμέδων Θεὸς ἄφθιτος αἰθέρι ναίων
 ὄλβιον οἷς δῶροισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἔθηκε,
 παντοίην ἀρετὴν ἠδὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάσσας.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σέο καὶ μετέπειτα μνήσομαι αἰὲν
 σὴν σοφίην, θαμὰ κλείων πᾶσι μετ' ἀνθρώποισιν 45
 σὴν τ' ἀγανοφροσύνην σὴν μειλιχίην τε,
 λισσόμενος κρατερόν Θεόν, ἄμβροτον ἀρχὸν Ὀλύμπου,
 ὄφρα τοι ἐς πολέας λυκάβαντας γῆρας ὀπάξῃ
 ὄλβιον ἄκρον ἄωτεῦντι σοφίης ἀγνὸν ἄνθος.

36 ἀεικέα–ἀμύνει] cf. e.g. *Il.* 1,341 38 μνημῆϊον ἔσσομένοισιν] cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9,197,6 39 οὐδέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε] cf. *Od.* 24,402 et *Hymn. in Apoll.* 466 40 οὐρανὸν–ἰκάνοι] cf. e.g. *Od.* 8,74 41 ὑψιμέδων Θεός] cf. *Anth. Pal.* 8,5,1 | Θεός–ναίων] cf. *Orac. Sib.* 5,298 | αἰθέρι ναίων] cf. e.g. *Il.* 2,412 et *Hes., Op.* 8 42 ὄλβιον–ἀνθρώποισιν] cf. e.g. *Od.* 17,419–420 43 παντοίην ἀρετὴν] cf. e.g. *Il.* 15,642 | κλέος–ὀπάσσας] cf. *Arg. Orph.* 3 44 αὐτὰρ–μνήσομαι] cf. *Hymn. in Apoll.* 546 46 σὴν τ' ἀγανοφροσύνην] cf. *Il.* 24,772 et *Od.* 11,203 47 Θεόν–Ὀλύμπου] cf. *Orac. Sib.* 5,298 | ἀρχὸν Ὀλύμπου] cf. *Nonn., Dion.* 7,119 48 γῆρας ὀπάξῃ] cf. *Il.* 4,321 et 8,103

45 θάμα Legrand | ἀνθρώποισι L P V 46 μειλιχίην P 47 Θεόν in textu, θυμόν supra lin. scr. P 48 γήρας P | subscriptio εὐτύχει μουσηγέτα (μουσηγεγίτα P) add. L P V Legrand

and are sons of the holy Truth.
For her sake the divine Bessarion
composed with the highest eloquence this thriving book,
keeping that disastrous grammarian from slaughtering Truth
who vainly and improperly quarreled with Plato,
being wholly unacquainted, as he was, with the precepts of wisdom.
Therefore rejoice, Plato, trusting the divine Bessarion fighting
in front. He always wards off shameful ruin from you
and composed this beautiful book, grand artwork
and record of your wisdom for posterity.
And you, blessed Bessarion, health and joy be with you,
let your immortal fame reach the wide sky,
because God, ruling on high, immortal, dwelling in heaven,
placed you blessed among men with these gifts,
having granted manifold virtue and good fame to you.
But nevertheless I will forever commemorate
your wisdom, often celebrating amongst men
your gentleness and your kindness,
praying to the almighty Lord ruling immortal over Olympus,
as long as old age accompany you for many years
as you pluck the blessed highest holy flower of wisdom.

9 Epigrams on the death of Albiera

When fifteen-year-old Albiera degli Albizi died in Florence in 1473, her fiancé Sigismondo Della Stufa sought to preserve her memory through a series of elegies by leading poets and intellectuals of his time. Andronikos composed two short poems. The girl was known for her extraordinary beauty. The event caused a great impression in Florence, as evidenced by the numerous poems of mourning and condolence.¹ The autograph epigrams by <Kallistos> (see Plate 29) are found in the manuscript Torino, Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti, NN.V.7 (235), fol. 50rv. Andronikos adopts a typically epigrammatic style; remarkable are e.g. the *iuncturae* δέρκεο τῶδ' ἐνὶ τύμβῳ (see *Anth. Graec. App.* 6,1) and Μοῦσα, Χάρις, Παφίη (*Anth. Graec.* 5,95,2). The text was first transcribed in Cammelli 1942, 104–105. *Cat.*: Kristeller VI 223–224. *Bibl.*: Patetta 1917–1918, 294, 310–328; Cammelli 1942, 104–105; Perosa 1940, 618–624 (reprinted in Perosa 2000, II, 189–194).

Ἀλβιέρην, ὃ ξεῖνος, δέρκεο τῶδ' ἐνὶ τύμβῳ
τὴν ἐξ Ἀλβιτίων, τὴν Μασίιο κόρην.
τῆς ῥὰ νέον πανάωρος φεῦ Ἄϊδος δ' ἀπιούσης
κείραντο πλοκάμους Μοῦσα, Χάρις, Παφίη.

It is Albiera, o stranger, whom you see in this tomb here,
the girl from the family of Albizi, the daughter of Masius.
As she has descended so prematurely into Hades,
the Muse, the Grace, and Venus Paphia cut off the curls.

ὦ Σισμοῦνδε, τί κλαίεις; τίς σε θρῆνος ἰκάνει;
μνηστὴν Ἀλβιέρην λευκώλενον Ἀλβιτιώνη
οἰχομένην νέον, ὃ ξεῖνος, πανάωρον κλαίω.
ἀλλ' οὐ τέθνηκεν, φίλος. νοῦς γὰρ οὔποτε θνήσκει.

‘O Sigmund, why are you crying? What is your lament?’
‘I mourn my fiancée Albiera with her white arms, o stranger,
the girl from the family of Albizi, who died prematurely.’
‘She is not dead, my dear; the soul never dies.’

¹ For the epicedion by Poliziano see Degl’Innocenti Pierini 2015 (with further bibliographical references).



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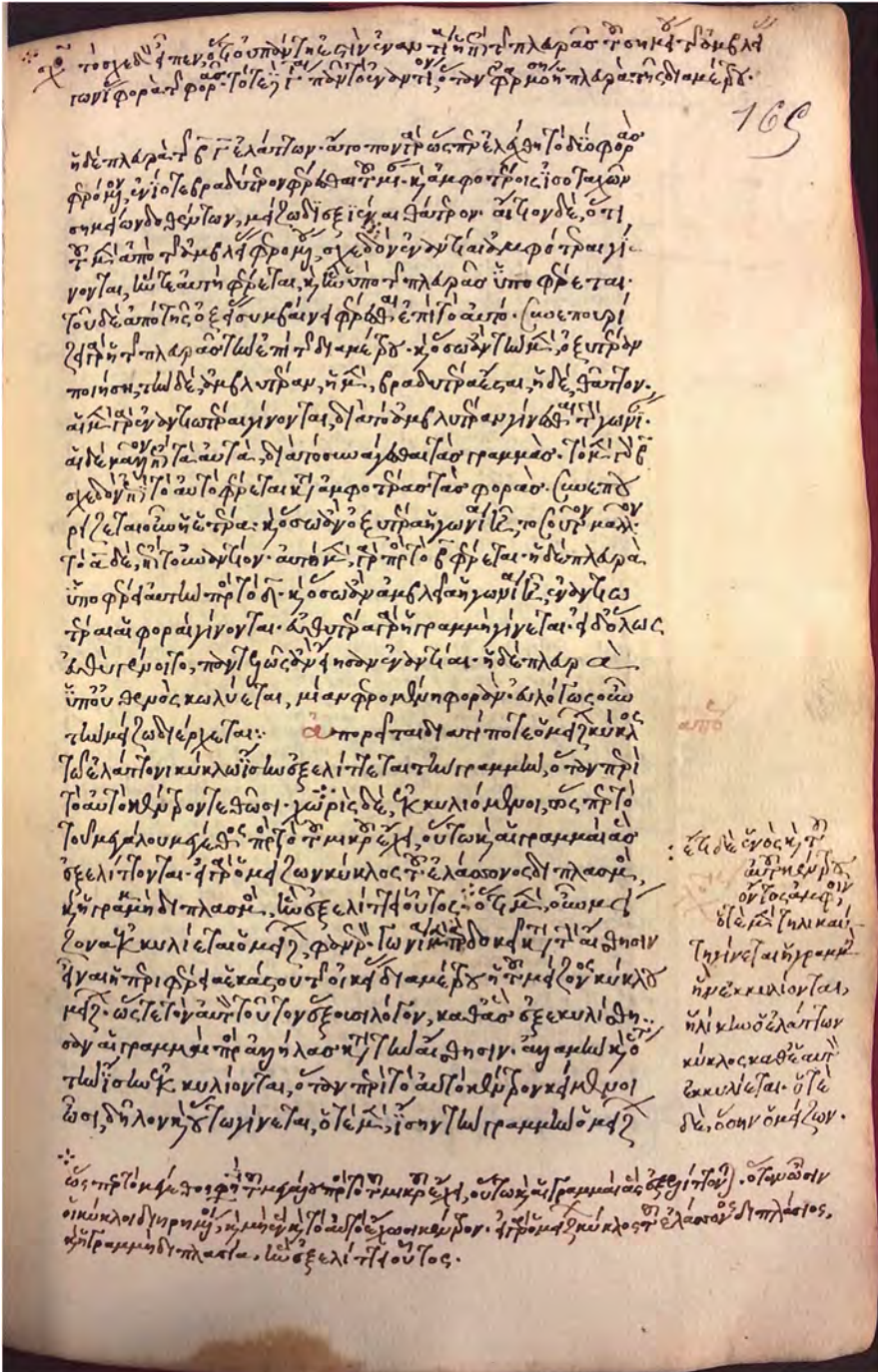


Plate 1: Par. Suppl. gr. 541, fol. 165r; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

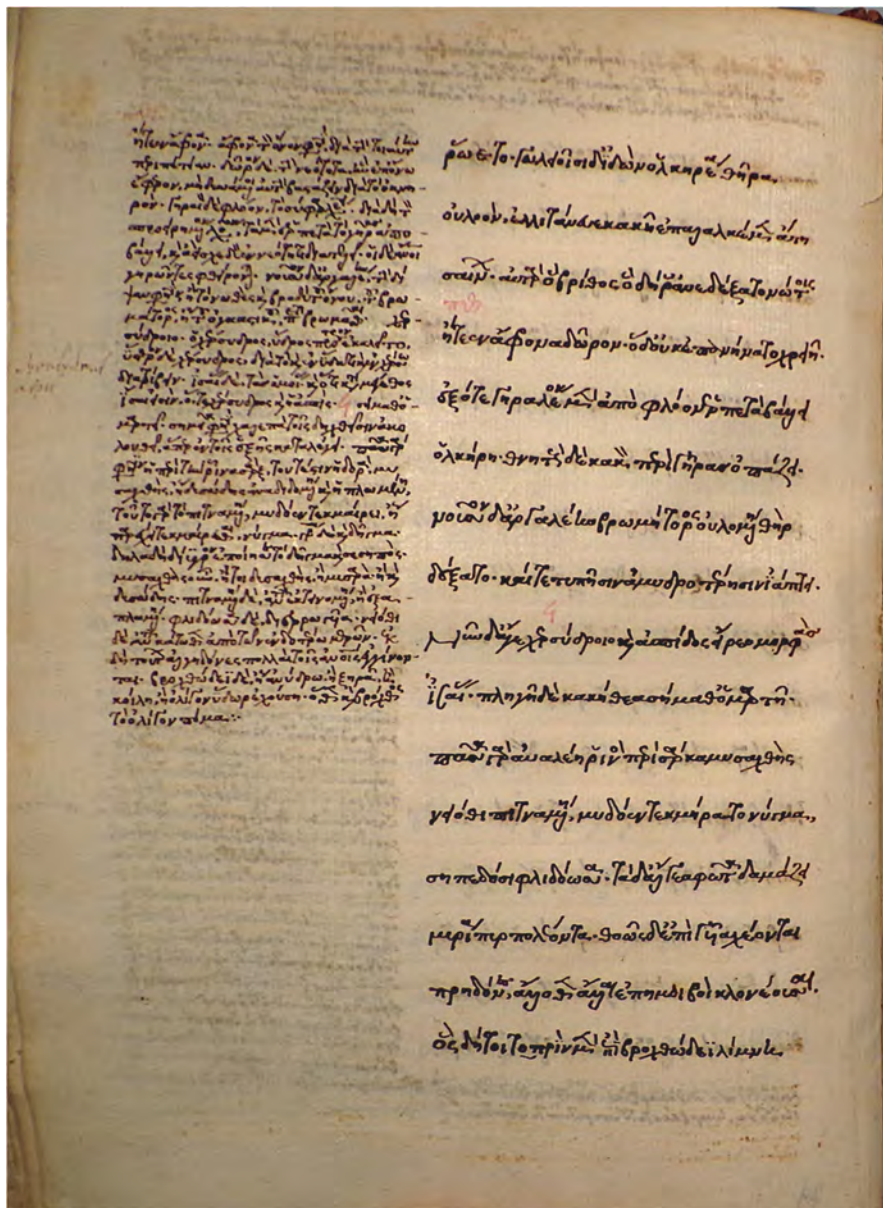


Plate 8: Mutin. α T.9.2, fol. 79v; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

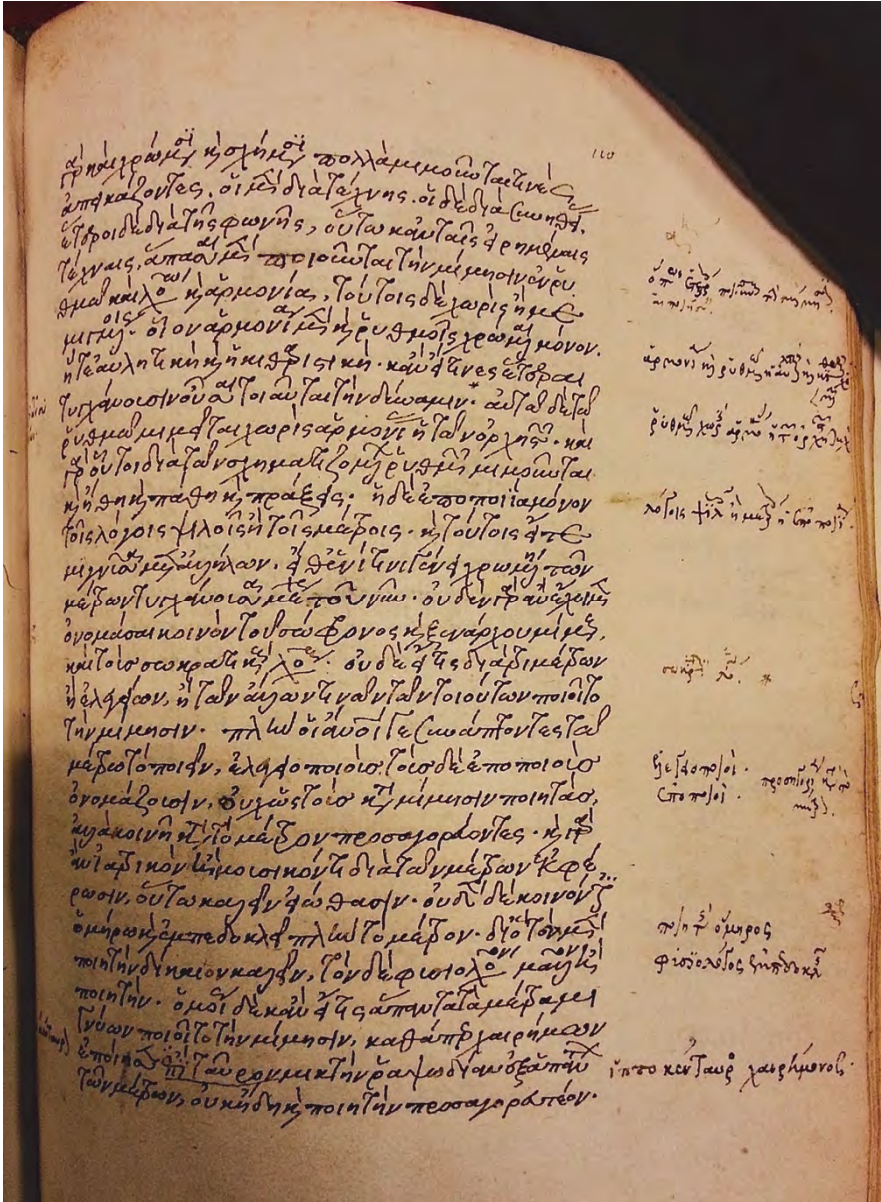


Plate 12: Par. gr. 2038, fol. 110r; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

διαγοινη κεισσαιτοσδιδασεισ και ζυτλοισο δειμεν
 οτι και τυρωσισ δειμεν υποαρχοισοσι γιγεται γυροσθε
 — ασοι κεισσαιτοσ διδωσται τοσ βροισωσ και διαι
 το υποισσοσ και τοσ και πασισ φουσι και κημισσι σιτιλι
 αυτο κημισσι και οριζωσ παρ βροισισ και οισσασα δει γμω
 σιρ ποδιδασεισ για αι και μαθηταισ οι πασταισ διδωσ
 κημισσοσ οτι σιρ και βροισισ κημισσι ποδιδασεισ μδαν
 τιω και μαθηταισ κημισσι παρ δαιτισιν αμμοιχασσι και σ
 και απωλισσοισοσ οσ παρ αυτοσ μεν αι τοσ σιρ και σιρ
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 — βροισισ και σιρ και σιρ και σιρ και σιρ και σιρ και σιρ και σιρ
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 και οισσασ και σιρ και σιρ και σιρ και σιρ και σιρ και σιρ και σιρ
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Plate 15: Marc. gr. Z. 226, fol. 290v; © Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

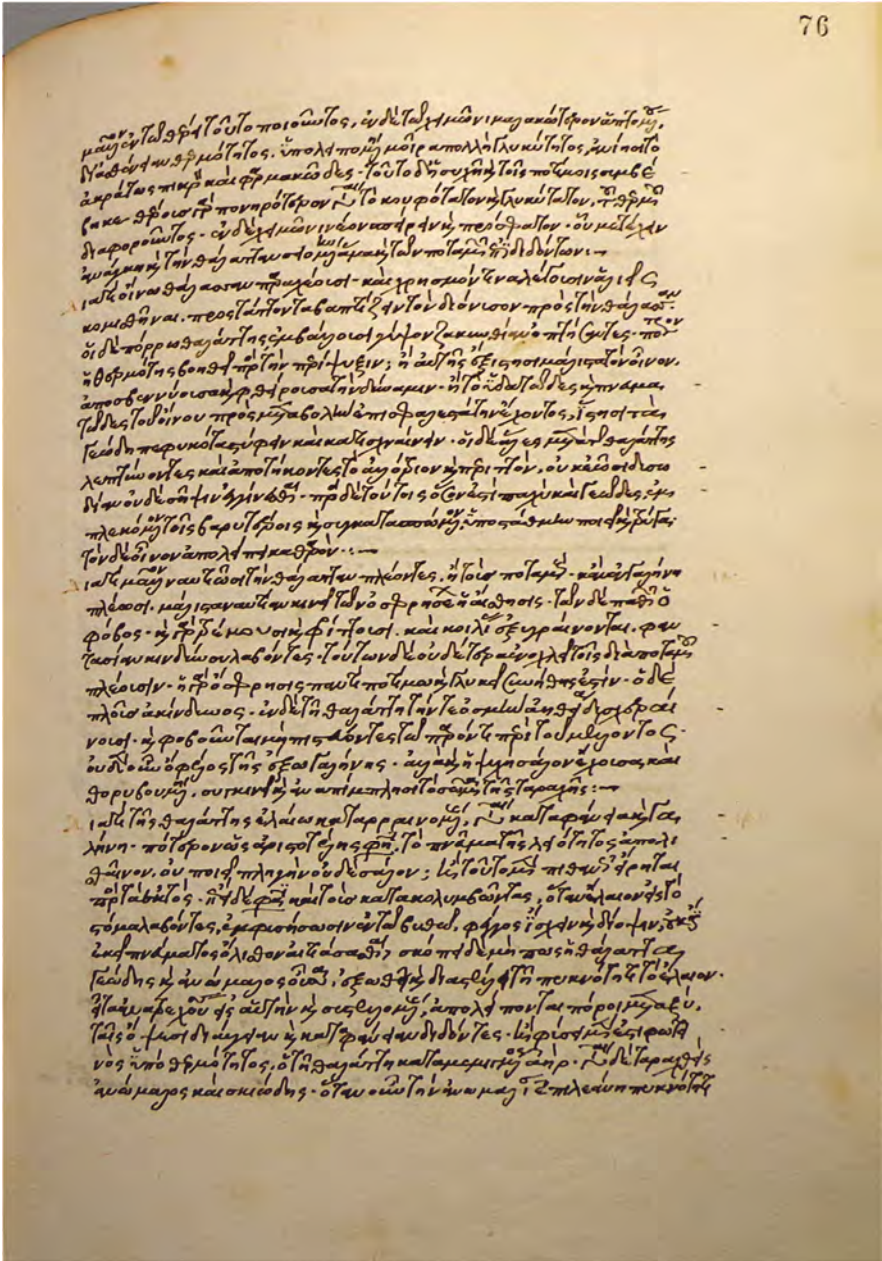


Plate 20: Mutin. α V.7.17, fol. 76r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

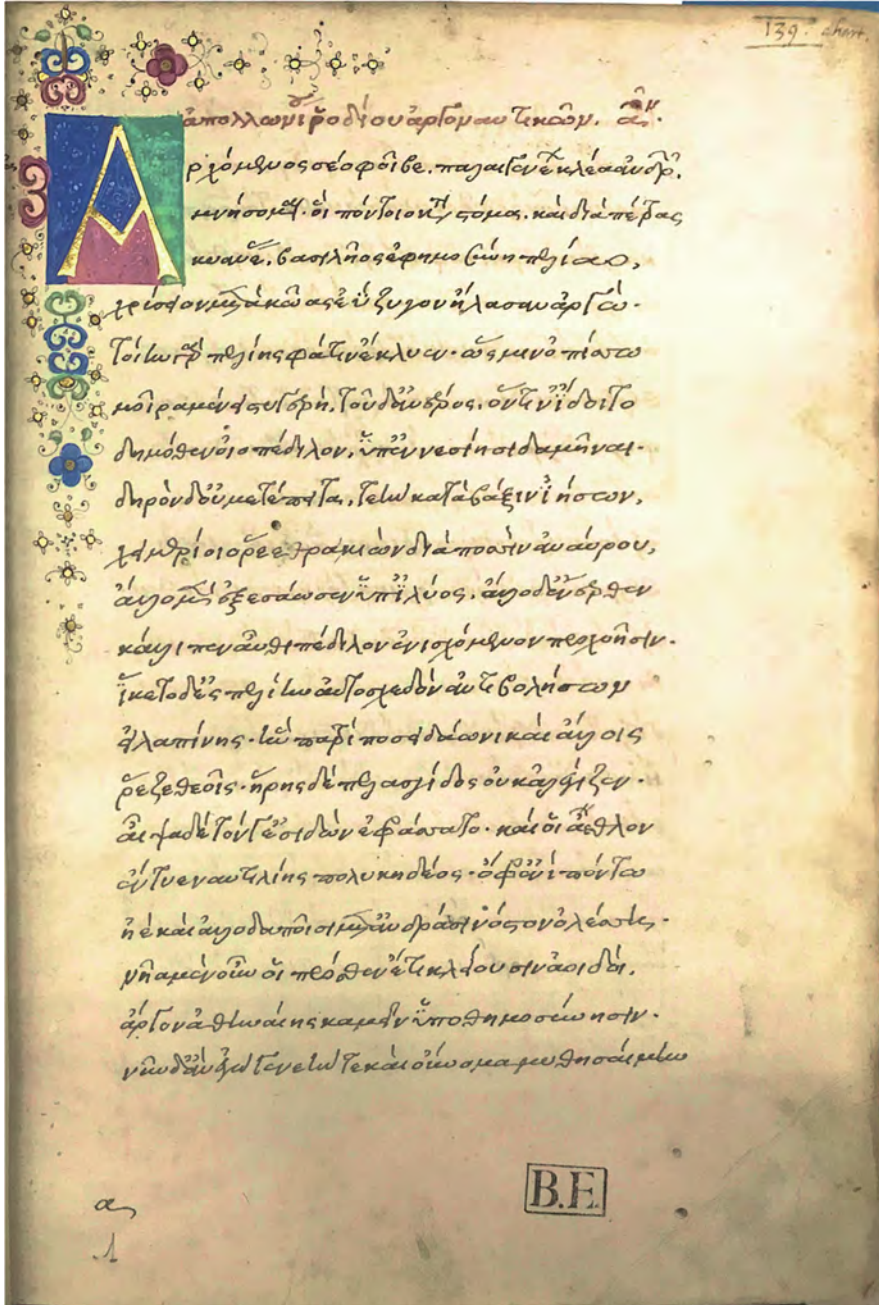


Plate 23: Mutin. α T.8.13, fol. 1r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

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κόραε, παλάεσαστον τασούτου πρέσβας.
 Χ ὁ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός. Δ ὄναξ ἡράκλεις,
 πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἀύθραυ πενάντα φάκτον βλέπεις,
 ἐπὶ πρὶ ἀκραυ κάμπτωνεὸς δίκου σκοπέεις.
 ἄσκα μέγεις που πρὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν κάλλει.
 ἀγελή σὺ βασιλῆσ ἀπτασάκπαι φάσσει.
 λέξον τῶν θεῶν αἰοισιν αὐτὰρ ἀρτῆσ.
 ἴαρτα μείσεις ἀρξῆσ ἀπίστομαι σάφεις. ἰσότησ
 ξωή κατῶ λέγεις; ἰσότησ
 Π πέμψεν βασιλέσ φησὶν ἔμψυχοισιν.
 λέγελή σὺ μέγιστοι καὶ σφῶσ τῶν χριστῶν.
 οὐλή τῆσ χριστῶν προκτῆσ αομῶ.
 οἱ μοι κακοδαίμωνσ σφῶσ. Κ πῶσ λέγεις.
 οὐχ αὐτῶσ προκτῶσ τοῖσ ἴσασ λέγεις. ἰσότησ
 ἀπεσδοκῶσ χριστῶν βῆστων βαρβάρων.
 οὐκ ἀγῆσ ἀσ ὀδῆσ χριστῶν λέγεις.
 οἱ ποῖσ ἀγῆσ. σέμβν ἀγῆσ ὀδῆσ μέγεις.
 ἀγῆσ ἀπῆσ ἀδῆσ βασιλῆσ τούτου μόνος.
 ἀγελή σὺ φάσσει μοῖσ σφῶσ πρὸς τουτομί.
 ἴνα μῆσ σφῶσ βῆσ βαρβάρων ἀγῆσ.
 βασιλῆσ ὀδῆσ ἡμῶσ ἀπο πέμψυχοισιν;

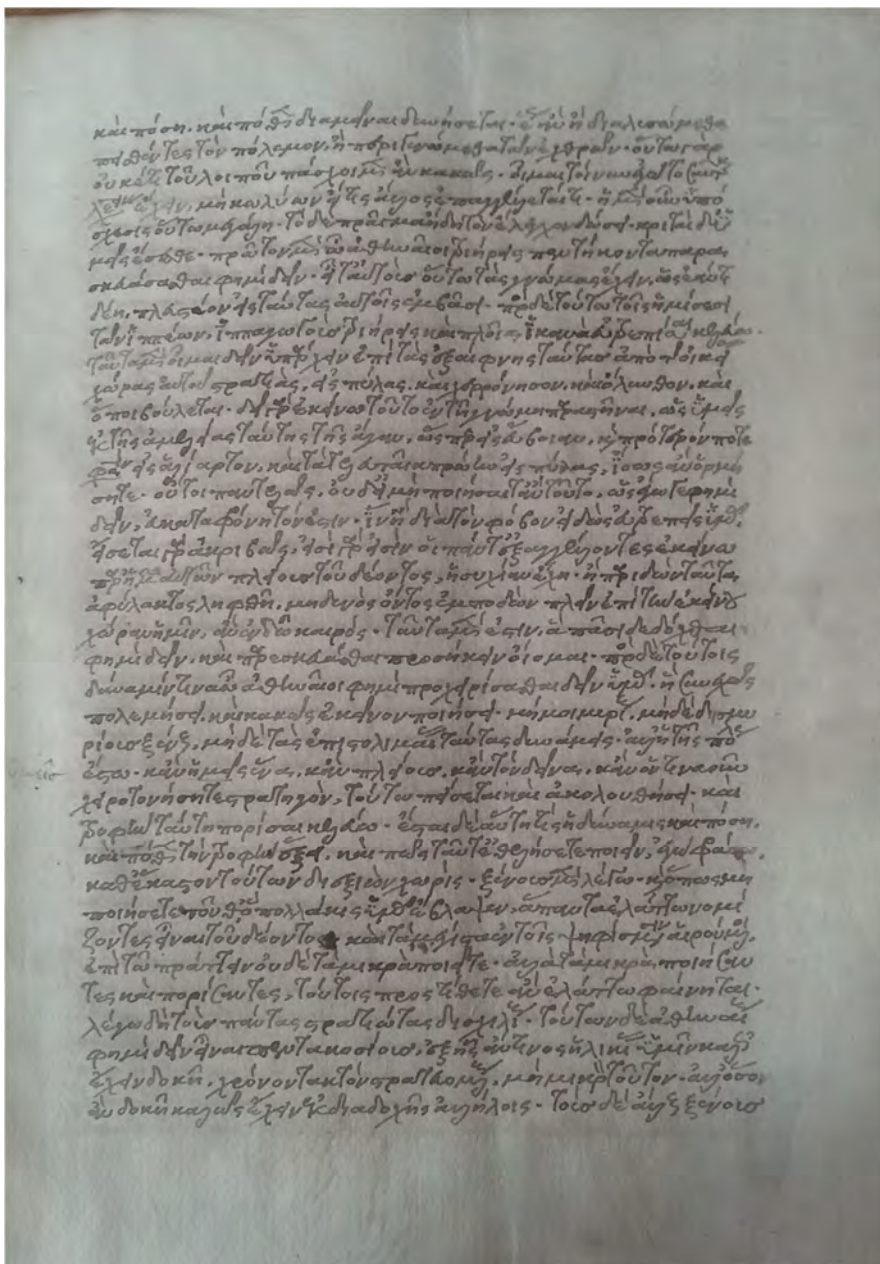


Plate 26: RGADA, Φ 1607, Matthaei 15 (ex Dresd. Da 11), fol. 9r; © RGADA.

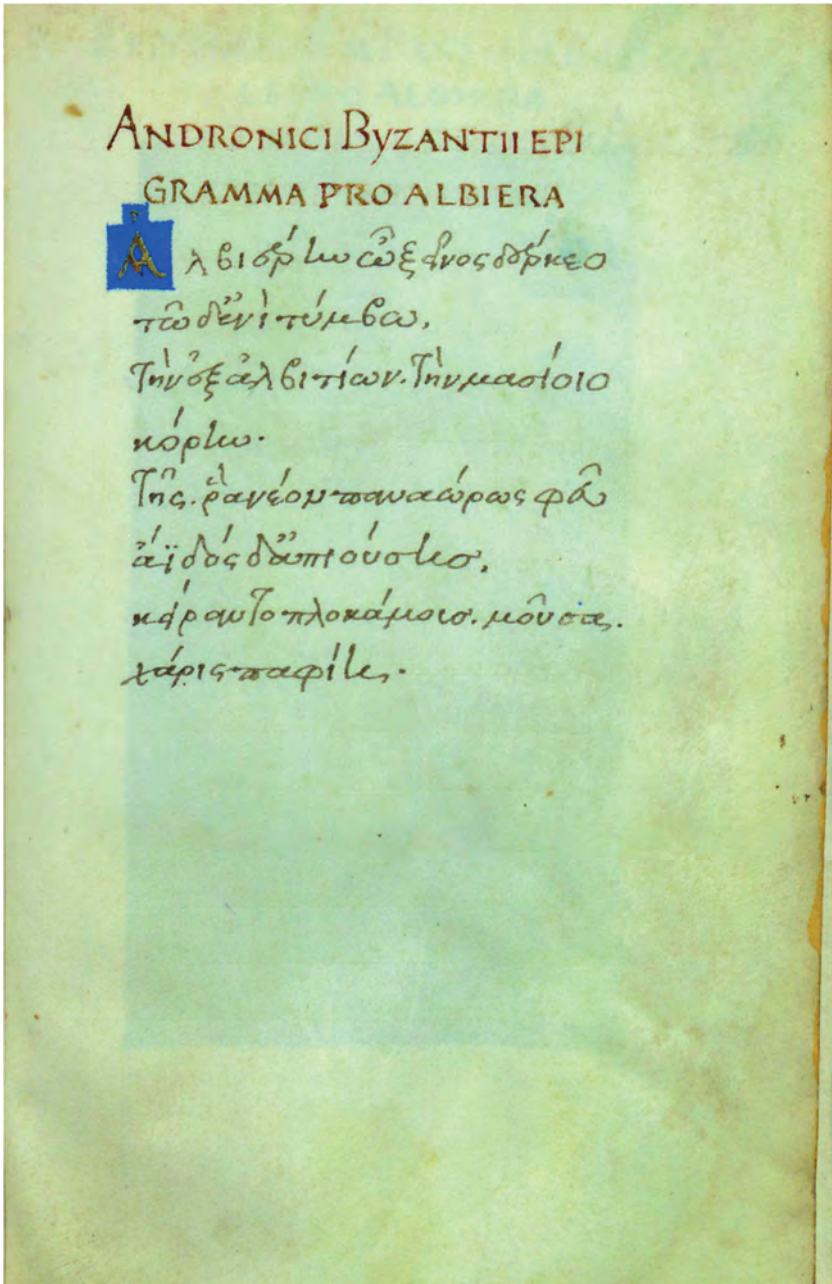


Plate 29: Turin. NN.V.7, fol. 50r; © Biblioteca dell'Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti.

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Abbreviations

Aristoteles Graecus = *Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles*, ed. by Paul Moraux, Dieter Harlfinger, Diether Roderich Reinsch and Jürgen Wiesner, vol. 1: *Alexandrien – London* (Peripatoi, 8), Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976.

CAG = *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 23 vols, Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1882–1909.

ISTC = *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*. <<https://data.cerl.org/istc/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

Kristeller = Paul Oskar Kristeller (ed.), *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, 6 vols, London: The Warburg Institute / Leiden: Brill, 1965–1997.

PG = Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*, Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857–1866.

PLP = Erich Trapp (ed.) [with the collaboration of Hans-Velt Beyer, Rainer Walther et al.], *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademien der Wissenschaften, 1976–1996 [online edition by Erich Trapp and Christian Gastgeber, <<http://austriaca.at/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023)]).

RGK = *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*,

vol. 1: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*, A: *Verzeichnis der Kopisten*, ed.

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